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THE

CHRONICLE

OF

IOHN HARDYNG.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF ENGLISH HISTORY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

TOGETHER WITH

THE CONTINUATION

BY

RICHARD GRAFTON,

TO THE THIRTY FOURTH YEAR OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

THE FORMER PART COLLATED WITH TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF THE AUTHOR'S OWN TIME; THE LAST, WITH GRAFTON'S DUPLICATE EDITION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

A BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY PREFACE,

AND

AN INDEX,

BY

HENRY ELLIS.

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PREFACE.

JOHN HARDYNG, according to Bale, was descended of a respectable Northern family*. He was born, as we learn from his own testimony, in 1378, and as early as the age of twelve, in 1390, was admitted into the family of sir Henry Percy, eldest son to the earl of Northumberland†.

Sir

* Script. illustr. Majoris Britanniæ a Joanne Baleo. fol. Bas. 1557. p. 609.

† See p. 351. The candidates for military fame, of gentle blood, at this period, were usually so educated. They were removed at an early age, from their father's house to the court or castle of their future patron, and served him either for a few years or a continuance, first as Pages, and afterwards as Esquires. They were instructed in religion, learning, and the exercise of arms, and while the performance of the most menial services taught them subordination, were gradually initiated into those refinements which formed what was called in that age Courtesy.

The following is Hardyng's own account of the education of the young nobility in the Chronicle which he addressed to king Henry the Sixth. In the Chronicle as it was rewritten this passage was omitted:

" And as lordes sonnes bene sette, at foure yere age,
To scole at lerne the doctryne of lettrure,
And after at sex to have thaym in language,
And sitte at mete semely in alle nurture;
At ten and twelve to revelle is thair cure,
To daunse and synge, and speke of gentelnesse;
At fourtene yere they shalle to felde I sure,
At hunte the dere, and catch an hardynesse.

For dere to hunte and slea, and se them blede,
Ane hardyment gyffith to his corage,
And also in his wytte he takyth hede
Ymagynynge to take thaym at avauntage.
At sextene yere, to werray and to wage,
To juste and ryde, and castels to assayle,
To scarmyse als, and make sykyr scurage,
And sette his wache for perile nocturnayle;

Sir Henry, to whom the Scots on account of his impatient spirit had given the name of Hotspur, was one of the most esteemed warriors of his time. He was active and enterprising, had a large vassalry, numerous partizans, and unlimited authority: while his household, as lord of the East March of England, was constantly held at Berwick upon Tweed*.

At the time of the battle of Otterbourne Hardyng had not entered his patron's family, but he was with him as a volunteer "at divers fields and roads," and more particularly at the battles of Homildon and Cokelawe†.

A year before the fight at Shrewsbury a variance arose between the Percies and king Henry the Fourth. The former in the fierce battle of Homildon had taken numerous prisoners of rank whom they had orders not to ransom; and the king's jealousy had also interfered with the restoration of the earl of March, who was nearly allied to the Percies. An interview between sir Henry Percy and the king completed the disgust. A correspondence succeeded no better than the interview: and sir Henry at the head of eight score horse advanced from Berwick to raise the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, in his way to Shrewsbury‡. His father, who was to have followed him, fell ill. When the armies met, the king, though superior in numbers, had few of the nobility attending him, while Percy relied on the respectability as well as the attachment of his

> And every day his armure to assay
> In fete of armes with some of his meyne,
> His might to preve, and what that he do may
> Iff that he were in suche a jupertee
> Of werre by falle, that by necessite
> He might algates with wapyns hym defende:
> Thus shuld he lerne in his priorite
> His wapyns alle in armes to dispende."—MS. Lansd. 200. f. 12.—

* Ibid. f. 204 b. † See p. 351. ‡ MS. Lansd. 200. f. 204 b.

followers.

followers*. The impetuosity of Hotspur and the policy of the king led both to a general engagement. The field was long contested. The battle terminated in favour of the king, and Hardyng's patron was amongst the slain.

Previous to this fatal contest in which Hardyng saw the earl of Worcester fall as well as sir Henry Percy, " divers lords had bound themselves " by letters under their seals" to assist in dethroning the king. These letters, it appears, were placed in Hardyng's own keeping by sir Henry Percy, and he afterwards saw them at Warkworth†. But the lords who had entered into the project of advancing Mortymer to the throne deceived their friends.

The battle of Shrewsbury appeared to be the archetype of that cruel conflict which in the middle of the century almost annihilated the ancient nobility of England. Fabyan says it was the more to be noted " vengeable," for there the father was slain of the son and the son of the father‡.

Three days after the battle, Iuly 25th, 1403, a pardon, under certain restrictions, was proclaimed for the adherents of the Percies§; and Hardyng enlisted under the banner of sir Robert Umfravile, with whom he had fought at Homildon, and who was connected with the Percies in every thing but this obstinate engagement, as well by the ties of affinity as those of arms.

Sir Robert was the second son of Thomas Umfravile and grandson of Gilbert earl of Angus‖. He had rendered himself conspicuous in the latter years of king Richard the Second, and was one of the twenty

* " With Percy was the erle of Worcester,
With nyne thousonde of gentyls all that wer,
Of knyghtes, squyers, and chosen yomanry,
And archers fyne *withouten Raskaldry*." ibid.

† See pp. 351. 361. ‡ Fabyan's Chronicle. edit. 1810. p. 570. § Rym. Fœd. vol. viii. p. 330.
‖ Dugd. Bar. tom. i. p. 508.

knights who, in 1396, justed against all comers, after the coronation of that monarch's second queen: though he afterwards made a common cause with the barons of the North*.

In 1405, when king Henry the Fourth reduced the fortresses of lord Bardolph and the earl of Northumberland, sir Robert Umfravile's services in the expedition were rewarded with the castle of Warkworth†, under whom Hardyng became the constable‡.

How long our Historian remained at Warkworth does not appear, but his knowledge of Scottish geography seems soon to have engaged him in the secret service of his country.

During the minority of king Edward the Third, Mortimer, who had usurped the sovereign power, resigned the English claim of superiority over Scotland to Robert Bruce, and gave up the greater part of the homages done by the Scottish parliament and nobility. This treaty, though ratified by parliament, was still a source of discontent, and the resumption of the homage, as well as the recovery of the different recognitions, became a favourite object with the princes of the house of Lancaster§.

* See p. 349.

† The Cotton. MS. Vesp. F. vii. fol. 24. contains the original dispatch from king Henry the Fourth to his privy council, announcing the surrender of Prodhowe and Warkworth castles; dated from the latter, July 2, 1405. It is in French, and states that the king had received the surrender of all the earl of Northumberland's castles except Alnwick.

‡ The peculiarities of a Constable's office, in 1379, at Farnham castle, are thus enumerated in the forthcoming volume of Mr. Bray's History of Surrey. (vol. iii. p. 136.) "In an instrument of William de Wickham, dated at Esher, 19 January 1379, 3 Richard II. by which he "appointed William de Wimbledon constable, the duty of his office is stated to be to keep, "govern, and oversee the Castle, together with the manor, lordship, lands, franchises, liberties, "parks, chaces, warrens, &c. belonging to the same: also to hold the courts, and to prosecute, "challenge, claim, and defend all rights and franchises belonging to the bishop and church of "Winchester within the said Bailiwick."

§ At the close of a fine Manuscript in the Cotton Collection (Nero E. v.) is "Origo et processus gentis Scotorum, ac de superioritate Regum Angliæ super regnum illud." It once belonged to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, and has this sentence in his own hand-writing at the end. "C'est livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre, lequel j'achetay des executeurs maistre Thomas Polton, feu evesque de Wurcestre."

The exact time when Hardyng was first sent to obtain the restitution of the different deeds does not appear; but it must have been early in the reign of king Henry the Fifth. He remained in Scotland three years and a half*, indefatigable in the search, and obtained some at the hazard of his life.

In 1415 we find him, with sir Robert Umfravile, attendant on the king at Harfleur. His journal of the march which preceded the memorable battle of Agincourt forms one of the most curious passages in the present edition of his Chronicle†. In 1416 he appears to have accompanied the duke of Bedford to the sea-fight at the mouth of the Seine‡.

Whether Hardyng was at Bois de Vincennes at the time king Henry the Fifth died, we are not told; but he delivered to that monarch there the bond from the claimants of the Scottish crown to king Edward the First§, as well as the release from king Edward the Second to Robert Bruce‖. For these and other services he was promised the manor of Gedyngton in Northamptonshire; but, the death of Henry intervening, Hardyng lost his reward. Either the same, or duplicate copies of these deeds he afterwards delivered to king Henry the Sixth¶.

The following is Hardyng's address to king Henry the Sixth at the opening of the Lansdowne Manuscript. It throws light on the particulars just mentioned.

" Now seth that prynce is gone, of excellence,
In whom my helpe and makynge shulde haue bene,
I vouche it sauf, wyth all benyvolence,
On zow gode lorde hys sonne and hayre that bene,
For to none other my complaynte can I mene
So lynyall of his generacioun,
Ze bene discent by very demonstracioun.

For other none will fauour his promyse,
Ne none that wylle ought forther myne intente,

* MS. Lansd. 200. f. 1. † See p. 389. ‡ See p. 377. § See pp. 292, 293. ‖ See pp. 305, 306. ¶ MS. Lansd. 200. f. 1.

Bot

Bot if it lyke vn to zour owne avyse,
Alle oonly of zour rial Regymente
To comforte now with oute impedymente
Zour pore subgite, maymed in hys seruyse,
With oute rewarde or lyfelode any wyse.

Sex zer now go I pursewed to zour grace,
And vndirnethe zour lettres secretary,
And Pryuy Seel that longeth in that case;
Ze graunted me to have perpetualy
The maner hool of Gedyngton truely
To me and to myne hayres in heritage,
With membres hool and other all auauntage.

Bot so was sette zour noble chaunceller
He wolde nought suffre I had such waryson̄,
That cardinal was of Zork with outen per,
That wolde noght parte with londe ne zit with ton̄,
Bot rather wolde, er I had Gedyngton,
Ze shulde for go zour ryall soueraynte
Of Scotlonde, whiche long to zour rialte*.

Zour patent cowthe I haue in nokyns wyse,
But if I sewed to alle zoure grete counsayle,
To whiche my purs no lenger myght suffyse;
So wente I home with oute any avayle;
Thus sette he me all bakhalfe on the tayle:
And alle zour grace fro me he dyd repelle,
Zour lettres bothe fro me he dyd cancelle.

* Mr. Bridges, in his History of Northamptonshire, does not seem to have been aware of the circumstance. He however tells us (vol. ii. p. 309.) that by a survey of the profits of Gedlington manor, the firm of it in the sixth year of Richard II. amounted to xxxij*li.*—ij*d.* In the second year of Henry IV. the king demised his manor here to John Mulso, Henry Mulso, and other tenants, for the term of three years at xxxvj*li.* yearly, with an allowance of timber out of Geytington wood for the repairs of the several buildings on it. In Henry VIth's reign the profits of it were enjoyed by the dowager queen Ioane, and after her death the custody of it with its members in Perford, Clendon, Cranesley, and Islep, was committed to Richard Lock, John Reynock, and Robert Cayiflete for seven years at the rent of xxxij*li.* At a subsequent period the value of the manor appears to have diminished.

These particulars are so far interesting, as they shew the extent of the reward intended for Hardyng's services.

Bot

Bot vndirnethe zoure fadirs magnificence
He durste nought so haue lette hys righte fall doñ,
Ne layde a syde so riall euydence,
Appertenant vnto hys rial cron,
Who sonner wolde suche thre as Gedyngtoñ
Hafe zove than so forgone that euydence,
By which the Scottes obey shoulde his regence."

An obscure notice in a rubric of the same Manuscript, intimates that Hardyng was at Rome in 1424, where "at the instance and writing" of the cardinal of Winchester, he was allowed to consult "the great Chronicle of Trogus Pompeyus," of which, by favour of "Iulyus Cæsaryne," auditor of pope Martin's chamber, he had "daily inspection and description*."

Soon after, however, we find him again employed in ascertaining the fealty due from the Scottish kings. In one or two passages of his Chronicle he distinctly alludes to an incurable injury received, as he himself expresses it, for England's right; and in one or two others he states the offer of a thousand marks which had been made to him by king Iames the First of Scotland, no condition of his embezzling some of the earlier instruments he had procured.

Among the Deeds relating to the English supremacy still preserved in the Exchequer, is the following Letter of Protection from King Iames.

"Iames, by the grace of God kynge of Scotlonde, to Iohn Hardyng, "squier of the lorde Umfrevile, sendes gretyng. Wete ze that we have sende "thise our lettres of seur and sauf condute saufely to cōme and go to our "presence, whar' so euere we be with in our rewme of Scotland, with sex "seruants at horses, and saufely thare to abide by ffourty days with his "gudes and horses, and seurly to retourne with out distrublante or impedi-

* MS. Lansd. 200. f. 5.

"ment

" ment bi any Scot, bryngand w yow the thynges whiche we spake to yow
" of at Coldyngham, for whiche we bynde vs bi thise lettres to pay yow a
" thousand markes of Inglisshe nobles, without dilay, defaute, or male en-
" gyne, and saufly with that gold, and al your other gudes, seruants, horses,
" and catailles, home agayn to Herbotill castle for to retourne withoute dis-
" trublance, hurt, or grevance, by any Scottesman. Wharfore we charge
" and comaunde to all lordes, and alle our lieges what sum euere thai be,
" vpon the payne of deeth and fforteture of landes and gudes whiche thay
" haue, that thay, thair men nor thair sugitz, do nor suffre to be done
" hurt nor impedyment to the forsaid Iohn Hardyng, his seruantz, gudes, ne
" catailles in any wise, but at zour power ye socoure and fortify hem to our
" presence, and in thair retourne, to thay be in Herbotill castel agayn, saufly
" with thair horses, golde, gudes, and catailles. In witnesse of thise our
" seur and saufe condute and proteccion, and for seurte of paiement of the
" said some of a thousand markes aforsaid, we have to thise our lettres
" patentz sette our priuy seel, the x. day of Marche in the zer of grace.
" M.CCCC.xxxiiij. at Edenburgh*."

In another passage of his Chronicle†, as well as in the address to king Henry the Sixth, Hardyng mentions four hundred and fifty marks, as the price for which he obtained some other of the Deeds of homage.

Notwithstanding these declarations, however, several writers‡ have considered our author " as a most dexterous and notable forger," who manufactured the Deeds for which he sought reward. The spurious Instruments by which king David II. and king Robert II. were made to acknowlege the superiority of England, appear principally to have occasioned this strong charge of fabrication. But, whether Hardyng, in his zeal for his country,

* Chapter House. Scottish Records. Box. O. nº. 23.

† See p. 247.

‡ See Anderson's Hist. Essay, shewing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is imperial and independant. 8vo. Edinb. 1705, p. 265, App. No. vii. Vetusta Monumenta, vol. iii. pl. xxvi. pp. 6, 7, 8. Soc. Antiq. Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 58.

became

became the tool of some more powerful person, or was imposed upon in the purchase of the Deeds, cannot now be thoroughly ascertained.

It is singular, however, that king Henry the Eighth, in his declaration of war against his nephew James the Fifth, after reciting numerous deeds of homage which had been made to former kings, says, "And yet dooth it appere, by storie, how the Scots practised to steale out of our treasurie diverse of these instruments, which neverthelesse were afterward recovered again*." Though it is possible that this may be only a general allusion to the clandestine manner in which the original roll of the homages, fealties, and recognitions of the superiority of the crown of England was given up, in 1328, by Isabel and Mortimer, to Robert Bruce†.

Actively as we find Hardyng to have been engaged in life, he still found time to gather materials for his Chronicle, and appears to have finished the first composition of it toward the latter end of the minority of king Henry the sixth. The Lansdowne Manuscript, so often mentioned, closes with the life of sir Robert Umfravile, who died, according to Dugdale, January 27th, 1436,‡ under whom Hardyng seems to have lived, in his latter years, as constable of Kyme Castle in Lincolnshire.

"In this mene tyme sir Robert Vmfravyle,
That was my lord, distilde by kynde nature
Thrugh besy age, rightus I can compile,
To such waykenesse he wyght no more endure,
Bot fell so in his grave and sepultur
Thrugh cruell deth, that wyll forbar no wyght,
Whom so afore that neuer man conquer myght.

Thof my body here be a symple wyght,
Abydyng at the wyll omnipotent,

* Holinshed's Hist. Scotl. p. 322. edit. 1582. † Cartes' Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 39.

‡ "Anno Domini 1436, sexto kal. Ianuarii obiit Dominus Robertus de Umfravile Miles, Dominus Kyme et de Redisdale."

"Anno Domini 1438, in die S. Silvestri obiit Domina Isabella uxor predicti domini Roberti Vmfravile, & jacent simul ad Altare S. Mariæ Magdalenæ." Mon. Ang. tom. ii. p. 917. b. ex Martyrolog. Abb. Novi Monasterii.

My herte with hym shalbe bothe day and nyght,
To pray for hym with all my hole intent;
A better lorde, I trow, God never yit sent
Into the North, of all gode sapience,
Ne so helply with knyghtly diligence.

It would be difficult perhaps to obtain a more complete picture of a true knight, in the fifteenth Century, than Hardyng has given us of his lord.

Having praised him as well for the mildness as the general virtue of his character, Hardyng represents him as a person totally free from any views of personal aggrandizement; as one, who by sharing the spoils of war liberally among his soldiers, had them always ready to enlist beneath his banner; yet, however dreaded for his power,

" In so ferr forth his iugements wer approued
That Scottes feel byyonde the Scottysshe see,
Thar own iugges forsoke, as hole reproued,
And by assent to Berwyke came I se,
And bond thaym thar to stonde to his decre,
And plesed were with all his iugymentes:
So rightwyse was his zeale and regymentes.

* * * * * * *

Bot noght for thy whan enmyse gafe vp pese,
And it away wi[illegible] werre had hole exilde,
As lyon fell [illegible]e putte hym forth in prese,
The wer[illegible] maynteynde and kepte hym vnrevylde.

* * * * * * *

Of the Garter full eght and thretty yere
He was a knyght, electe for worthihode,
Whan his lyfelode exceded noght all clere
An hundreth marke to lene vpon in dede,
Bot oonly of the werres thurgh his manhede;

Yit helde he than a countenance and estate
With hym that was a baron nomynate.

His seruantz wolde he noght rebuke ne chide,
Bot softely say to hym in pryuyte
All is defaute, and, as his preest it hide;
And whan thay stayle his gode that he dyd se,
He wolde it layue from his other meyne,
And noght repreue hym more in any wyse:
So was he kynde, withouten couetyse.

* * * * * * *

Of sapyence and verry gentylnesse,
Of lyberall herte and knyghtly gouernaunce,
Of hardyment, of treuth, and grete gladnesse,
Of honeste myrth withoute any greuaunce,
Of gentyll bourdes and knyghtly daliaunce
He hath no make, I darr right wele avowe:
Now is he gone: I may noght glose hym nowe."

Of the rewards which Hardyng appears to have received, the first was in the eighteenth year of king Henry the Sixth, when he had a grant for life of ten pounds per annum out of the manor or alien preceptory of Wyloughton in the county of Lincoln. This reward is expressly said in the letters patent to have been promised to him by king Henry the Fifth*. In the nineteenth year of Henry the Sixth, 1438, a confirmation of the grant occurs for seven years, with the further grant, after that time of the reversion of the manor for life†.

From this time till 1457, we hear no more of Hardyng's remuneration: but in that year, a rupture being expected with Scotland, the ministry of the time seem to have had it in contemplation to renew the claim of homage. Among the same deeds in the Exchequer, from which a copy of king James's safe-conduct has been already given, is an indenture between Hardyng and the earl of Shrewsbury, dated November 15th, 1457, for delivering into the Treasury such instruments relating to the homage as

* Pat. 18 Hen. VI. p. 3. m 15. † Pat. 19 Hen. VI. p. 1. m 19.

were still in his possession. The following is a copy of this curious Contract.

" HEC Indentura facta inter reverendum dominum Iohannem Talbot " Comitem Salopie Thesaur. Anglie & Camerar' Scaccarii, ex una parte, " et Iohannem Hardyng de Kyme ex altera parte, testatur quod dictus " Iohannes liberavit eidem Thesaurario ex precepto domini Regis " oretenus has literas patentes subsequentes ; Videlicet, in primis liberavit " unam Literam patentem per quam David rex Scocie recognovit se tenere " regnum Scocie de Edwardo tercio Rege Angliæ post conquestum, per " homagium, ligium, & fidelitatem tanquam domino superiori Regni " Scocie, omnimodis relaxacionibus Regibus Scocie antea factis non obstan- " tibus, ut patet per eandem literam patentem. Item, liberavit unam " aliam literam patentem per quam Robertus Rex Scocie recognovit se " tenere Regnum Scocie de Edwardo Rege Anglie tercio et heredibus suis, " per homagium, ligium, et fidelitatem, tanquam Dominis superioribus " regni Scocie post relaxacionem predicti Edwardi factam Regi Scocie, ut " patet per eandem literam patentem. Item liberavit unam aliam Literam " patentem per quam omnes Comites, Barones, et Magnates Regni Scocie " fecerunt homagia sua Regi Scocie sub certis verbis in eodem Scripto, " salvis semper homagiis superiori domino Edwardo Regi Anglie et here- " dibus suis superioribus dominis Regni Scocie ab antiquo debitis ut patet " in eadem litera patente. Item liberavit unam aliam Literam patentem " per quam David Strabolgy Comes de Athell indictatus de prodicione " comparuit in Parliamento Scocie alligans se non esse culpabilem de pro- " dicione sibi imposita per hoc quod devenerat ligius homo Regis Edwardi " tercii eo quod reges Anglie semper ab antiquo fuerunt superiores domini " Regni Scocie et per hanc alligacionem approbatam per recorda Parlia- " mentorum Scocie & coram Iusticiariis in itineribus suis Scocie fuit inde " quietus. Item liberavit unam aliam literam patentem per quam Iohannes " Grame Comes de Menteth indictatus de prodicione ex causa predicta " alligavit in pleno parliamento quod non fuit inde culpabilis per hoc quod " devenerat ligius homo Regis Edwardi tercii, eo quod Reges Anglie semper " fuerunt superiores domini Regni Scocie, et per hanc alligacionem appro- " batam in parliamento et per recorda coram Camerariis et Iusticiariis " Scocie in Itineribus suis fuit inde quietus. Item liberavit unam Indentu-

" ram

" ram de treugis et abstinenciis guerrarum captis inter Edwardum tercium
" ex una parte et David regem Scocie ex altera parte, per quam David Rex
" recognovit predictum Regem Edwardum esse dominum superiorem Scocie,
" postquam dictus Edwardus fecerat dictum Relaxacionem. In cujus rei
" testimonium tam predictus dominus Comes Thesaurarius Anglie, quam
" predictus Iohannes Hardyng, hiis Indenturis Sigilla sua alternatim ap-
" posuerunt. dat. quinto decimo die mensis Novembris Anno regni Regis
" Henrici Sexti post Conquestum Anglie tricesimo sexto*."

Prefixed to a printed copy of Hardyng's Chronicle, formerly in the possession of Mr. West, and now in that of George Hibbert, Esq. M. P. is the original writ of privy seal, directed to William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, then chancellor, to make out Letters-patent granting to Iohn Hardyng a pension of twenty pounds a year for life. It bears the same date as the Indenture, and was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1770†. Accordingly, upon the patent roll, we find the pension charged upon the revenues of the county of Lincoln‡.

Such are the leading particulars of Hardyng's life. The evening of his days appears to have been passed in the recomposition of his Work for Richard duke of York, father to king Edward the Fourth, who was slain in the battle of Wakefield, December the 31st, 1460. It was afterwards presented to king Edward the Fourth himself. The history comes no lower than the flight of Henry the Sixth to Scotland. But, from " the Excusacion" touching his " defaultes," in which the queen is mentioned, it is evident that Hardyng could not have finished his work before 1465. How long he survived its completion is unknown, but he must then have been at least eighty-seven years of age.

Mr. Warton has been harsh in his censure of Hardyng's poetry, though a great deal of the ruggedness of the printed copy must be ascribed to the careless manner in which the Chronicle was edited by Grafton. Should it be thought that Hardyng has carried the homage of

* Chapter House. Scottish Records. Box O. n°. 48. † Archæolog. Soc. Antiq. vol. i. p. 87. edit. Lond. 1770. ‡ Pat. 36 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 8.

the Scots back to an absurd antiquity*, let it be remembered that the same thing was done even in the public Instruments of the time. When king Henry the Fourth called upon the Scottish king for recognition in the first year of his reign, he spoke of it as having been made "ab "antiquissimis retroactis temporibus, videlicet *a tempore Locrini filii* "*Bruti*†." The high antiquity of the supposed homage did not originate with the historian.

It may not be irrelative now to say something of the

MANUSCRIPTS of HARDYNG'S CHRONICLE

which are still remaining.

The first in point of time, and perhaps the most curious of all, is that which formerly belonged to Lord Lansdowne‡, and which comes no lower than 1436. It is of the larger folio size, and is written on two hundred and twenty-nine double pages of vellum. The versification is more diffuse than in the later manuscripts, and there is less appearance of compression in the history. The text, which is altogether so different from the other copies as not to admit of a collation, is divided into books and chapters; and in the margin the authors from whom Hardyng derived the largest share of his information are noted. Of these the greater part are of ordinary occurrence; but at the beginning of the reign of king Henry the Fourth, we have "Nota quod totam Cronicam istius Henrici Regis Com-"pilator hujus Libri audivit, vidit, et interfuit. Et ut patet clarius in "quadam Cronica *Magistri* NORHAM doctoris Theologie." A similar note occurs in the margin at the beginning of the reign of king Henry the Fifth; and again under Henry the Sixth: Stow, also, in the list of English Historians prefixed to the Abridgement of his Chronicle, mentions Norham, but I have been totally unable to find the history alluded to, or any other memorandum of its author. The map of Scotland given in the Lansdowne, is much ruder than in the later Manuscripts. At the end of all are the letters of king Edward the First and the English barons, to

* See p. 44. † Rym. Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 155, 156. ‡ Now in the British Museum, MS. Lansd. 200.

pope

pope Boniface VIII. From the "Elenchus Contentorum" this manuscript should seem to have been once in the Cotton Collection: although it must have strayed from the library previous to the formation of Smith's catalogue.

The Harleian Manuscript*, from which the principal Collations have been obtained for the present Edition, comes down, as has been before mentioned, to the flight of Henry the Sixth to Scotland. It at present consists of a hundred and ninety leaves; the upper part apparently injured by fire, yet not so much as to render the manuscript at all unintelligible. It is beautifully written, and has the prose passages inserted in their proper places in the Chronicle, with the itinerary and map of Scotland at the end.

A third manuscript, of uncommon elegance, is preserved in the collection of the celebrated Selden at Oxford†. It is illuminated, and richly bound and studded, and has the arms of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland at the end: though Mr. Warton thought‡ it was the presentation-book to king Edward the Fourth.

It is singular that, both in this and in the Ashmole manuscript of Hardlyng, numerous spaces are left for single lines in many of the stanzas. Many lines also which differ from the Harleian Manuscript agree with Grafton's print, and at least show that the manuscript he used differed in some instances from every manuscript which has been examined for the present edition§.

The prose passages in the Selden Manuscript are placed together at

* Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 661. † Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Archiv. Seld. B. 10. ‡ Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. ii. pp. 125, 126, 127. Compare also the Index to Hearne's edit. of sir John Spelman's Life of K. Alfred. § In mentioning the Selden Manuscript, it is impossible to pass over the extraordinary blunder which bishop Nicolson has made relating to it in the Scottish part of his Historical Library, edit. 4°. Lond. 1776, p. 7. He says "In Mr. Selden's rich collection of manuscripts there is "one *printed book*, which for its antiquity and rarity, was doubtless thought, and is still believed to be "as valuable as most of its neighbours. It is J. Harding's Itinerary and Map of Scotland, with his Eng-"lish Chronicle; *London*, PRINTED BY WYNKIN WORDE, *at the sign of the Sun in Fleet-street*: and I "dare say that sir H. Savil, whatever low thoughts he might in the main have had of this printer and "Badius Ascensius, would highly have esteemed this book."

the

the end. The map of Scotland was engraved by Mr. Gough in the British Topography, vol. ii. p. 579, where the places mentioned in it are given, with the variations of the map in the Harleian Manuscript.

A fourth mannscript of Hardyng's Chronicle is preserved in the Ashmole Museum likewise at Oxford*. It is written upon vellum, apparently in two hands: and forms a folio of the smaller size. It appears to have been, in 1604, in the collection of one Peter Manwood, and cost, at that time, twenty shillings. It has none of the prose passages; nor has it the itinerary or map of Scotland, though it comes down like the Harleian Manuscript, to the beginning of the reign of king Edward the Fourth.

A fifth manuscript, similar in its contents and omissions to the one last noticed, is in the Collection of Francis Douce, Esq., written on a hundred and fifty two double pages of vellum, and varying but in few places from the other manuscripts of the time of Edward the Fourth.

By the kindness of Mr. Douce I have been favoured with the sight of some fragments of another manuscript written upon paper, from an old family library in the country.

The Catalogue of the Manuscripts of England, published in 1697, mentions a seventh manuscript in the library of Basil earl of Denbigh†. It is of Edward the Fourth's time, but no other particulars are given relating to it.

Of

RICHARD GRAFTON,

the continuator of Hardyng's Chronicle, but little need be said. He appears to have been descended of a good family, and his works, as an author, evince him to have had a tolerable education. He tells us himself that he wrote the greatest part of Hall's Chronicle, which he continued to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth. His other works, exclusive of the Continuation of Hardyng, were, "An Abridgement

* MS. Ashmol. 34. † Cat. MSS. Angliæ. tom. ii. p. 36. nº. 1485.

"of

" of the Chronicles of England," printed in octavo by Tottyll in 1562, 1564, 1570, and 1572; " A Manuell of the Chronicles of Englande," printed in sixteens in 1565; " A Chronicle at large and meere History of " the affairs of Englande," in two volumes folio, 1569; and " A little " treatise containing astronomical and chronological Tables and Rules," printed in 1571. " Mr. Grafton's Computation" was also licensed to Robert Waley in 1591: and Mr. Herbert* suspected him to have been the author of " A Letter vindicating the Queen in the case of the duke of " Norfolk and Queen of Scots, by R. G.;" apparently the last work which issued from his press in 1571.

The first product of his art as a printer was the English version of the Bible by Thomas Matthew, in 1537, for printing which and the Great Bible without Notes, he was imprisoned, after lord Cromwell's death, for six weeks in the Fleet. He and Whitchurch appear to have had several special patents for printing the church service books and primers in the time of Henry the Eighth; and in the first year of Edward the Sixth a patent was granted to him for the sole printing of the statute books and acts of parliament. Having been appointed king's printer, it became his office, in 1553, to print the proclamation by which the lady Jane Gray was declared successor to the crown. On queen Mary's accession he was, in consequence, deprived of his patent†, and lost a debt of three hundred pounds which was owing to him at the time of king Edward's decease.

From 1553 to 1571, but eight works printed by him occur in Mr. Herbert's list. From 1553 to 1566, there seems some reason for believing him to have served in parliament, at one time for London, and afterwards for the city of Coventry. Mr. Strype, upon no certain ground, supposes him in his latter years to have been reduced to poverty. In the reign of queen Elizabeth he broke his leg, and was lame to the time of his death. When he died is unknown; the last we hear of him is in 1572‡.

* Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 538. † Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 356.

‡ Compare Herbert's edit. of Ames's Typogr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 501-8. Tann. Bibl. Brit. p. 337. Strype's Life of archbishop Parker, pp. 235. 351.

It is singular that there should be two editions of HARDYNG'S CHRONICLE, both printed by Grafton *in the month of January* 1543, differing in almost every page, and one, in Grafton's own portion of the work, containing (in the reign of Henry the Eighth) no less than twenty-nine pages more than the other*.

In the present edition the text of the more copious copy has been preferred. The variations of the two being noted in the margin.

Honest Stow, to whom Grafton appears to have been a rival in the publication of an abridged Chronicle, in the edition of his "Summary" printed in 1570, according to Herbert, and certainly in the editions of 1573 and 1574, speaks in these words of Hardyng.

"John Harding beyng both a stout and learned man, profited his coun-
"trey both wayes. For to obtayne certayne charters out of Scotlande,
"of the king of England's superioritie, he much hazarded himselfe, and
"lastly restored the samè to king Henry the Fifth. After that he ex-
"hibited a Chronicle of England, with a mappe or description of Scot-
"land to king Henry the Sixt, which Chronicle doth almost altogether
"differ from that which under his name was imprinted by Richard Grafton.
"He lived in the yeare 1450."

Grafton vindicated himself in his epistle to the reader, prefixed to the editions of *his* abridgement printed in 1570 and 1572.

"In praysing of Iohn Hardinge, one of his aucthors," Stow "saith,
"that a Chronicle of Hardinges which he hath, doth much differ from
"the Chronicle, which under the sayde Hardinges name was printed by
"mee, as though I had falsefied Hardinges Chronicle." * * * *
"Now, as touching Iohn Hardinges Chronicle that Stowe hath, whiche
"hee sayth doth much differ from that which was imprinted under his
"name by me, I graunt it may well bee so: for I have at this time,
"a Chronicle that beareth the name of Iohn Harding written in the
"Latin tongue in prose, that I am sure Iohn Stowe never sawe, and

* This appears to have been more than once the case with the works which issued from the Aldine press. Two editions of Juvenal and Persius, differing from each other in every page, appeared, "*Mense Augusto* M. D. I:" and two editions of the Orations of Demosthenes, equally different, "*Mense Novem.* M. D. IV."

"though

" though hee did, yet I doubt whether hee vnderstande it. And it may
" well bee, that one man maye write at twoo tymes twoo bookes of one
" matter, and yet the one of them not to agree with the other, as Stowe
" himselfe hath done, who in his later summary of Chronicles differeth
" cleane from his first, neyther agreing in matter nor yeres, and yet
" (as hee sayth) they are both Stowes Chronicles. And it may also bee,
" that there were mo Iohn Hardinges then one, and so all may stande well
" together, and no fault committed by mee*."

The truth was that Hardyng's Chronicle, as has been already shewn, was twice written. The Latin copy, it is to be feared was no other than a copy of the later Manuscript with the prose additions already noticed.

The Harleian Manuscript 367, contains some imperfect papers on the subject of the controversy between Stow and Grafton, in the hands-writing of both. They are interesting, and explain the distresses as well as the displeasure of poor Stow, but throw no additional light on the publication of Hardyng†.

In Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng's Chronicle, the lives of king Edward the Fifth and king Richard the Third, usually ascribed to sir Thomas More, made their first appearance. These lives were also subsequently published in an united form, as " the History of Richard the Third," in the great body of sir Thomas More's works, by Rastell, in 1557, who says not only that he printed from a copy in sir Thomas More's own hand, but that the original was written about the year 1513. A Latin version of these lives likewise occurs among the rest of sir Thomas More's works printed in that language at Louvain in 1566, and I suppose in the editions of 1563 and 1689.

* Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 505. The only copies of Grafton's abridgement which I have seen are the editions of 1562 and 1564 by Tottyll. Both in the Bodleian library: and the latter not mentioned by Herbert.

† See also, the Glossary to Hearne's Rob. of Glouc. vol. ii. p. 607.

Sir Iohn Harrington, however, in the Metamorphosis of Ajax, published in 1596, says*, "Lastly the best, and best written part of al our "Chronicles, in al men's opinions, is that of Richard the Thirde, written "as I have heard by Moorton, but as most suppose, by that worthy, "and uncorrupt magistrate, sir Thomas More, sometime lorde chancelor "of Englande." Buck also in his "History of the life and reigne of "Richard the Third," says that doctor Morton, (who succeeded Bourchier in the see of Canterbury,) wrote "a booke in Latine against king Richard, "which came afterward to the hands of Mr. Moore, sometime his ser-"vant:" and adds "This booke was lately in the hands of Mr. Roper "of Eltham, as sir Thomas Hoby, who saw it, told me†."

For myself, I am inclined to think that the *English* copy was the work of Morton, for, as Grafton has printed it, one sentence bears internal evidence of an earlier pen than that of sir Thomas More. The writer, in detailing the circumstances of king Edward the Fourth's last sickness, says, it "continued longer then false and fantasticall tales have untruly and "falsely surmised, *as* I *myself* THAT WROTE THIS PAMPHLET *truly knew*‡."

Now, at the time of king Edward the Fourth's death sir Thomas More could have been scarcely three years old. The colours of eloquence also are so richly spread over the whole tract, that it has no appearance of having been translated from another language. Morton, who was the first patron and friend of More, might possibly have put the Manuscript into his hands, and the transcript being found by Rastell, among his uncle's papers, we cannot wonder that it should appear among the posthumous works of More. It is singular that the passage quoted should be omitted in the editions of the reign printed in Hall, Holinshed, Stow, and Speed. The notice of Jane Shore's death in the eighteenth year of Henry the Eighth, which occurs in another page§, and which might be supposed to militate with the idea of Morton being the author, was evidently foisted in by Grafton.

* Sign. D. 4. † Buck's Hist. of Rich. III. p. 75. ‡ See p. 470. § See p. 499.

The remainder of the Continuation of Hardyng is indisputably Grafton's.

In the text of the present edition numerous lines and passages are enclosed in brackets, which have no references to the margin. Such enclosures imply that the sentences or words within them are omitted in the Harleian Manuscript. Where references are given, the readings of the Manuscript appear.

The thanks of the editor are due to the right honourable George Rose, for an admission to the Chapter House records; and to Mr. Philip Bliss, of St. John's College, Oxford, for the principal collations from the Selden Manuscript.

Jan. 3d, 1812.

¶ THE

CHRONICLE

OF

IHON HARDYNG,

In Metre,

FROM THE FIRST BEGYNNYNG OF ENGLANDE,

VNTO THE

REIGNE OF EDWARDE THE FOURTH,

WHERE HE MADE AN END OF HIS CHRONICLE.

AND FROM THAT TYME IS ADDED WITH

A CONTINUACION OF THE STORIE IN PROSE

TO THIS OUR TYME.

NOW FIRST EMPRINTED, GATHERED OUT OF DIUERSE AND SOUNDRIE AUTOURS,
OF MOSTE CERTAIN KNOWELAGE AND SUBSTANCIALL CREDIT,
THAT EITHER IN LATIN, OR ELS IN OUR MOTHER TOUNGUE, HAUE WRITEN OF
THE AFFAIRES OF ENGLANDE.

Londini:

IN OFFICINA RICHARDI GRAFTONI,
MENSE IANUARII,

1543.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

THE

DEDICACION

OF

THIS PRESENT WOORKE,

VNTO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

LORDE THOMAS DUKE OF NORFFOLKE,

BY THENPRYNTER, RICHARD GRAFTON.

LOrde Thomas of Norffolke, duke moste gracious,
Of noble auncestrie and blood descended,
A captain right woorthie and auenturous,
And frō Scotlād euen newely retended,
Wher Englandes querele ye haue reuenged,
In the behalf of our noble kyng Henry,
I wyshe you all health, honour, and victorie.

¶ And because it hath pleased almightie God,
In the right title and querele of Englande,
To vse your stocke[1] as an iron rod,
Wherewith to scourge the falsehood of Scotland,
In whom is no truthe ne holde of any bande;
Ihon Hardynges chronicle, as me thought, was
Moste mete to bee dedicated to your grace.

¶ For Hardyng, a true herted Englysheman,
An esquier valiaunt, hardie, and bolde,

[1] Stroke, *edit. alt.*

And

And not vnlearned, as the time was than,
Serched out of chronicles, bothe late and olde,
All that euer by thesame hath bee told:
How frō the begynnyng, Scotlāde dooeth reigne
Vnder kynges of Englande, as their souerain.

¶ And Hardynges owne self hath the partie bee,
That from Scotlande, oft tymes, hath brought
Their seales of homage and fealtee,
Vnto the kyng of Englande, as he ought:
Vnto whom the Scottes then sued and sought,
Yeldyng to liue in humble subieccion,
Of Englandes gouernaunce and proteccion.

¶ But that' people of their propre nature
Hath, euen from the first, been so vntowarde,
So vnstedfast, inconstaunte, and vnsure,
That nothyng maie possibly bee more frowarde;
So haue thei continued from thens foorthwarde,
Neuer gladde to bee in quiet and rest,
But to defeccion aye readie and prest.

¶ Wherefore Ihon Hardyng, to his lorde & maister,
Whom in his tyme he serued without blame,
Edwarde, first duke of Yorke, and after
Kyng of this realme, the fourthe of that name,
In this chronicle affermeth of thesame,
That thei will rebell, till, by prouision,
The kyng of Englād shall haue made theim both one.

¶ And in deede Englād hath oft been cōstreigned,
The Scottes slackenesse in dooyng their homage,
To pricke forewarde, whē thei would haue refreined,
With ŷ sharpe spurre of marciall forceage;
And to abate their wantonnesse of courage,
With the iron rodde of due correccion,
As oft as thei attempted defeccion.

¶ For ŷ Scottes will aye bee bostyng & crakyng;
Euer sekyng causes of rebellion;
Spoyles, booties, and preades euer takyng;

[1] that the. *edit. alt.*

Euer sowyng quereles of dissension;
To burne and steale is all their intencion;
And yet, as people whom God dooeth hate & curse,
Thei alwaies begynne, and euer haue the woorse.

¶ Englande hitherto hath neuer lacked power,
As oft as nede wer, the Scottes to compell
Their duetie to dooe; and menne of honour
Englande hath had, as stories dooe tell,
Whiche, whensoeuer the Scottes did rebell,
Wer hable, at all tymes, theim to subdue,
And their obedience to England renue.

¶ Emōges ŷ whiche noumbre, your noble father,
In the twelfth yere of Henry the seuenths reigne,
By aunciente recorde, as I can gather,
Beeyng of suche credence as cannot feigne,
Yode into Scotlande their pryde to restrein,
With sēbleable power, (as bookes dooen auowe)
And like commission as your grace had now.

¶ That season he did so valiauntely,
The Scottes vanquishyng and puttyng to flight,
That thei ranne awaye moste shamefully,
Not hable of hym tabide the sight,
Nor hable to sustein the brunt of his might.
Soondrie castelles he raced down to the grounde,
Whiche to the honour of Englande did redound.

¶ Kyng Iamy also, makyng greate braggue and vaūte,
Hauyng his armie not a myle of that daie,
Your father, as a captain valyaunt,
Made in a moment, for feare, to runne awaye:
The Scottish kyng, sēding foorth heraldes tway,
Chalenged your father, ẅ many a proude woorde,
Battayle to wage, and trye it by the sworde.

¶ And choose thou, sir Earle, quoth kyng Iamy then,
Whether we shall fight armie against armie,
Orelles I and thou trye it manne for manne,
For sparyng bloodshed of either compaignie;
That if it chaunce me to haue the victorie,

Nought shall I demaunde for Englandes losse & thine.
Sauīg Barwike toune, for euer to bee mine.

¶ Then to the heraldes saied this noble knight,
Shewe to your kyng, that in this place purposely
Battayle for to wage, my tentes haue I pight;
I am not come to flee, but to fyght sharpely,
As where he standeth, he maye see with his eye.
And fyrst where he would bloodshed saued to bee,
Therof am I no lesse desirous then he.

¶ Secundarily, where it is his likyng,
That I, a poore earle, and of meane estate,
Maye combattre with hym, beyng a kyng,
That our two fightes may ceasse all debate,
He dooeth me honour, after suche highe rate,
That I must nedes graūt my selfe bound, in this case,
Humble thankes to rēdre to his grace.

¶ Now as for the towne of Barwike, it is knowē
(Which your lorde requireth in case I bee slaine)
Is the kyng my souereins, and not mine owne:
So that graunte therof in me dooeth not remain.
But thys maie ye bear worde to your lord again,
My person and lyfe aduenture I shall,
More precyous to me then the round worlde all.

¶ When kyng Iamy, by his heraldes twoo
Spedefullye returnyng, had due knowlage,
Muche otherwyse then he loked for thoo,
Of the earles stout aunswer and message,
Fled out of hand, and would no battayle wage:
So that your father retourned home victour,
With coumfort, laude, praise, ioye and honour.

¶ The same your father, in the fyfth yere
Of our moost noble kyng Henry the eyght,
When hys grace and his armie at Turney were,
And the same kyng Iamy of Scotland streyght
Agaynst England his banner dyspleyght,
Vanquished the Scottes, &, w̄ your helpyng hād,
Slew there king Iamy, and brought him to England.

¶ Agayne

¶ Agayne in the. xv. yere of the same reygne,
Your selfe in proper personne, full courageous,
Set forth against ỹ Scottes, without dysdeygne,
Lyke a captayne valyaunt and venturous,
Wher ye brēt Iedworth, a toune right populous,
Wyth diuers victories that your grace then had,
Whiche made all Englande to reioyse & be glad.

¶ The yere folowyng also, as bookes testify,
The Scottes came, with an houge power
Of. lx. thousande men, vnder the duke of Albany,
Besiegyng Warke castel, thynkyng it to deuour;
But herying that your grace dyd approach ỹ hour,
The Scottes trembled, and so dyd theyr duke,
And cowardly fled, to their shame and rebuke.

¶ Sembleably by thys your last viage,
Nowe thys last October and Nouember,
Made into Scotlande, to their great damage,
It dooeth, as me semeth, ryght well appere,
That when pleaseth our king to send you thether,
Your house in hys ryght is appoynted by God
To bee to the Scottes a sharpe scourge and rod.

Wherfore thys chronycle of Ihon Hardyng,
I haue thought good to dedycate to your grace,
Because the same in euery maner of thyng
Doothe best set out the nature of that place,
With distaunce of tounes and euery myles space:
Besechyng your grace to take in good parte,
Myne honest labours and beneuolent harte.

THE

PREFACE

INTO THE

CHRONYCLE OF IOHN HARDYNG.

EMonges all wryters that haue put in vre
Their penne and style, thynges to endite,
None haue behynd theim left so greate treasure,
Ne to their posteritee haue dooen suche delite,
As thei whiche haue taken peines to write
Chronycles and actes of eche nacion,
And haue of thesame made true relacion.

¶ By Chronycles we knowe thynges auncient,
The succession of tymes, and menne,
The state of policies, with their regiment,
Howe long eche partie hath ruled, and when
And what were all their procedynges then.
Chronicles make reporte of matiers dooen
And passed many thousand yeres gooen.

¶ By Chronycles we knowe in eche countre,
What men haue been of prowesse marciall,
What persones chiefly in actiuitee,
When and betwene whom warres haue befall,
Either ciuile, or els externall;
Howe the same haue been conueighed & wrought,
Or els appeaced and to quiete brought.

¶ Chronicles

¶ Chronicles dooe recorde and testifye,
Euen from the worldes first beginninges,
And dooe kepe in continuall memorie,
The course and processe of all maner thinges;
The liues and maners of princes and kynges,
Aswell Gentiles as Iudaicall,
Aswell iuste and godly as tyrannicall.

¶ What persones to their prince and countree
Haue been louing, true and obedient,
And, at all times of necessitee,
Haue serued the same with good entent,
And constauntly therin haue their liues spent,
In Chronicles are regestred feithfully,
To their immortall honoure and glorye.

¶ Contrarye wise, who to their souerains,
Or to their countrees haue been wicked traitours,
Or, by collusion and crafty traines,
Haue rebelled against their gouernours,
Or the same to helpe haue been slacke proctours,
Are sembleably sette out by name,
To their endelesse infamy, reproche, and shame.

¶ These thinges, and others a thousande mo,
Wherby realmes haue decaied or growen,
Chaunged in processe, and altered to and fro,
Fruitefull and expedient to bee knowen,
Are in chronicles so plainly showen,
That thinges antique to vs bee as apparent,
As yf at their doinges we had been present.

¶ Wherfore Goddes worde and holy scripture,
Whiche abandoneth all maner vanitee,
Yet of Chronicles admitteth the lecture,
As a thing of greate fruite and vtilitee,
And as a lanterne to the posteritee,
For example what they ought to knowe,
What waies to refuse, and what to folowe.

¶ The bible bookes of Iudges and Kynges,
Althoughe moste full of high diuine misterie,
And farre surmounting all ethnike dooynges,

Yet

Yet yf they bee read and take literally,
Hath the fourme and course of a plain historie:
What kynges serued God, and who trangressed,
Whiche thereby prospered, or wer oppressed.

¶ The bookes of the kynges euery where,
Yf thinges seme touched ouer briefly,
To a larger storye dooeth vs referre,
Whiche were Chronicles of eche manne, truely
Sette out, at length, to our memorie.
Albeit those Chronicles (as it is euident)
Are loste, and dooe not remain at this present.

¶ The bookes inscribed Paralipomena,
A perfecte membre and piece of the Bible,
Is a summarye of the kynges of Iuda,
And therfore in Hebrue, it hath the title
And appellacion of a Chronicle.
The Machabees also, by my deming,
Is a plaine historye of holy writing.

¶ Whiche bookes, if they had neuer been set out,
It had been a greate maime to our knowlage,
A lamentable lacke, withouten doubte,
A greate cause of blindnesse to our age,
And to our faith inestimable damage:
But the spirite of God the authour was,
That those examples might bee our glasse.

¶ Chronicles, therefore, of true reporte,
Whether of Christian realmes or no,
Are matier of pleasaunce, fruite, and comforte,
And, for a thousande causes and mo,
Diligently to bee attended vnto:
Yea, and all maner writers of the same
Worthie laude, thanke, honoure, & immortal fame.

¶ Neither is any one to bee reiected,
That, in this behalfe, hath dooen his endeuoure;
For though some bee such as might bee corrected,
Yet those that haue therein bestowed laboure,
Haue minded to profyte vs to their power.

Neither any is so full but somwhere dooeth faile,
Nor any so bare but dooeth somthing auaile.

¶ And what an exceding benefite trowe ye
Is it for eche manne to have cognicion
Of all actes, bothe of his owne countree,
And also of euery forein nacion,
As yf he had liued when eche thing was dooen;
And to view the actes of antiquitee,
As though he did nowe presentlye theim see.

¶ Chroniclers, therfore, I can highly cōmende,
And, emonge others, this authour Ihon Harding;
Who, with all his power, tō this point did contēd,
To the vttermost extent of his learning,
That Englishe men might haue vnderstanding
Of all affaires touching their owne countree,
Euen to his dayes from olde antiquitee.

¶ And though his cōning were not so muche
As some others, nor his intelligence,
Yet his good minde, entent, and zele was suche,
That in hym lacked no pointe of diligence,
After suche bookes as he thought of credence,
Feithfully to describe suche thinges in rime,
As happened to Englande from tyme to tyme.

¶ But in thinges dooen before his owne dayes,
He foloweth his authours at auenture,
Without choice or difference of the true wayes,
Nor well assured who were corrupte or pure,
Nor whether they were certaine or elles vnsure;
Whether fabulous, or menne of veritee,
Whether vaine, or of good authoritee.

¶ But, what soeuer in his owne time was dooen,
That he reporteth with all fidelitee,
Right so as eche thing ended or begonne,
Withoute any spotte of insynceritee,
Or dissimulation of the veritee.
He founde all meanes the veray trueth to know,
And, what he knewe certainly, that did he shewe.

¶ From

¶ From the beginning of Henry ŷ fourth, kyng
Of this realme of Englande, after the conquest,
Euen to Edwarde the fourthes reigning,
Whiche was thre score yeres and one at the leste,
He leaueth nothing vnwriten at the largest,
That was, or semed to bee, of importaunce,
Touchyng peace and warre wyth Scotlande or Fraunce.

¶ Vnto the Scottes he coulde neuer bee frende,
Because he sawe theim, towardes England,
False from the begynnyng, to the last ende;
Neuer standyng to anye league ne bande,
Homage, fealtee, ne wryting of theyr hande.
Neuer so readie to make rebellyon,
As when thei promised moost subiection.

¶ That, if Ihon Hardyng bee a trew man,
And in this behalfe inspyred with prophecie,
Thei wyll neuer bee but as thei were than,
False to England, suttle, and craftie,
Entendyng myschiefe when thei shewe contrary.
Spoylers and robbers that amende wyll neuer,
Tyll our kyng shall haue made theim Englyshe for euer.

¶ Neither is there anye that euer wrote,
Which in matiers of Scotland could better skill,
Nor which, their falshoode and vntrueth to note,
Had more affection or better wyll,
Or better knew water, woodde, toune, vale & hyll.
Or was more feruente the Scottes to persue,
Who to England he knew woulde neuer be true.

¶ Neyther anye Chronicler that euer was,
Eyther dooth or can more largly declare,
Euen from Brutus, howe it came to passe
That kynges of Englande the soueraines are,
And ouer Scotlande oughte rule to beare.
Hymselfe is wytnes of their subiection,
And homage vnder Englandes protection.

¶ In other thinges the tymes were suche
That, though this werke haue some spice of blindnesse,
Yet is the authour not to be blamed much,

For Popyshe errour, that season, doubtlesse
Did all the worlde ouer go and oppresse.
Therfore such thinges we must in good part take,
And pardon that faulte for the tymes sake.

¶ Yet haue we thought best, the autour to set out
Euen in suche fourme as hymselfe dyd endite;
It wer an vnquod thyng yf we should go about
To alter and chaunge that olde men haue wryte.
Secondly, to vs it maye bee greate delyte,
The blindnesse of those tymes to consider,
From whiche hathe pleased God vs to delyuer.

¶ Fynally, the darkenesse of those dayes to see,
To the honoure of our kyng dooeth redound,
To whom, by Goddes helpe geuen, it hath bee,
All Popyshe trumperye for to confounde;
Which thyng al trew English hertes hath boūd
Incessauntly to praye for kyng Henrye ŷ eyghte,
Whose godly wisedome hath made all streyghte.

And for asmuch as Hardyng his boke doth ende
With Edward the fourth, whose seruaūt he was,
And to whome also this booke he dyd commende;
Consideryng also the tyme and space,
Beyng. lx. yeres and more, I coulde not let passe
So many goodly statutes and decrees,
Battayles, and stories not good to lese:

Wherfore I annexed theim by continuacion,
Begynning wyth Edwarde the fourth of ŷ name,
Then Edward the fyfth, kyng by generation,
Whom Richard the third, to his immortal shame,
Cruelly murdered; the story sayeth the same.
But plaged he was, to hys greate greuaunce,
With a shamefull death, as Goddes vengeaunce.

Then Henry the. vii. nexte doothe ensue,
Father vnto our moost dred soueraigne lorde;
And of Henry the. viii. some thyng that is true
I haue here set forth, as wryters dooe accorde,
Not in metre, but, obseruyng worde for worde
Myne authours, that wrote it all in prose,
Reportyng the truth without fraude or glose.

¶ Now,

¶ Now, right gentle reader, thy parte shalbe,
My good wyll and zele, my payne and labour
To entreprete, and take in good parte and gre ;
Geuing to the same suche good wordes of fauour,
As may enforce me, with all myne endeuour,
The settyng forth of mo werkes to take in hande,
To thy solace and honour of Englande.

THE PROHEME

Fol. 1.

OF

IOHN HARDYNGE

INTO THIS HIS

CHRONYCLE.

THe moste substaunce of power and of myght,
Through age distilled into debilitee
Of me ỳ am this time an aged wight,
And greate faute haue of habilitee,
This labour now shuld haue whold fro me,
But that my witte would haue some diligence,
My ghoost to kepe from synne and insolence.

¶ This werke is great, and lōge to bryng to fyne,
So doeth it euer fro tyme to tyme encrease,
And long hath dooen, afore Christ dyd enclyne
In Marie mother and mayden without lease,
To chronicle, so men haue theim put in prease;
Some in meetre, and some also in prose,
Some in Latyn, full wysely dyd it close.

¶ And some in Frenche they made, for intellecte
Of men that could no Latyn vnderstande,
More sufficiently endited and protecte,
By ferre, then I can it nowe take in hande:
And some in lynes two, theyr ryme ay bande:
But though my witte be not so curious,
As theirs, by ferre, to make it glorious,

¶ Yet

¶ Yet wyll I vse the symple witte I haue
To your pleasaunce and consolacion,
Moste noble lorde and prince, so God me saue,
That in chronycles hath delectacion.
Though it be farre aboue myne estimacion,
Into balade I wyll it nowe translate,
Ryght in this forme with all myne estymate.

My lorde of Yorke, vnto your sapience
I wyll remember a notabilyte
Of your elders rule and regymence,
That had this lande of olde prioryte,
Which ruled were, after their dignitee,
In vertue digne by roiall gouernaunce,
And in vyce rulyd and misgouernaunce.

By whiche knowledge your discrete sapience,
All vyce euermore destroye maye and reproue,
By vertuous and blessedfull dilygence,
And vertue loue, that maye not ought greue,
Howe ye shall rule your subiectes, while ye lyue,
In lawe, and peace, and all tranquyllite,
Whiche been the floures of all regalyte.

¶ Edward the thyrde that was king of this land
By ryght title and very iuste discent,
And kyng of Fraunce, as I can vnderstande,
By his mother quene Isabell the gent,
Sister and heyre of Charles by hole entent;
For Charles dyed without any chylde,
The ryght discent vnto his mother mylde.

Numeri. xxvii. Why shulde ȳ French forbarre you of your right,
Sith God of Heauen, in libro Numeri,
Gaue to Moises this lawe that nowe is lyght,
In the chapiter seuen and twenty,
By these wordes, the doughter ryghtfully
Salphaat. Of Salphaat aske the fathers heritage,
Geue them in possessyon amonge the cosynage.

Fol. ii. ¶ This kyng Edward, reignyng in his dayes,
In mercyall actes, tryumphe and victorie,
Aboue all princes famed was alwayes,

Fyue sonnes had ; the worlde out to crye
Ther wer no mo suche of one patrymonye:
Edwarde the prince and eldest sonne of age,
Who gat Richarde, that had the heritage:

¶ Leonell next borne after in Antwerpe,
In Brabant lande, that wedded vnto his wyfe
The erles doughter of Vlster, as men do karpe,
And begatte on her Philip, his doughter ryue,
(And also his heire,) whome he loued as his lyue;
Whome erle Edmonde of Marche the Mortimer,
Wedded to his wyfe, and begatte the erle Roger.

Edwarde the thyrd had fyue sonnes.
- Edwarde prince.
- Leonell.
- Iohn duke of Lancastre.
- Edmounde duke of Yorke.
- Thomas of Woodstocke duke of Gloucester.

¶ That erle was after of Marche & of Vlster,
With wylde Irishe that slayne wer in Irelande,
Who had a sonne erle Edmonde Mortymer,
That dyed without yssue I vnderstande;
To whom dame Anne his syster, vnto his land
Was veraye heyre, whō the erle of Cābridge wed,
And gatte of her your selfe as I haue red.

¶ Why should ye not then be her veraye heyre
Of all her lande, and eke of all her right,
Sith Iesu Christe, of Iude lande so feire,
By veray meane of his mother Mary bryght[1]
To be kyng claymed tytle and[2] right?
And so dyd name hym selfe kyng of Iewes:
So by your mother the right to you acrewes.

¶ After Lyonell that was duke of Clarence,
And of Vlster the erle was by his wyfe,
And of Italie, for his greate excellence,
Kyng should haue been without any stryfe
Of all Europe, without comparatyfe

[1] Light. [2] be.

The royall lande, and to his espousaile[1],
The dukes doughter of Melayn without faile.

Ihō duke of Lācaster, borū in Gaūt.

¶ Iohn borne in Gaunt, of Flaūders chief cytee,
The thyrde sonne was, of good[2] kyng Edwarde,
That wedded dame Blaunch, ful of feminytee,
Duke Henryes doughter, and heire afterwarde

Henry y^e fourth.

Of Lancastre, by lawe of kynde[3] and forwarde;
Who gat and bare the fourth kyng Henry,
That kyng Rycharde deposed wrongfully:

Henrye y^e fyfth.

¶ Who gatte Henry the fyfth, lyke[4] conqueroure
Of Normandy, and mykill parte of Fraunce,
That excelled bothe kyng and emperoure,
In marcyall actes by his gouernaunce;

Henrye y^e syxte.

Who gatte Henry the sixte at Gods pleasaunce,
Of suche symplenesse and disposicion
As menne maye se by his discrecion:

¶ For when Henry the fourth first was crouned,
Many a wyseman sayd then full commenly,
The third heyre shuld not ioyse, but be vncrouned,
And[5] deposed of all regalitee.

Fol. hi.

To this reason they dyd there wittes applye,
Of euill gotten good the third should not enioyse,
[Of longe agone it hath bene a commen voyse.][6]

¶ Howe the maker of this booke saieth his aduyse in briefe for the duke of Yorke.

¶ O my lorde of Yorke, God hath prouyde
In this for you, as men sayen commenly,
So that no slouth you from his grace deuyde,
But take it as he hath it sent manly,
And rule well nowe ye haue the remedye;
But neretheles let euery man haue the[7] right,
Both frende and foo, it may encrease your might.

¶ Treate well Percy, of Marchys lyne discended,
To helpe your right with might, and fortifye
By tender meanes, to [holde hym well][8] contented;

[1] Espouse. [2] this. [3] churche. [4] the. [5] and be. [6] As who saith thus, who right hath shall rejose. [7] his. [8] make theym.

Remembryng

Remembryng hym by wyttie[1] polycye,
Howe by processe of tyme and destenye,
Your right might all bene his, as nowe is yours:
Through Gods might, [make thē your][2] successours.

¶ Edmoūde was then the. iiii. sonne, at Langlay — Edmoūd duke of Yorke.
Borne, as knowen was well in the lande;
A noble prince after, as men might say[3],
At battayle of Orray ỳ fought sore with his hāde,
And[4] Iohn of Gaunt his brother, I vnderstande,
That[5] fought ful sore, for Ihō of Mountfort right,
Agayne Charles of Bloys a manly knight.

¶ This Edmoūde was after[6] duke of Yorke creat,
And had a sonne that Edward had to name,
Whom kyng Richarde made to be denominate,
In all his writtes exaltyng his[7] fame,
Kyng of Portyngale; his father yet at hame
Lyuyng in age I trawe of. lxxx. yere,
A fayre person, [as a man might se any where.][8]

¶ Thomas Woodstoke, the. v. sonne was in dede, — Thomas of Woodstoke, duke of Glouce-ster.
Duke of Gloucester that tyme made and create,
By kyng Richarde murdered, whom, for his mede
Kyng Henry quyt with death preordinate.
By Goddes dome and sentence approbate,
Who sleeth, so shall he be slayne, by his sentence,
Well more murder whiche asketh ay vengeaunce. — Mat. xxvii.

¶ Who laye afore Paris amoneth daye,
With hoste royall, without any batell;
Of all enemyes moste dred he was alwaye,
And Scottes moste hym dred without any fayle:
For as[9] they trowed, by theyr owne rehersaile
Of propheeyes, he shulde theyr lande conquere,
And make the[10] kyng to Englande homegere.

¶ Nowe haue I made vnto your owne[11] knowlege — Edward prince of Walys, the eldest sonne of kynge Edward the. iii.
A remembraunce of Edwardes sonnes fyue,
Your exampler, to geue you a corage,

[1] wytte and. *edit. alt.* [2] maketh heirs and. [3] see. [4] As. [5] Ther. [6] the. [7] so his.
[8] I sawe hym with yen clere. [9] aye. [10] their. [11] clere.

[So noble princes, I trowe, were none alyue]
After my wytte as I can[1] discryue:
The eldest sonne, whose lyfe[2] I haue lefte oute,
Who ſ in Fraunce & all landes was moste doute.

¶ Of the ryghte and tytles that my lorde of Yorke hath to Fraunce and Spayne, with Portingale, & other landes by yonde the sea; Ierusalem, and other landes.

¶ At batell of Poytiers tooke[3] kynge Iohn,
With greate honoure triumphe and vyctory,
Fol. iiii. By merciall actes, and verteous life aloone.
And in Spayne, as made is memorie,
The kyng Petro, by knightly victorie,
To his kyngdome he did restore again,
By his brother putte out with muche pain.

¶ The appoinctement bytwixt duke Iohn & duke Emund, who should bee kyng of Castle and Lyon; and what the maker of this booke sawe and red at Londō, to syr Robert Vmfrewill, then lorde Vmfrewill.

¶ This kyng Petro, to giue hym to his mede,
Had nothyng els but doughters twoo full faire,
Whiche he betooke to that prince in deede
For his wages, for cause thei where his heire,
With whome he did to Englande so repaire,
And Constaunce wedde vnto his brother Iohn;
Emund[4], his brother, the younger had anone:

¶ Dame Isabell, the younger hight by name.
Bytwene these brethren was appoinctment,
The first heire male whiche of the[5] sisters came
The kyng should been, and haue the regiment.
Duke of Yorke. To you, my lorde of Yorke, this dooeth appent,
For your vncle Edwarde was first heire male,
To whome your father was heire with out faile.

¶ So kyng of Spayne and also of Portyngall,
Ye should nowe bee, by lyne of bloodde discent,
By couenaunt also[6] and appoinctement whole[7],

[1] can it. [2] actes. [3] he toke. [4] Edmunde, *edit. alt.* [5] the two. [6] als. [7] all.

As I haue seen of it the muniment,
Vnder seale wryten in all entent
Whiche your vncle to my lorde Vmfrewill
At London shewed, whiche I red that while.

¶ For Spayne & Portyngale beare the renoume
And commen name, as I haue herde expressed,
Both to the realmes of Castyll and Lyon,
And so[1] the kynge of Spayne hath aye adressed
His royall style, in wrytyng well impressed,
Kyng of Castill, and also[2] of Lyon,
Accompted both so for his region.

¶ Nowe be ye knowe, of your title to Englande, The tytle of the kinges of Englande to Scotland and Ireland.
By consequens to Wales and Scotlande,
For they perteyne, as ye maye vnderstande,
Of auncient tyme, to the[3] crowne of Englande.
By papall bull, ye haue the right to Irelande,
Gascowe, Paitowe and Normandye,
Pountyf, Bebuile[4], Saunxie and Sauntignye,

¶ And all the lande beyonde the Charente ;
Of Dangolesme, Dangolismoys & Luyrezyne,
Of Caoure, Caourenō, Pyridor & Pirygūt coūtre,
Of Rodis, Ronegeauis, Dagō, Dagenoyse ŷ fine,
Tharbe, Wigor[5] & Gaure shoulde to you enclyne,
With all the fraunchyses and all soueraynte,
As hath[6] the kyng of Fraunce in his degre.

¶ Nō. that I, Ihon Hardyng, maker of this booke, delyuered to kyng Henrŷ the syxte, the copie of the treatie of this land, as kyng Edward the thyrd treated and had them after the battayll of Poytours.

¶ Calys [& Marke,][7] Colne, Hāmys; Oye & Wale,
Sandegate & Guysons[8], with all the whole coūtre,
With all the landes and townes betwene thē all,
With all[9] fraunchyses and royall soueraynte ;
All those of right be yours in propertie, *Fol. v.*
What by treate and what by veraye right,
As kyng Edwarde them had of mykyll might.

[1] So to. [2] and also. [3] your. [4] Beluyle. [5] Boigre. [6] hade. [7] Andewarpe. [8] Guynes. [9] all the.

¶ To

¶ To Ierusalem, I saye ye haue great right,
For erle Geffraye, that hight Plantagenet,
Of Aungeoy erle, a prince of passyng might,
The eldest sonne to Fouke and first begette,
Kyng of Ierusalem, by his wife dewly sette;
Whose sonne Geffray foresaide gatte on his wyfe
Henry the seconde, that knowen was full ryfe.

¶ Yet haue ye more fro Bawdewyn Paraliticus,
Kyng afterward, to thesame kyng Henry
The croune sente, and his banner precious,
As veraye heyre of whole auncestrie,
Descent of bloode by tytle lynyally
From Godfray Boleyn and[1] Robert Curthose,
That kynges were therof and[2] chose.

Godfraye Boleyn. Robert Curthose.

¶ He sente hym also the Sepulture[3] keyes,
Resygnyng wholly vnto hym all his ryght,
For to defende the lande from Sarizenes;
For he was sicke and had therto no might,
And all the lande destroyed was to sight
By the Soudyan, to great lamentacion
Of Goddes people, and all Christen nacion.

¶ He sente hym also the keyes of Dauids towre,
With Heraclye, that of Ierusalem
Was Patriarke and greatest of honour,
And with Templers, which brought [hym into][4] this realme,
[Besekyng hym ȳ he would thē susteine,][5]
Full humbly askyng supportacion,
For the cytiee and Christen consolacion.

¶ All these titles, the Chronicles can recorde[6],
If they be seen by good deliberacion;
Many of theim to these[7] full well accorde,
As I haue seen with greate delectacion,
By clerkes wrytten for our informacion.
As in olde feldes, cornes freshe and grene grewe,
So of olde bookes cōmeth our cunnyng newe.

Out of old bookes cōmeth newe knowledge.

¶ Of this I wyll nowe cease, and forth procede
To my mater, wher fyrst I beganne,

[1] And from. [2] electe and. [3] Sepulcre. [4] theym to. [5] of Engelonde so be his auncien name. [6] well. [7] chese.

To Chronicles of this lande, for worthihed
To remembre in balade as I can,
To that entent to please both God and man;
And eke to please good[1] femynitie,
Of my lady your wife dame Cecely;

The dukes wyfe named Cecely.

¶ That[2] in Latyn hath litell intellect
To vnderstande the great nobilytie
Of this ilke lande of[3] which she is electe,
Tyme commyng like to haue the soueraryntie,
Vnder your rule, as shulde feminitee,
Whiche if it maye please her ladyshippe,
My hert will reioyse of [her] inward gladshippe.

¶ For well I wote your great intelligence,
That in Latyn hath good inspeccion,
Will pleased bee of your hie sapience;
My lady that is vnder your proteccion,
Your heyre also maye rede at theyr eleccion;
Whiche, if it may please your[4] nobilitee,
Of my labour I would reioysed bee.

Fol. vi.

¶ Also[5] for your heyres and for your successours,
In tyme commyng, to haue a clere knowlege
How of this realme the noble gouernours
Haue kept[6], with helpe of baronage,
In victorye, tryumphe and surplusage;
Sith Brute it wanne in his prioritee,
It hath been kept in worthy[7] dignitee.

¶ But howe this ysle, enbrased with this[8] sea,
Vnedefied, was knowne first and founde,
That Albion was named, of propertee
Of dame Albione, that first therein had ground;
And after long, how Brute therof was crowned,
That of his owne name called it Brytayne,
And buylded it, wher all before was playne.

¶ The ende of the Proheme.

[1] The goode. [2] Whiche. [3] to. [4] their. [5] als. [6] kept it aye. [7] myghty. [8] the.

HERE BEGYNNETH

THE

CHRONYCLE

OF

IOHN HARDYNGE.

The firste Chapter.

¶ Of the. xxx. susters that first inhabited this lande & named it Albion, that nowe is Englande, Wales & Scotlande.

THe whyle that Troye was reignyng in his might,
In Greece there was a kynge right excellente,
That Dioclesiā some booke[1] sayeth he hight,
And of Surray that had the regimente.
Dame Albyne hight his wife, a lady gente,
Who doughters had. xxx. wedded to there degree,
To kynges all of greate nobilitee :

Kyng Dioclesyā and Albyne his wyfe.

¶ Whiche fell in pryde and hye elacion,
Thynkyng to be in no subieccion
Of husbandes more, ne dominacion,
But only, by a fell conieccion,
Toke hole purpose and full affeccion,
To kyll there lordes slepyng sodaynly,
Soueraynes to be, and [lyue all][2] seuerally.

[1] bookes. [2] reygne.

The. ij. Chapter.

¶ Note that wemen desyre of al thynges souerayntе, &, to my conceypt, more in this land then in any other; for they haue it of the nature of the saied susters.

THe youngest suster the mater all discured
To her husbande and to her father gent,
For whiche she was of al that dede assured,
But they were putte in exile by iudgement:
Fol. vii. So rightfull were the princes of there entente,
They iudged them to be put in the see,
In shyppe, to passe echeone fro there[1] countree,

¶ As fortune would, to make[2] there auenture;
This chronicle is not true. Which, by processe, with streames to and fro,
And tempestes greate, and sore disauenture,
Of sickenes great and mykell other wo:
And moste of all, they knewe not whether to go,
Tyll at laste they came vnto this ysle
That then was waste, as chronicles [do] compile.

¶ But I dare saye this chronicle is not trewe;
For in that ylke tyme, in Surraye was no kyng,
Ne afterwarde, to tyme that Saul grewe:
Saul was the fyrste kyng in the thyrde age. Ne no kyng was in Surray euer lyuyng,
That had that name; for Saule was ỹ first kyng
Of Surray realme, at the ende of the thyrde age,
In Samuels tyme, the prophete wyse and sage.

The. iij. Chapter.

¶ Note, that Hughe de Genesis, a Romayne historiographier, declareth in his chronicle all the kyngdomes of the worlde, and all the names of suche kynges as ruled in theim, from Noes floude vnto the byrthe of Christ. In whiche chronicle the foresayed Hughe writeth, that Danays, kyng of ỹ Grekes, had. l. doughters, and that Egistus his brother, kyng of Egypte, had as many sonnes, that maryed together, which doughters kylled theyr owne husbandes, and for that cause were banyshed; and saylyng on the sea, were dryuen vnto a certain ysle, which Albina, beyng the eldest suster

[1] hir. [2] take.

of

of theim, named, accordyng to her name, Albiō; and Brute after that called it, accordyng to his name, Brytayne.

NE, afore Brute, was in [no realme ý name,][1]
No kyng on liue, that hight ne called so;
But of Argiuos[2], the kyng of full hye fame
Had doughters fifty, whose name was Danao:
The kyng of Egipte, his brother Egisto,
Had soonnes also fifty, together wedde,
In chronicles of olde as I haue redde.

¶ Whiche doughters slew their husbandes ech one,
Long before Brute was of his mother bore:
So fynde I[3], by these women alone,
And by these soonnes, thus[4] slain before,
The chronicle trewe in their persones more
Then in the doughters of Dioclesian.
Were, in no lande, that tyme, so hight kyng none[5].

¶ So in the yere of Aioth iudge of Israell,
These ladies here landed full[6] weery and sore;
euenty and twoo[7], as Hugh dꝙeth tell,
Whiche was, I saie, an hundred[8] yere afore
That Brute came into this lande, and more
By fyue yeres trulye and well accompted,
Of yeres [ode][9] so muche more amounted.

¶ [Also in Surray][10] there was no kyng before
Kyng Alexaunder dedde[11] and expired;
For Seleucius was the first kyng thore,
By all chronicles that I haue enquired.
That chronicle should not bee desired,
Seyng that it is not trew ne autenticke,
By no chronicle vnto the trewth oughte[12] like.

¶ I dare well saie he sawe neuer Hugh Genesis,
Ne he redde neuer the chronicles of Surry,
Of Israell, Iude, ne of Egipciis,
Of Argiuos[13], of Athenes, ne[14] Thessaly,
Of Macedon, Cesile, ne of Assery,

This sheweth that our chronicle is false in the begynnyng.

Fol. viii.

[1] that reame no name. [2] Argiues. [3] I well. [4] thusgates. [5] kynges name. [6] full seke. [7] sixty and twelve. [8] two hundreth. [9] olde. *edit. alt.* [10] Als in Sirie. [11] died. [12] oure. [13] Argiues. [14] ne of.

Of Lacedemon, of Lyde, ne yet of Latyn,
Of Affrique, of Asis, ne yet of Babelyn,

¶ Of Perce, ne Meede, Italye, ne Albany,
Of kyng Alexaunder, (ne of his successors,
That afore tyme reigned dyuersly,
In dyuerse realmes, citees, castelles and toures,
Of Romany, ne of state[1] of emperours:)
For had he seene all these, and their stories,
Of Dioclesian he would make no memories.

The. iiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe these ladies had this Isle in the yere of Aioth. lxxii. in the third age of the world, and she called it Albion of hir name, and toke feauty & seruice of theim all, as souerayne ladie of this Isle, that nowe is Englande, Scotlande and Walis, as Hugh Genesis wryteth in his Dyaloge.

THese ladies so ay dwellyng in this Isle,
The yeres of Aioth seuenty & two[2] no lees,
Dame Albyne was, as mēne can compile,
The eldest sister, and thought she would encrees
Hir self aboue theim all: apon the dees
Sittyng, she tooke feauty then of theim all,
Trewe to hir to bee, for aught that might bee fall.

¶ And then she gaue this Isle a propre name,
Of Albion, out of hir name as chief,
And called it so, frome thens forward the same:
She ordained then bowes to their relief,
Arowes & boltes, and bowstrynges made in brief,
To slee the dere, the bull, and also the bore,
The beer and byrdes, that were therin before.

¶ With pitfalles great & trappes thei did begile
The beastes and byrdes to theyr sustenaunce;
They gatte eche daye with nettes, and other wile,
The fyshe in stagnes[3] and waters sufficiaunce:
Eche daye they made wyttye cheuesaunce,
To helpe them selfe at their necessitee
For hungre, that they shulde not perished bee.

[1] th'astate. [2] sixty and twelve. [3] stankes.

The

The. v. Chapter.

¶ Howe spyrites gatte giauntes vpō the ladies, which gatte other giaūtes within this lāde. Before Brute came were xii.M. giauntes, what in this lāde that nowe is Englāde, and the north that nowe is Scotland, and the west ẏ nowe is Wales, as the Scotte Marian saieth in his dialoge.

THese ladies, with meate & drynke replete,
And of nature reuigured corporally,
And all there care forgette and vnder fete,
Had great desyre to play them womanly,
As wemen yet wyll do, full louyngly;
For to fulfyll the werke of womanhed,
And bryng forth frute, the lande to rule and lede.

¶ So wer they tempted with inwarde meditaciō,
And vayne glorye within their hertes implyed,
To haue comforte of mennes consolacion,
And knewe nothyng howe of them to prouyde,
But inwardly theim[1] they glorifyed,
So hote, that spyrites, in mannes forme,
Laye by theim their desyres to performe[2].

¶ So duryng forth in suche lust and delyte
With nature of theim selfe and feminacion,
The spyrites gatte children ẏ were gyaūtes tyte,
[Of them through their owne ymaginacion][3],
By feruent hete, moued with temptacion; *Fol. ix.*
Thus gatte they then great giaūtes ful of might,
Within shorte tyme that were longe[4] and wight.

The. vi. Chapter.

¶ How the fathers laye by theyr doughters, the brethren by theyr systers, the sonnes by theyr mothers, and euery kynde with other, as Hugh Genesis reporteth in his chronicles.

THe fathers then by theyr doughters laye[5],
Mother ne syster agayne it not[6] replyed,
Of chylder fell[7] sonnes and doughters ay[8],

[1] in it. [2] refourme. [3] On thurough theire oune generacion. [4] both longe. [5] all. [6] noughte. [7] many. [8] over all.

They

They gatte eche daye and strongly[1] multiplied.
Of theim this ysle then was so fortifyed:
So stronge then was this[2] generacion,
None durst it noye for theyr malignacion.

¶ Amonge theim fell so great vnkyndnesse,
Accordynge ryght well to there [lyfe] inordinate,
That echone[3] of theim [dyd other][4] oppresse
That none of theim was lefte on lyue of [ŷ][5] estate,
Of. xii. thousande, within a lytell date;
Whose pryde fell afore the incarnacion
Twelue hundreth yere, by veraye computacion.

¶ But Bartholomew de proprietatibus rerum,
Sayth howe this ysle of Albion had name
Of the see bankes full whyte, all or sum,
That circuyte the ysle; as shyppes came,
Fro ferrome sene, as thei, through the see fame[6],
Sailed by & by, for rypes and roches whyte
To shipmen were greate gladnesse and delyte.

¶ But Maryan saieth[7], the [chronicler to sewe][8],
That[9] dame Albion was the first that named it so.
Both two myght be together [clere and trewe,][10]
That shippes so saylinge to and fro,
And at her coming they called it so both two:
And so both waies maye be right sure & trewe,
From whiche there wyll no chronycler [it renewe.][11]

¶ Of this nowe wyll I sease, and saye no more
Brutus. To time come efte ŷ Brute hath wonne this lande,
And slayne them all in batell foughten sore.
But nowe of Brutus ye shall well vnderstande,
Howe that he did in Greece and tooke on hande;
And of what bloude he cam by clere discente,
And howe in Greece he had greate regiment.

¶ And howe he gate this ysle by his prowesse,
And called it by name the ysle of Britayne;
And of his name, for theyr worthynesse,
He called his men Britaynes ay furth certayne

[1] stoutely. [2] theire. [3] eche. [4] slewe other and dide. [5] theire. [6] fome. [7] Scott.
[8] truest cronyclere [9] Saith. [10] true and clere. [11] renewe.

That

That Troyans were afore not to layne:
To whiche I praye the holy Trinyte,
That is one God in[1] personnes thre,

¶ Of helpe and spede to bryng this boke to ende, The oracyon of the authoure for yᵉ makyng of this booke.
For symple is my wytte of all scyence,
Of rethoryke as [yet neuer][2] I kende,
And symple am of all intellygence.
Yet wyll I not so hurte my conscyence,
On olde goddes to muse, or on to call,
That false were euer, and euer so wyll be fall:

¶ Of Saturnus, ne yet of Marcury, The names of false goddes.
Of Jubiter, of Mars, ne yet of Venus,
Of Pallas, ne of Mynerue, ne Megary, *Fol. x.*
Ne of Phebus, Ceres, ne of Geneus,
Of Cupyde, ne yet of Thisophonus,
Dyan, Bacchus, ne of Cerbery;
All these I wyll refuse nowe and defye.

¶ And to ŷ God [in heauen] I praye in magestie,
My wytte to enforce with might and sapience,
With langage suche as may ought pleasaunt be
To your pleasaunce and noble excellence;
For I am bare [and] naked of eloquence,
By insuffycience and all symplicyte,
To ende this booke as were necessyte.

The. vii. Chapiter.

¶ How Brute conquered Albyon & called it Britayne of his owne name, ŷ now is England, Walis and Scotland; and the armes of Brute in whiche he was clade fyrste when he entred this ysle, after Genesis the Italyane Chronycler, were of gowlys. ii. lions crowne of golde, rampant and combattaunt. The armis of Brute.

AS chronycles telleth & make notificacyō, Brutus.
Who so them wel shal know & vnderstand,
Of what kynne[1] blode and generacyon
Brutus firste came, that conquered all this lande,
It to remember I haue nowe take on hande,

[1] in verey. [2] never it. [3] kynn's.

Through

Through all olde stories by philosyphers cōpiled,
In balade thus it shall be made and fyled.

¶ As out of olde feldes newe corne groweth eche yere,
Of olde bokes, by clerkes newe approued,
Olde knyghtes actes w̄ mynstrelles tonge stere
The newe corage of yonge knightes to be moued :
Wherfore, me thinketh, old thinges shuld be loued,
Sith olde bokes[1] maketh young wittes wise,
Disposed well [with vertues][2] exercyse.

Oute of old bokes cōmeth new wisedome.

¶ At olde Adam therfore I wyll begyn,
Who was, I fynde, the first olde creatur,
Conueyng downe lynyally in kyn,
As discent[3] in byrth and in gendur[4],
Next vnto Brute, as mencion maketh[5] scriptur :
I shall reporte, as God wyll please[6] to lede,
My symple ghoost with language it to fede.

Adam.

¶ For well I wote, without his supportacion,
For [to reporte his veraye][7] gencalogie,
Howe he by discent in all generacion,
From Adam downe to Troyane auncetrye,
Gotten and borne certeyne in Italye :
Full herde it is, although I woulde full fayne,
So symple be my spyrites and my brayne.

The generacion of Brute.

¶ Of Adam whiche[8] was the fyrst creature,
Came Seth forsothe, and Seth gat Enos than,
And Enos gatte afterwarde full sure,
A sonne that hight and called was Canayn,
Who gatte Melaliel, as scripture tell can,
Who gatte Iareth, of whom Enoke came,
That Matusaly gatte of mykill fame.

Adam.
Seth.
Enos.
Canayn.
Melaliel.
Iareth.
Enoke.
Matusale.

¶ Matusale gatte Lameke, who Noe gatte,
And Noe Iaphet, who gatte Cichym than,
That Cipre gatte, after whom Cipres hatte,
Cipre gatte Crete, that the ysle of Crete began
[A famouse and a ryght notable man.][9]

Lamech.
Noe.
Iapheth.
Cichym.
Cipre.
Crete.

[1] cunnynge. [2] to vertuous. [3] They distente. [4] engendrure. [5] menciond hath. [6] deyne.
[7] well to reporte this. [8] so that. [9] Wheryn nowe duelleth many a man.

And Crete gatte a sonne hight[1] Cely,
Who gatte Saturne a wyse man and a wittye.

Fol. xl.
Cely.
Saturne.

¶ Of whome came then Iubiter of Frigy,
Whiche is Turky, wherin Troyes citee
In honoure stode, and in great victorye;
And Iubiter gate Dardanus no lee
That of Frigy, in greate felicitee,
So reygned kyng greatly magnifyed,
[And as a god amonge theim glorifyed:][2]

Iubiter.
Dardanus.

¶ Of whom came so his sonne Eritonus,
Who gatte a sonne that firste Troye edifyed,
That Troilus[3] hight, of whome came kyng Ilis,
That Ilyon made a palays of great pryde,
Whiche for passyng other was both long & wyde;
[Where Hercules slough kynge Lamadone,
And led awaye the royalles of the towne.][4]

Eritonus.
Troilus.
Ilis.
Ilyon.
Hercules.
Lamadone.

¶ Lamedone gatte the kyng Priamus,
Who made agayn his palays Ilion,
And Troies citee also[5] more glorious
Then they were before their[6] subuercion;
And royall[7] without peruercion,
In ioye and myrth they stode many a yere,
And Achilles with hym his brother dere.

Priamus.
Achilles was Priamusbrother.

The. viii. Chapiter.

¶ A shorte lamentaciō of the maker, for ý kyng Lamedō lost his life and his estate, that might haue stande in peace and suretie, for a litle succour of Iasone in his voiage.

O Lamedon of Troye, that bare the crowne,
What fortune[8] drone the to dooe Iasone vnkyndnesse,

[1] that hight. [2] *Omitted.* edit. alt. [3] Troyus.
[4] Royally wrought with stonys full precious,
And kynge of Troie stode longe full glorious.
This Ilus gote a sonne Lamedon,
Who kynge of Troie wase royall in that tide,
Whan that Iason at Troie first everyon
Caste doun Ilion the palys of grete pride,
And Troie destroied, that wase both longe and wide,
Where Hercules slewe kynge Leamedon,
And ledde awaie the royals of the town.
[5] als. [6] the. [7] royally. [8] infortune

Where he to paye was so readye and bowne,
For his vitayle? that came in by distresse
Of tempest greate standing in heuinesse;
Hym for to dryue oute of the[1] regyon,
And not refreshe hym at his requisicyon.

Lamedō shewed to Iason vnkindnesse.

Whiche was the cause after of thy heuynesse,
When he the slough and destroyed all thy cytee,
And caste downe all thy myght and great nobles[2],
With lytell thing that sauyd might haue bee;
O good lorde! why shoulde[3] thy royall dignytee
To straungers shewe[4] that cruell vnkyndnesse,
That to thy lande purposed no distresse?

Hector, Troilus, Dephebus, Helenus & Parys, came of Pryamus.

Of Priamus came Hector, and Troylus,
Dephebus, Helenus, and Parys,
Of royall bloude and dukes full glorious,
Of excellence and greatest of empryse,
Whiche were all slayne by fortunes exercyse:
All[5] the sege of Troye knyghtly in the[6] defence,
In mercyall actes as princes of excellence.

Greekes.

¶ The palays greate and the noble cytee,
By Grekes seeged longe and many a yere,
Was wonne at laste, and wast as men yet see;
This kyng & quene both two were slayne in feere,
Where Anchises and Eneas his sonne dere,
And Ascaneus the sonne of Eneas
Escapyd awaye, and on the sea dyd passe.

Anchyses, Eneas, Ascaneus.

The. ix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Eneas, exyled oute of Troye, came to Cecyle and to Affrike, to the cytee of Carthage, and fro thence to Italye, & there was made kynge of Tuskayne and of Latene.

Vol. xii.

ANd in Cicile they after did aryne,
Where Anchises dyed and was dispent;
Eneas and his sonne to the sea gan dryue
With shippes. xii. to Italy had they mente,
But wynde theim droue again there entent,

Eneas.

[1] thy. [2] noblenes. [3] shewed. [4] so. [5] at. *edit. alt.* MS. [6] their.

Into Affrique, where, for Eneas sake,
They welcome wer, and worthely vptake.

¶ Fro thence after he tooke the sea agayn,
And landed then in Italia,
In Tibre mouth with trauayll & with payne,
Where the towne and porte is of Hostia;
Where, by the god, he bidden was to ga
To helpe the kyng Euandre in his right, Euādre.
For after hym the god that land hym hight.

¶ To whom he went, as hym was prophecied,
And welcome was into Italie,
Of kyng Euandre greatest magnified,
For his wisedome, fame and cheualrye,
For his worshippe and for his auncetrye.
He gaue hym than [greate lordshippe][1] and riches,
And gold enough right of his worthynes.

¶ Kyng Euandre made warre on kyng Latene, Latene.
In whose defence Turnus kyng of Tuskayn Turnus.
Came with greate hoste of Tuskalayns [so fyne][2]
Agayn Euandre, wher Turnus then was slayn:
Eneas did that dede, and that derayn
With mighty strokes, courage, and cheualrous
He wanne the felde in batell fortunous.

Betwene Euandre so and the kyng Latene,
The peace he made, reste and concordaunce,
And kyng Latens his doughter, ý hight Labyne,
Wedded to his wyfe; by veray good accordaunce,
Betwene theim forth was no more discordaunce:
And Eneas kyng was made of Tuskayne,
Of whiche the kynge Euandre was full fayne.

¶ Sone after then dyed the kyng Latene,
Whose realme Eneas had also in peace;
In which he made a castell fayre and fyne,
Labynyon it hyght wythout leace,
His wyues name to worshyppe and encreace;
Of whome he gatte a soonne, and dyed afore
That he was brought into this worlde and bore.

[1] worshippe. *edit. alt.* [2] *Omitted.* edit. alt.

¶ This

¶ This worthy prince, kyng Eneas, mortally
Ended his lyfe, that was of hye prowesse,
Where, so God wyll, to reigne eternally
Within the house of fame; where, as I gesse,
Wer knightes fell of noble worthynesse,
That more desyred in armes to haue a fame,
Then be the best in dede and beare no name.

The. x. Chapiter.

¶ Of the house of fame, where knightes be rewarded, after the merites in armes, by Mars, the god of armes; some translate wich kyrcheues of pleasaunce & some with rynges and ouches. Their sepulture in the felde of pitee, by heuen gates, ẏ haue be veraye louers of theyr louers ladyes, and neuer payneles, but aye graceles.

Siluius. BVt than hys soonne Siluius Postumus,
Newe borne, so young and tendre of age,
Ascanius. Kyng of this lande was made, Ascanius,
His brother dere, that ruled his heritage,
And peaceably kepte out of all seruage,
Fol. xiii. Twenty wynter and eyght full mannely,
And gatte a soonne that called was Syluy.

Siluius y^e father of Brutus. ¶ Whiche Siluius gatte and generate
His soonne Brutus, on Crensa Labius nece,
All priuelie by hym de virginate,
And sore besought by his subtilitees,
And sumwhat of hir womanly petees,
That tendred hym of good femynete,
As womanhod would of all humilitee.

¶ Soo after sone the fate of death would soo,
That passe away muste nede Ascanius;
He gaue his brother Siluius Posthumus tho
His heritage and[1] riches plentuous;
The praise of Brute. But Brutus waxed[2] echedaye full beauteous,
And in mannehod, well more in all vertue,
Was none hym like in no place that mẽne knewe.

¶ Of. xv. yere, when he was commen[3] to age,
At huntyng, as he shotte at[4] a dere,

[1] of. [2] wexe. [3] com. [4] to.

He

He sleugh his father, vnto his greate damage. Howe Brutus slewe his father.
And at his birth, as saieth the chronicler,
His mother dyed, as wrytten is full clere,
Anone after as he was of hir bore;
For whiche. ii. causes his herte was[1] wonder sore.

¶ Seyng Iuly this fals fortunite,
The soroes greate in hym so multiplied,
That there for shame of his[2] fortunite,
In no wyse would [he no] lenger dwell ne byde;
But into Grece, his sorowes for to hide,
He went anone, where exiles wer of Troye,
Whose sorowes great he leched all with ioye.

¶ Sir Helenus was Priamus sonne of Troye, Helenus. Priamus. Auchises.
And Anchises an olde worthy knight,
And. vi.M. that of hym had great ioye,
Of gentilmen of[3] Troye exiled forth[4] right,
That[5] hym besought with instaūce day and night,
To helpe theim out of their great heped sorowe,
In whiche they lay oppressed euen and morowe:

¶ For whiche he wrote his letter[6] in that tide
To kyng Pandras, that[5] kyng was of that lande, Pandras.
Requiryng hym to let hym[7] passe and ride
Frely, where so they would withouten bande:
For whiche the kyng with power tooke on hande,
To siege Brutus within his castell fayre,
To whom Troyans strongly gan[8] repayre,

¶ To Brutus so to helpe theim[9] at there might, Brutus. Anacletus.
Who then anone sent forth[10] Anacletus,
His prysoner, whom he had taken ryght,
Vnto the hoste, to tell theim how Antigonus Antigonus.
Laye in the wood, stollen awaye fro[10] Brutus,
Who went to theim that next the wood then laye,
And bad theim come and rescowe hym or daye.

¶ Whiche warde so brake & to ỹ wood can ryde,
Brutus with that, with all his hole power,
There brake in and would no longer[11] abyde,

[1] wexe. [2] that. [3] from. [4] for. *edit. alt.* [5] which. [6] letters. [7] theym.
[8] gan to. [9] hym. [10] for. *edit. alt.* [11] no thynge.

But

But slough the Grekes, and tooke the kyng infer[1]:
But than, as saith the veray chronicler,
No lenger wolde he there abyde ne dwell.
But furthermore, as chronicler doeth tell,

Fol. xiiii. Pandras.

¶ With kyng Pandras he made his appointement,
Hym to deliuer, on[2] this condicion,
To wedde his doughter by will and assent,
Dame Innogen; and shippis of his region,
With vitaile and riches to wynne[3] lande & towne;
For there he woulde no longer make soiourne,
But with Troyans to their lande[4] attourne.

The pillers y[t] Hercules made of brasse.

¶ All this[5] promysses[6] and whole apointement
Fulfilled and spede, Brute with his wife
So sailed furth, thorowe the Grekish oryent[7],
To Marytayne, and twoo[8] pillers ganne he driue,
That[9] Hercules also with busy liue;
To tyme he[10] came to[11] an olde citee,
No creature therin that tyme[12] coulde see,

Diane the goddas.

¶ But a[13] goddas menne called[14] Diane,
That[15] coulde declare and expounde destynie.
To whome Brute[16] anone went vp alone[17],
And laye afore hir there full deuoutely,
With candell brennyng and [with] ceremonie;
Besekyng hir of succour and[18] grace,
Where that he might hir worship in sum place,

¶ With his Troyanes, therin for to abyde
And inherite: to whome then saied Dyane,
By yonde all Gualle[19], an Isle full long and wide
Enclosed whole within [the] occiane,
With giauntes kepte, his destyned the alaan,
And thy Troyanes to haue and enhabite,
Therin to dwell, for euermore and[20] enheret.

¶ So sailyng furth by Columpnes[21] of Hercules,
Whiche been of brasse, by Hercules their sette,
For when he came into the sea no lees

[1] in fere. [2] upon. [3] wyn hym. [4] other londes. [5] these. *edit. alt.* [6] premys. [7] se went. [8] to the. [9] of. [10] they. [11] unto. [12] men. [13] oone. [14] callede hir. [15] which. [16] Brutus. [17] al bane. [18] and of. [19] Gallie. [20] to. [21] Pillers.

Of

Of Spayne, wher that his meny Troianes mette
Of their lynage, as it was[1] to their dette,
Thei came with hym echeone by one accorde,
Corneus their capitain was and lorde. Corneus capitain of y^{e} Troyãs.

The xi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Brute came frome Grece into Albion, and named it Britaine; and howe he arryued at Totnesse, in Deuinshire.

HE sailed so fourth by [the sea][2] Aquitaine,
Where $\thorn$ he arriued[3] $\thorn$ nowe is Guyã lãde,
And sleugh the buckes, of whiche thei wer full faine,
The bere & the bore and hartes all that thei fande,
With out licence or yet any warand:
Wherfore, Guffor, kyng of the[4] lande, full fell
With Troyanes faught; but Goryne[5] [their] bare $\thorn$ bell. Goryne.

¶ Brute tooke shippe and arriued[6] in Albion,
Where Diane saied should been his habitacion,
And when he came the coastes of it vpon,
He was full glad and made greate exultacion,
Reioysed highly of his fortunacion:
In armes of Troye, couered and well[7] araid,
Of whiche Troyanes wer[8] full well apaid.

He bare of goulis, twoo liones of [9] golde, The armes of Brute.
Countre rampant, with golde onely crouned,
Whiche kynges of Troie inbataill bare ful bolde,
To whiche frõ Troye was distroyed & confoũded,
Their children slain, the next heire was he founde.
And in tho armes this Isle he did conquere,
As Marian saieth, the veray chronicler. *Fol. xv.* Maryan chronicler.

¶ At Totnesse so this Brutus[10] did arriue,
Corneus[11] also'[12], and all their coumpaignie; Corneus.
The giauntes also'[13] he sleugh'[14] doune beeliue'[15]
Through all the lande in battaile mannely:
And left no moo but Gogmagog onely Gogmageg.
In all this Isle, so had he theim destroyed,
Whom in prisone he kepte and anoyed.

[1] was so. [2] see to. [3] reste. [4] that. [5] Coryne. [6] rofe. [7] hole. [8] wer all. [9] all of. [10] Brute. [11] Coryneus. [12] als. [13] all. [14] slewe theym. [15] blyue.

The.

The. xii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Corneus wrastilled with Gogmagog, the giaunt of the Isle, and sleugh hym.

BVt for he would knowe all his resistens,
What he might dooe more then Corneus[1],
He made theim bothe dooe their sufficiēce
In all wrastleyng, whiche was moost rigorous[2],
And to defende or sawte moost[3] curious.
On the sea banke, afore Brutus[4] thei mette,
Where, by accorde, the daye and place was sette.

¶ This Gogmagog so thrafte[5] Corneus[1],
That rybbes three were broken in his side;
Corneus[1] then of might full laborous,
Thought he would [sone] reuenge[6] that tide,
With that he stode and sette his leggues wyde,
And gatte hym vp betwene his armes faste,
And ouer the roche into the sea hym caste.

¶ Whiche place hight yet Gogmagoges sawte,
By cause he leped their frome Corneus[1],
All if it wer nothyng in his defaute,
Coryn. But by the might of Coryn full vigorous,
Who was alway in bataill fortunous:
For whiche Brutus[4] had hym in greate deynte,
And gaue hym aye worship and dignite.

¶ This Brutus[4] thus was kyng in regalite,
This Isle Briteyne. And, after his name, he called this Isle Briteyn,
And all his menne, by that same egalite,
He called Briteynes, as chroniclers all saine,
Of whiche thei all were full[7] glad and faine:
Corneus. To Corneus[1] he gaue to his availe
The duchie whole, and lande of[8] Cornwayle.

The. xiii. Chapiter.

London. ¶ Howe he buylded the citee of Troynouaunt, that nowe is called London.

[1] Corynеus. [2] vigorous. [3] more. [4] Brute. [5] thraste. [6] revenge it. [7] than full. [8] of all.

So

SO was the name of this ilke Albyon
All sette on side in kalandes of achaunge,
And putte awaye with greate confusion,
And Briteyn hight so furth by newe eschaunge, Briteyne.
After Brutus, that slewe these giauntes straūge.
And wanne this Isle, by his magnyficence,
In whiche he dwelled long tyme in excellence.

¶ The citee greate, of Troynouaunt so faire,
He buylded then on Thamis[1] for [his] delite,
[Vnto the north,] for his dwellyng & for his moost repeier;
Whiche is to saie, in our lāguage perfect,
Newe Troye, in bookes as I canne nowe endicte:
And Nouell Troye, in Frenche incomperable,
[Of Breteyne, a][2] citee moost profytable.

¶ This Briteyne is in length eyght. C. myle, *Fol. xvi.*
Fro Monsehole[3], that is in Cornewayle, right The lēgth and bredth of ye Isle of Bryteyne.
Vnto the northend of Catenes, to compile:
And also[4] in bredeth[5], frome Sainct Dauid ỳ hight
To Yarmoth, that in Norffolke is by sight,
Twoo hundred myle accoumpted well[6] and clene,
As autours saie, this Isle dooeth whole contein.

The. xiiij. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Brute sette his lawes & peace of Troye in this Isle, without whiche a kyng is no better then his subiecte or his leege manne.

IN which through out his peace & lawe he set,
Whiche been ỳ floures of all regalite;
With out[7] whiche, but if thei twoo bee met,
There maie no prince holde principalite,
Ne endure long in worthy dignite:
For if those twoo bee nought vp holden, than
What is a kyng more worth then his liege māne?

¶ This kyng Brute[8] kepte well this Isle in peace.
And sette his lawes of Troye with ordre[9] rites
And consuetudes, that might the lande encreace,

[1] Themys side. [2] Of all Britayn. [3] Mous hool. [4] als. [5] brede. [6] hole. [7] outen. [8] Brutus. [9] other.

Suche as in Troye he knew was most profittes[1]
Vnto the folke and the[2] common profettes.
He made theim[3] wryten, for long rememory,
To rule the[4] Isle by theim perpetually.

¶ His menne he did rewarde full royally
With landes and rentes, ẏ with hym suffred pain;
And Troynouaunt he made full specially
An archflaume[5] his sea cathedrall certain,
A temple therof Apolyne to opteyne
By Troyane lawe, of all suche dignite,
As[6] archbyshop hath nowe in his degree.

The. xv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Brute departed Britaine in thre partes to his thre sonnes, the two yonger to holde of the elder; so that Wales and Scotlande shulde do homage to Englande, by hys ordynaunce, by the lawe of Troye.

Howe Brutus deuided this ysle.

THis kyng Brutus this ysle deuided in. iii
A lytell afore out of this ysle[7] he dyed:
To his thre sonnes ẏ were full faire to se
After his dayes to ioyse he signifyed,
And when he had the Isle all tripertyed,
He called the chyefe Logres[8] after Locryne,
That doth extende fro Monsehole[9] to Hũber fine.

Thre sonnes of Brute.

¶ Fro Humbar North vnto[10] the Northwest sea
Of all Britaine, which he called Albanye,
For Albanacte the kyng therof to be,
His second sonne, that was both good and manly,
To holde it of Locryne perpetually,
And of his heyres, by homage and feaute,
As to chiefe lorde longeth the suffraintie.

Locryne, Cambir, Albanacte.

¶ And fro the water of Waage right in ẏ Southe,
And Strigell castell to Seuerne all by and by,
And so to Dee at Chester, as [it] is full couth,
Ryght in the North, Cambre he called for thy
For Cambre[11] shulde it haue all plenerly;

[1] parfites. [2] to. [3] be. [4] this. *edit. alt.* [5] archeflamyne. [6] As an. [7] worlde. [8] Loegers. [9] Mous hoole. [10] so to. [11] Camberte.

And

And on' Locryne it should euer be homage,
And of his heyres euermore in herytage.

The. xvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe, by lawe Troyane, the soueraryntie belongeth to the eldest brother or syster.

AS, after the lawes of Troye, ŷ soueraintie, *Fol. xvii.*
And all resorte of ryght doth apertayne
To the eldest brother in propertie,
The eldest syster ryghte, so by ryght shulde bene
Souerayne lady, and ouer thiem all quene[2],
By equytie of that ylke lawe and ryghte,
In place where it is holden lawe perfyghte.

¶ This kyng Brutus made people faste to tylle — Brutus ordered yᵉ people to sowe corne.
The lande aboute, in places[3] both farre and nere,
And sowe with sede, and get theim corne full wele
To lyue vpon, and haue the[4] sustynaunce clere.
[And so in feldes both farre and nere][5];
[By his][6] wysdome and his[7] sapience,
He sette the lande in all suffycience.

And as the fate of death doth[8] assygne
That nedes he muste his ghoost awaye relees,
To his goddas Dyane he dyd resygne
His corps to be buryed withouten lees,
In the temple of Apolyne; to encreace[9]
His soule amonge the goddes euerychone,
After his merytes trononized[10] highe in trone.

Fro beginnyng[11] of the worlde, to Brutus
Into this isle entred fyrste at Totnesse,
Foure thousande yere. lxxx. and. iiii. were thus,
As the chronycles therof beareth witnesse;
And after[12] the incarnacion, [to] expresse,
A thousande hole, a hundreth and fyftene;
And of Hely Iudge in Iury[13] was eyghtene.

[1] of. [2] the quene. [3] place. [4] theire. [5] And his people he severde here and there.
[6] Thus by. [7] his high. [8] it dide. [9] meres. [10] intronozed.
[11] the begynnynge. [12] afore. [13] Iude.

In the thyrde age he came into this ysle,
And in the yere as it is afore expressed;
But howe longe ẏ he reygned, or shorte whyle,
Walter of Oxforde hath confessed,
Foure and twenty yere, as he hath inpressed;
And other sayne he reigned thre and fourty yere;
But Marian saith thre score he reygned here:

¶ Whiche is moste lyke to be verifyed,
By all his workes and greate operacions,
Whiche in shorte tyme myght not been edifyed,
Ne performed[1] with shorte occupacyons,
But in longe tyme by good consyderacyons:
Rather it is lyke he reigned thre score yere,
By his greate workes and beginninges[2] ẏ appere.

The. xvii. Chapiter.

¶ Kyng Locryne, the souerayne lorde of all Britayne, had Logres to his parte, to whom his. ii. brethren dyd homage for Albyne[3] and for Cambyr.

THis[4] eldest sōne was king ẏ hight Locrine,
Of all Britayne hauing ẏ souerante,
Hauing Logres as Brute dyd determine,
To whome Cambre, and Albanacte the free,
Obeying both vnto his royalte,
There[5] homage made as to ẏ lorde souerayne,
Locryne. And emperoure of that lande[6] of Britayne.

¶ There[5] homage made and to Cambre went,
Albanactus then rode to Albyne[3],
And reigned so [by lyfe in][7] one assente,
Eche [one] other to helpe and fortifye,
Fol. xviii. [And thus in peace holding their regalite][8];
But as they satte [so] beste in peace and reste,
Kyng Humbar arose[9] in Albyne[10] full preste.

The. xviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Humbar slewe Albanactus, wherfore Locryne and Cambre

[1] perfournyshed. [2] beeldynges. [3] Albeny. *edit. alt.* Albanye. MS. [4] His. [5] Theire. [6] the Ile.
[7] in lone by. [8] As bretherne shuld of theire fraternytie. [9] rofe. [10] Albanye.

gathered

gathered a great power and disconfyted king Humbar, & ceased Albany, by excheter vnto Logres againe for defaute of an heyre.

IN the ryuer that called is Humbar nowe,
Where Albanactus anon did ẇ hym fyght,
And in batel stroke[1] Humbar on the browe,
And felde hym were he neuer so wight;
But Humbar arose agayne ẇ all his myght,
And in that stoure[2] was Albanacte slayne,
Kyng Humbar had the felde ẇ mikyll payne.

* The death of Albanact.

¶ King Locryne then & Cambre[3], elles his brother,
With hoostes great vpon king Humbar faughte,
That of Humbarlande[4] was king, ẇ many other,
In Albany that mikyll[5] sorowe wrought,
And with hym met where [he before had fought][6];
Where sore for[7] fyght he fledde to the ryuer,
And there[8] was drowned in[9] that water clere.

The ryuer of Humbar wherof it tooke y^e name.

¶ A greate parte of his hooste was drowned also,
As they dyd flee in that water[10] clere,
And many slayne that myght no[11] further go,
And many other taken for prysonere.
Locryne the felde had, and his brother dere,
And to the shyppes where they had all rychesse,
Theyr men to helpe that suffred there distresse.

¶ All Albayne into his hande he seased,
And helde hole to Logres ioyned then agayne
As it was firste, and[12] that lande well pleased,
Of the resorte the people were full fayne:
But in the shyppes, [a lytell from][13] Almayne,
He fande the kynges daughter of Germanye,
Dame Estrylde that was full womanly.

¶ Whome for his wyfe he helde at his plesaunce,
For whiche the duke Corneus[14] was[15] wroth;
But frendes then by noble gouernaunce,
The playne trouth to saye in soth,
Made hym to wed, all [yf it][16] were full loth,

[1] smote. [2] houre. *edit. alt.* [3] Camberle. [4] londe. [5] right muche. [6] before had sought. [7] for sore. [8] theryn. [9] withyn. [10] rivere. [11] not. [12] and all. [13] a lade of. [14] Coryne. [15] was full. [16] he.

The

The doughter so of [Duke Corneus][1],
With all frendshyppe they were accorded thus:

¶ Dame Gwendolyne ẏ hight by proper name,
Of whome he gate a sonne [ẏ hight][2] Maddan.
And, in [the] meane whyle, in preuy[3] wyse at hame,
He helde Estrylde as his loue and leman,
Therof his wife vnwetyng, or any other man;
And of[4] her gate a doughter full femynyne,
That Sabren hyght, as chronycles [do deuyne.][5]

¶ In this meane tyme Corneus[6] so dyed,
To whome the quene Gwendolyne was heire;
Whome kyng Locryne forsoke and replyed,
And Estrylde weddid againe ẏ was full fayre:
But Gwendolyn to Cornewayle dyd repayre,
With her power, and faught ẅ kyng Locrine,
Where he was slayne and had none other fyne.

How Locryn was slaine in battayle by hys wyfe Gwendolyne.

¶ She drowned Estrilde and her doughter dere,
In a ryuer whiche that tyme had no name,
But fro thens forth for Sauer[7] farre and nere;
[That ryuer that was plentuous of name,]
Was called then Seuerne ẏ hath greate fame:
Thus Seuerne firste had name in propertee,
Of that lady that[8] drowned [was] in specyaltee.

Fol. xix.

The ryuer of Seuerne, wherof it tooke the name.

The. xix. Chapiter.

Guendolena. ¶ Gwendolena, quene of Britaine, had Logres and Albayne[9] in peace and reste. xv. yere.

GWendolyne, so after fro kyng Locryne
Had reigned hole. x. yere, and was slayne,
The quene was of[10] all Logres lādes so fine,
[And] of [all] Albanie also through out, [in]certayne,
[Crowned quene, and so reigned with mayne,]
And seruyce tooke of Cambre[11] for his lande.
Who gouerned well her tyme, I vnderstande,

[1] Coryneus. [2] called. [3] secrete. [4] on. [5] defyne. [6] the duke Coryne. [7] Sabren. [8] there. [9] Albany. *edit. alt.* [10] so of. [11] Camberte.

¶ Fyftene

¶ Fyftene[1] yere, and then her sonne she crowned,
That Maddan hyght; & into Cornewaile went,
And then[2] she dyed with sycknesse sore confounded[3],
And to her goddes her wofull [herte she][4] sent.
[And thus this quene, in her beste entente,]
To set amonge the goddesse euerychone,
Euer to complayne her wedowhed alone.

The. xx. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Maddan kynge of Britayne reygned after Gwendolena his mother, and reygned. xl. yeres.

MAddan her sōne was king of Britain then,
Hauyng Logres, and also Albany,
[That fourty yere there reygned as a man,]
Kepyng the lande in peace from tyrannye:
In whose tyme was none in his monarchye
Durste ought vary, or any thing displease,
So was he dred, and set the realme in ease.

Maddā kyng of Brytain that is Englād & Scotlande.

Throughe all Britayne durste none another dysplese,
So wel the lawe and peace he dyd conserue,
That euery man was gladde other to please;
So dred they hym, they durst no thing ouer terue
Againe his lawe nor[5] peace, but theim conserue[6].
So was he dred through his great sapience,
Both in and oute, by all intellygence.

¶ He dyed so, and to his father yede.
His sonnes two, Maulyne and eke Memprise,
A daye then sette, whiche of theim shoulde precede
To the croune, but then by couetyse;
And[7] that ylke daye the yonger[8], Memprise,
Slewe his brother Maulyne, elder of age,
To that entent to haue the[9] herytage.

Howe y^e^ one brother slew thother to be kynge.

Memprise thus[10] kyng, destroied his men all oute,
Their landes, their[11] goddes, or elles their liues certayne,
He tooke from theim all his lande aboute,

Mēpryse kyng of Britaine.

[1] But fiftene. [2] ther. [3] confound. [4] goste furth. [5] and. [6] obserue. [7] At. [8] yonger brother. [9] the hole. [10] this. [11] and.

Fulfylled all with[1] pryde and great disdayne,
His comonnes all with taxes did[2] distrayne,
So tirauntely, he lefte theim nought to spende,
By consequent thrifteles he was at ende.

The wretched end of Mempryse.

His wyfe he dyd refuse and foule forsake,
Vsynge the synne of horribilyte
With beastes ofte, in stede right of his make;
Whiche, by all ryght and[3] equytee,
Vengeaunce asked by fell bestialitee.
And so hym fell, as to the wood he wente,
A route of wolffes hym slough and all to rent.

Fol. xx.

The. xxi. Chapiter.

¶ Ebranke, kyng of Britayne, had Logres and Albany. Also he had. xx. wyues, xx. sonnes and. xxx. doughters. He made Yorke, Bamburgh, Edenburgh, Dumbritayne and Alclude. Also he made an archeflaume at Yorke, & his temple, that nowe is an archebishoppe.

Ebranke reygned xl. yeres.

EBranke his sōne thē crowned was anone,
Who shippes great made on ẏ sea to sayle,
Withhelde[4] his knightes ẇ hym so forthe to gone,
Vpon warre he went without[5] fayle;
Then into Gaule with a full manly tayle,
Wher that he had riches innumerable,
To holde estate royall incomparable.

¶ XX. wyues he had, [as chronicles saith][6],
And xx. sonnes of his owne generacion,
And doughters fayre. xxx. that wer not laith[7],
Whiche doughters so, for theyr releuacion,
Into Italie with great supportacion,
There to be wedded[8] in Troyan bloodde & maried,
For ladies theyr with Troyans wer[9] alyed.

The Castell of Dūbrytayne in Scotlād.

¶ In Albany he made and edifyed
The castell of Alclude, whiche Dumbritayne,
And some autours by chronycle hath[10] applied,
And some sayen on the pight[11] wall certayne;

[1] of. [2] he did. [3] and by all. [4] Which helde. *edit. alt.* [5] withouten. [6] the Cronycle is soth. [7] loth. [8] wedde. [9] were all. [10] haue. [11] Pict.

At the West ende it stode that nowe is playne,
And some menne sayen it is Yorke cytee:
Thus stande menne nowe in ambyguytee.

¶ But, sooth it is, he made this Dunbrytayne,
A castell stronge that standeth in Albany,
Vpon a roche of stone, hard to optayne;
About the whiche the sea floweth dayly,
And refloweth again nocturnally,
Twyse in his course and to the sea again,
In [the whiche][1] no horsse maye dunge certain.

¶ He made also the mayden castell stronge,
That men now calleth [the] castell of Edenburgh, The castel of Edinburgh.
That on a roche standeth, full hye out of throng,
On mounte Agwet[2], wher mē may see out through
Full many a towne, castell, and boroughe.
[In] the shire aboute, it is so hye [in sight][3],
Who wyll it scale, he shall not fynde it light.

¶ He made also, vpon[4] mounte Dolorous,
A castell strong that this daye Bamburgh hight, The castell of Bamburgh.
That on a roche[5] is sette full hye and noyous,
Full hard to gette by any mannes might:
The castell is so stronge and so well dight,
If menne therin haue stufe sufficient,
Or it be wonne, many one muste bee shent.

¶ His sonnes all he sent to Germanye,
To wynne thesame[6] lande by labour and conquest,
Vnder the rule of their brother Analye[7].
Duke Assarake that was the eldest,
[A worthy knight proued with the best][8],
All Germanye they gatte at theyr entent, *Fol. xxi.*
And lordes wer made their as there father ment.

¶ Sixty yere whole he stoode and bare ŷ crowne,
Reignyng fully in all prosperytee;
No enemyes durst again hym vp ne downe
Warre[9], ne do [in] no wyse again his royaltee.

[1] whiche castell. [2] Agrewat. [3] on lught. [4] on. [5] crag. [6] theym. [7] oonlye.
[8] Outetake Brute Greneshelde the eldeste trulye. [9] verrie.

* That is Yorke.

He made a temple in * Ebranke citee,
Of Dyane, where an archeflame he sette,
To rule temples as that tyme was his[1] dette.

The. xxii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe, after the death of Ebranke, reygned Brutus Greneshilde.

BRutus Greneshilde then by his name full ryght,
Both good & trewe, and easy of all porte,
His people all, that came into his syght,
With all his might, euermore, he recomforte
Of all there sorowe[2] that they to hym reporte.
And why he hight Greneshilde to his surname,
Because he bare on grene ay wher he became.

Brutus Greneshilde reigned. xii. yeres.

¶ Xii. yere he stoode reignyng full well in peace,
And dyed so, and by his father buryed
In Ebranke afore Dyane no lees,
With Britons hole thyther accompanyed,
With all honours that might bee multiplyed
In any wyse, with all seruyse funerall,
As longed to the fate of death ouer all.

The. xxiii. Chapiter.

¶ Leyle, kyng of Brytayn, had Logres & Brytayne. He made at Carlele a temple flamyne, and a flaume to rule it.

Leyle, kyng of Britain, reygned. xxv. yeres.

THē Leyle his sōne was kyng of Britain so,
That Carleele made that tyme in Albany,
That now Carleile is called by[3] frend & fo,
Whiche in Englyshe is to say fynally,
The cytie of Leyle; for in Brytayn tongue playnly,
Cair is to saye a citee, in theyr languaye,
As yet in Wales is there commen vsage.

The cytee of Carleile by whō it was buylded.

¶ This ilke[4] kyng Leyle made then in that citee
A temple greate, called a temple flaumyne,
In whiche he sette a flaume in[5] propertee,

[1] it. [2] sore. [3] with. [4] same. [5] of.

To

To gouerne it by their lawes dyuyne,
Of Iupiter, Saturne and Appolyne,
That then wer of all suche [in] dignitee,
After theyr lawes, as nowe our byshoppes bee.

¶ When he had reigned hole. xx. yere and fyue,
In youth full well, [and kepte][1] lawe and peace,
But in his age his people beganne to stryue,
Failyng his lawes, cyties wold not warre cease,
Cyuill warres greately beganne to encreace;
[And] he dyed then, settyng no remedy,
Buried at Carleyle [in] his citee royally.

The. xxiiij. Chapiter.

¶ Rudhudebras, kyng of Brytayne, had Logres and Albany. He made Caunterbury, Wynchester, and Shaftesbury, and three temples, and three flaumes of theim.

Rudhudebras kynge reygned xxxix. yere.

RVdhudebras his sonne was kyng anone,
Cair kent he made, ý now is Cāterbury;
Cair went, also, [& buylded][2] of lyme & stone,
That Wynchester is nowe, a towne full mery;
Caire Paladoure, that nowe is Shaftesbury, *Fol. xxij.*
Where an Engel[3] spake, syttyng on the wall,
Whyle it was in workyng ouer all.

¶ In whiche citees he made [then] temples three,
And flaumes also, as nowe these bishoppes been,
To kepe the rites after their moralytee
Of there goddes, as in there bookes was[4] seen,
[Of their fals lawes as thei dyd meen.][5]
When he had reigned by thyrtye yere and nyne,
The dulful death made hym to earth enclyne.

The. xxv. Chapiter.

¶ Bladud, kynge of Britayne, had Logres and Albany. He made an vniuersitee and a study at Stamforde, & a flaume and his temple at Bathe his citee, whiche vniuersitee dured to the commyng of saynt Augustyne;

[1] had kepte both. [2] he beelde. [3] Angell. *edit. alt.* Egle. MS. though it than were vnclene. [4] were. [5] In theyr beleue

and the byshoppe of Roome enterdited it for heresyes that fell emong the Saxones and the Britons together mixte.

Bladud reigned xx. yeres.

BLadud his sōne sone after hym [did] succede,
And reigned after then full.[1] xx. yere;
Cair [Bladud, so that now is][2] Bath I rede,
He made anone ẏ hote bathes there infere.
When at Athenes he had studied clere,
He brought with hym. iiii. philosophiers wise,
Schole to holde in Brytayne and exercyse.

Stāforde.

¶ Stāforde he made ẏ Sāforde[3] hight[4] this daye,
In whiche he made an vniuersitee,
His philosophiers, as Merlyn[5] doth saye[6],
Had scolers fele of greate habilitee,
Studyng euer[7] alwaye in vnitee,
In all the seuen liberall science,
For to purchace wysedome and sapience.

A manne decked in fethers.

¶ In Cair Bladim[8] he made a temple right,
And sette a flamyne theirin to gouerne;
And afterward a* Fetherham[9] he dight,
To flye with wynges as he could[10] beest descerne,
[Aboue the aire nothyng hym to werne;]
He flyed[11] on high to the temple Apolyne,
[And ther brake][12] his necke for al his great doctrine.

The. xxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Kyng Leyr of Brytaine gaue away, with his doughter, all his lande, and had it all again, and dyed kyng possessid.

Leyr kyng.

HIs sōne was kyng high sette in royaltee
Of all Brytaynes, by name ẏ hight kyng Leyr,
Who Laiceter made after hym called to bee,
Cair Leyr his citee that buylded was full faire:
He had doughters three to been his heire,
The first of theim was called Gonorelle,
The next Ragan, and the youngest Cordelle.

[1] fully. [2] Bladun which is nowe. [3] Staumford. [4] at. [5] Malyn. [6] it say. [7] in bookes. [8] Bladun. [9] a federde slavyn. [10] couth. [11] flowe. [12] ther broke.

¶ Emonges

¶ Emonges theim, as[1] Leyr satte on[2] a daye,
He asked theim howe muche thei[3] hym loued;
Gonorell saied "more then my self[4] ay,"
And Ragan saied, more then was after prouid,
[For ioye of whiche the kyng was greately moued],
"I loue you more then all this worlde so fayre:"
[He grañted theim twoo, of thre partes to bee heire][5].

¶ Cordell [the] yoũgest, then saied full soberly,
Father, as muche as ye been in[6] value,
So muche I loue you; and shall, sikirly,
At all my might and all my herte full trewe. *Fol. xxiii.*
With that he greuid at hir and chaunged hewe,
"Senne thou me loues lesse then thy sisters twain,
The leest porcion shalt thou haue of Bryteine."

¶ With that Maglayn, duke of Albanie,
Gonorell wed[did], and had the[7] lande all out;
Euin[8] of Walis, and of Cornwayle ther by,
That duke was of those twoo landes stoute,
Ragan wed [did]; to whiche twoo dukes, no doubte,
Kyng Leyr gaue rule and[9] gouernaunce,
Of all Bryteine, for age and none puissaunce.

The. xxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Leyr made a temple, and a flamyne to rule at all Laiceter.

A temple that[10] in his citee of Kaireleir,
A flamyne also, as he a bishop were,
In name of Ianus, the folke into repere:
And then he wente Gonorell to requier,
[Of the greate loue that she aught hym so dere,]
That of hir promyse [she] failed vnkyndly.
Wherfore he wente[11] vnto Ragan in hye;

¶ She failed also[12], for all hir greate promyse:
And to Cordell, that weddid was into Fraunce,
Long after that[13] he wente, in greate distres,
To[14] helpe to wynne hym his inheritaunce.

[1] all. [2] upon. [3] that they. [4] selucn. [5] He graunte theym two departe and so tobe his heire. [6] of. [7] that. [8] Hanemons. [9] and all the. [10] yit. [11] yede. [12] him als. [13] so. [14] For.

She

She succurred hym, anon, with all plesaunce,
Bothe [with] gold & syluer of right[1] greate quātitee,
To gette his lande again in all suertee.

¶ Aganippe, hir lorde, was kyng of Fraunce,
That graunt hym menne, and goud[2] sufficient,
And sent his wife with hym, with greate puisaūce,
With all aray that to [hir wer][3] apent,
His heire to been by their bothes assent;
For he was olde, and might not well trauell,
In his persone, the warres to[4] preuaile.

¶ Kyng Leyr thus wāne his lande, w̄ [all] might again,
And riegned well there after full thre yere,
And died so, buried at Kairleir menne sayn,
In Ianus temple; in whiche tyme for age clere
The kyng of Fraunce, Aganype infere,
Dyed, wherfore Cordell his ayre[5] was soo
To rule Brytaine alone with outen moo.

The. xxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Cordell, quene of Fraunce and doughter of kyng Leyr, reigned after the death of hir father.

Cordell quene of Fraunce.

COrdell quene[6] of Fraūce, and doughter to kyng Leyr,
Quene of Englād[7] after hir fathers daye,
Fiue yeres reigned, as for hir fathers heyre,
And gouerned well the realme, all menne to paye.
[His sister soonne,][8] then, Morgan of Albanie[9],
And Condage[10] also, of Cambre and Cornewaile,
In battaill greate hir tooke and putte in baill[11].

¶ For sorow then, she sleugh hir selfe for tene,
And buried was by side hir father right,
In Ianus tēple, whiche kyng Leyr made I wene,
At Kairleyr so that nowe Laicester hight.
[Thus died this quene, that was of muche might,]
Hir soule went[12] to Ianus, whome she serued,
And to Mynerue, whose loue she had deserued.

Fol. xxiiii.

[1] full. [2] good. *edit. alt.* gold. MS. [3] the werre. [4] for to. [5] heire. [6] the quene. [7] Britayne. [8] hir susters sonnes. [9] Albany so feyr. [10] Gundage. [11] vayle. [12] so went.

The.

The. xxix. Chapiter.

¶ Morgan, kyng of Albanie, that claimyd all Briteyne. But this Isle of Britayne was departed, for this kyng had but Albany.

Morgan.

MOrgan, [ỳ] eldest soone of Dame Gonorell,
Clamed[1] Brytein as for his heritage,
Warred [sone of Condage][2] as I spell[3],
That kyng was of[4] Cambre, in younge age,
Duke of Cornewaile also for his homage;
But this [kyng] Morgan was kyng of Albany,
Soonne and heire of the eldest soonne[5] varelie.

Cõdage* is that which we nowe call Walis.

¶ Cõdage[6] was kyng of [Cãbre, ỳ Walis is nowe][7]
And duke of Cornewaile his[8] patrimonye,
Claymed Logres, as soonne and heire to Regawe[9],
The myddill sister, for his mothers proprete[10],
As she that aught to haue hir partourye[11]:
At Glomorgane, with Morgan did he meete,
In bataill sleugh hym, there casten vnder fete.

The. xxx. Chapiter.

¶ Condage, kyng of Logres, Cambre, and duke of Cornewaile, gatte all Bryteine againe, and made a temple ẁ a flamyne at Bangor.

Condage reigned xxxiii. yeres.

COndage[6] was kyng of all greate[12] Britaine,
And in his hande he seased [all] Albanie
For[13] his eschete, that ought to hym againe
Resorte of right, and returne verelye.
He made a flamyne[14], a temple also in hye,
Of Mars at Perch, ỳ nowe his. S. Iohns towne,
In Albany [that now is Scotlande][15] region.

¶ He made another temple of Mynerue
In Cambre, which[16] now is named Bangour:
The thyrde he made [in] Cornwayle, for to serue
Of Mercury, in place where he was bore,

[1] Claymynge. [2] full sore on Gundage. [3] seell. [4] so of. [5] sister. [6] Gundage. [7] Walys, Cambre hight than. * Cambre. *edit. alt.* [8] of his. [9] Regan. [10] purparty. [11] Parteney. [12] the hole. [13] As. [14] flaume. [15] Scotlonde is the regioun. [16] so wher.

For

For his people to serue the goddes there:
Wherby he reygned. xxx. yere and three,
In rest and peace and all tranquilitee.

Ryueall reygned xxii. yeres.

¶ Ryueall[1] his sonne that was pacificall,
Crowned was than easye of gouernalle,
In whose tyme the[2] greate tempest dyd befall,
That dayes thre the flyes did hym[3] assayle
Enuenoned[4] foule vnto [the] death no faile;
And rayned bloodde thesame. iii. dayes also,
Greate[5] people dyed, the lande to mykell[6] woo.

Gurgustius reygned xv. yeres.

¶ Gurgustyus his sonne so reygned then,
In mykill ioye and worldly selynesse,
Kepyng his landes[7] from enemyes as a manne,
But drunken[8] he was echedaye expresse,
Vnaccordynge[9] to [a] prince of worthynesse:
[Out of][10] drunkennesse succedeth euery vice,
Whiche all men shuld eschewe if thei wer wise.

Scicilius reygned xiiii. yeres.

¶ Scicilius his sonne then did succede,
In whose tyme echeman[11] did ǒther oppresse,
The lawe and peace was exiled so in dede
That ciuill warres and slaughter of men expresse,
[Was in euery parte of the lande without redresse;]
And murderers[12] foule through all his lande, dayly,
Without redres or any [other] remedy.

Fol. xxv.

Kyng Iago reigned. x. yere.

¶ Iago succeded[13], and kyng was of this lande,
As ciuill as was the kyng [of] Scicilus,
The same vices, as I vnderstand[14],
Or els wourse and more malicious;
Wherfore our lorde toke[15] vengeaũce [of hym] thus;
He smote theim bothe in such [a] letargie
That sone thei dyed, for marrid with frenesie.

Kyng Kimar reigned. xx. & viii. yere.

¶ Kymar[16] his soonne had then the diademe,
And kyng [then was, with all kyndes of][17] royalte,
Kepyng his lande, as well did so hym seme,
In lawe and peace, with greate felicite.

[1] Rivalle. [2] so. [3] men. [4] envenomd. [5] Muche. [6] right grete. [7] londe. [8] drunkenlye. [9] Vnaccordaunte. [10] To. [11] so echeman. [12] murder. [13] succede. [14] can vnderstand. [15] on theym toke. [16] Kymaure. [17] so with alkyn.

The common weale and their vtilite
He did prefer euer in vniuersall,
Whiche to a prince is [a] vertu principall.

¶ [First, if he kepe][1] not lawe nor[2] peace certein,
His people will nothyng dred[3] ne doubt;
Than stande he moost in parell to bee slaine,
Or els putte doune right by his vnderlout,
No better is he, bee he neuer so stout:
Then [is] his subiect, or another wight,
That with rebell[4] vnlawfull kill hym might.

¶ Gorbonyan[5], that was his soonne and heire, Gorboniã reigned. xl. yere.
Was kyng, who had that tyme but soonnes twoo;
The eldre hight Ferrex, that was full faire,
The younger hight Porrex, which discordid so
That either of theim was [alwaye others][6] foo:
[For that the][7] father sent Ferrex into Fraunce,
To kyng Syward, that was of greate puisaunce.

¶ But after long, when he had reigned. xi. yeres[8],
Dyed[9] awaye frome all[10] royalte,
Leuyng his lande by his good rule inclere[11],
In sufficiente[12] and all prosperite.
Ferrex, heryng of his mortalite,
With power strong came to this lande againe,
And with Porrex faught sore, wher he was slaine.

¶ For sorow of whiche, ther mother ẏ Indõ hight,
To Ferrex came, with hir maydens all in ire,
Slepyng in bed slew hym vpon the night,
And smote hym all on peces sette a[13] fyre.
Loo this cruell mother sett on fyre,
With suche rancor that she could[14] not ceas,
Whiche, for passyng [ire, was mercyles.][15]

The. xxxi. Chapiter.

¶ Clotane, Pynner, Ruddan & Stater reigned, with barõs warres. xl. yere.

[1] For who kepith. [2] ne. [3] hym drede. [4] rebels. [5] Gorbodian. [6] other. [7] Wherfore their. [8] yere. [9] He died. [10] all his. [11] and clere. [12] sufficience. [13] so on. [14] couth. [15] was moders ire no lese.

Howe this Isle of Brytaine was departed in foure parties, & stood departed. xl. yere in barōs warres.

Clotane, with his feloes, reigned. x. yeres.

CLotane, [that then was duke][1] of Cornwaile,
Next heire then was by all succession;
But Pinner thē had Logres ī gouernaile,
And kyng ther of was by wrong ingression.
Ruddan had Cambre in his possession,
And Stater was then kyng of Albany:
Thus was this Isle then lede by tirannye.

¶ Thus Brytain was to [foure kynges deuided,][2]
Echeon of theim warryng on other.
The barons also[3] on warre were so prouided[4],
That[5] all the people to wast father and mother;
Thei spared none, [all wer thei][6] sister or brother:
And eche citee on other, bothe towne and tour,
And eche tyranne[7] was a[8] conquerour.

Fol. xxvi.

¶ And lordes faine subiectes then to been;
The poore menne, that afore ỹ warre wer desolate
Of all honour and worship that[9] was seen,
Through their manhode, with people congregate,
Lordeship[10] conquered, and roose to high astate.
Laddes and boyes the ladeis tho[11] did wedde,
Their kynne afore nether lande ne hous hadde[12].

¶ Fourty wynter, thus duryng barons warre,
This Isle so stoode in sorowe and in strife;
In faute of might, the weaker had the wer,
And suffered wrong that was[13] then their life:
For who that might aught gette ẅ spere or knife,
He helde it furth, as for his heritage,
And [waxid a lorde that a fore was][14] a page.

¶ Defaute of peace & lawe sette theim on hight,
To ouer runne lordes and bee[15] victorious,
As worthy was, for of their wrongfull might

[1] The duke that then was. [2] to kynges four deuyde. [3] als. [4] prouyde. [5] and. [6] though they were. [7] tyrant. *edit. alt.* MS. [8] as a. [9] as. [10] lordeshippes. [11] so. [12] they hadde. [13] woo was. [14] waxe a lord before that was. [15] been.

The

The lordes were cause that thei were rygurous,
That would not so their wronges malicious
At first withstande, and punishe trespassoures,
But suffer theim endure in their erroures.

The. xxx. Chapiter.

¶ The conseipt of the maker of this booke, touchyng barrons warres, in defaute of peace and lawe.

DEfaut of lawe was cause of this mischief,
Wronges susteined by mastry & by might,
And peace laied downe that should haue been the chief,
Through whiche debates folowed all[1] vnright.
Wherfore vnto a prince accordeth right,
The peace and lawe, [euen with][2] equite,
Within his realme, to saue his dignite.

¶ What is a kyng without[3] lawe and peace,
Within his realme sufficiently conserued?
The porest of his[4] maye so encrease
By iniury and force of menne preserued,
Till he his kyng so w̃ stre̅gth haue ouerthrowed[5],
And sette hym self in royall maieste,
As tratour Cade made suche [an iuoperte.][6]

¶ O ye, my lorde of Yorke, and veraie heire
Of Englande, so this matter [well] impresse
Deipe in your breste, lette it synke softe and feire,
And suche defautes sette you aye to represse:
At [the] begynnyng lette your high noblenes
The trespassoures to chastes[7], and [to] restreine,
And lette theim not lawe ne peace disobeine.

¶ O ye lordes that [been in][8] high estate,
Kepe well the lawe [with peace and][9] gouernaunce,
Lest your hurtes[10] you hurte and depreciate,
Whiche been as able, with wrongfull ordynaunce,
To reigne as ye, and haue also[11] greate puisaunce:

[1] and all. [2] evenly in. [3] withoutyn. [4] his reame. [5] so ouerterned. [6] a juperte. [7] chastice. [8] beth of. [9] and peace with. [10] subiectes. [11] as.

[For lawe and iustices in lordes vnpreserued
Causeth many of theim to bee ouerthrowed.][1]

The. xxxi. Chapiter.

¶ Dunwallo Moluncyus, kyng of Cornewayle, conquerid Logers, Cambry, and Albanie, as right heire of Brytayne. He gaue fraunchises to the temple, plough, merkettes, feyres, and hie wayes; so that none should disturbe by lawe nor by wrong. He made sixe temples in Logers, Cambre, & Albanie; and also many flāynes to rule theim of estate, as bishoppes nowe dooen.

Fol. xxvii.

KYng Clotein[2] died, ẏ reigned in Cornewaile,
Wherfore his soōne, Dūwallo Molūcius,
Was kyng of all his realme without faile[3]:
A mannly prince, in armes full cuorageous,
Assembled his hoost, and came full vigorous,
Of[4] kyng Pynner, in[5] Logres intrusour,
And sleugh hym ther as wrongfull gouernour.

Dūwallo reigned. xl. yeres.

¶ Kyng Ruddan[6], and kyng Stater
Of Albanie, with hoostes strong and wyght,
Gaue hym battaill with mighty[7] power,
Where Ruddan & Stater wer slain downe right,
[With all their hoostes, and their greate might;]
And Dunwallo had the[8] victory,
With muche[9] ioye and manhod mightely.

¶ Dunwallo so called Moluncius,
At Troynouaunt, with royall diademe
Of gold crouned, moost[10] riche and precious,
Vpon his hede as did hym well besene.
The first he was, as chronicles expreme,
That in this isle of Brytein had[11] croune of golde,
For all afore copre and gilt was[12] to beholde.

Dūwallo was ye first king of Bryteine that was croned with golde.

¶ He graunted[13] pardon vnto all trespasoures,
Of whiche thei were full glad and ioyus,
Amendyng all their faultes[14] and errours,

[1] If lawe and peas be leide and unyte,
The flowres been lefte of all your soueraynte.

[2] Clotayne. [3] any faile. [4] On. [5] of. [6] Ruddan of Cambre. [7] full myghty. [8] all the. [9] right muche. [10] right. [11] bore. [12] were. [13] graunte. [14] forfettis.

With

With all their hertes full beneuolous.
[He eked][1] then by his witte full curious,
With his lawe[2] called lawe Moluntyne,
Chargyng all menne to theim fully [to] enclyne.

¶ He graunted vnto the temples euery one,
And to the plough[3], and all[4] commen wayes,
To markettes[5] & faires wher mēne should gonne,
Fraunchesies[6] so greate, and liberties alwais
That all menne, beeyng in theim night or[7] dayes,
Should not betake[n] ne troubled [in] any wyse,
Neither by lawe, nor by no[8] maistries.

¶ Sixe temples he made, in Cābre & Logres als,
And in the lande also of Albany,
Of flamynes[9] as fele to serue their goddes fals;
A temple also[10] in Troynouaunt sothely,
Of peace and concorde he made verely,
In which , when there fell any discorde
Emong his lordes, there were thei made[11] accorde.

This tēple was S. Poules churche in Lōdon.

¶ When he had stout[ly] kyng by fourty yere,
He dyed awaye, and [his] yeres was full fayre
In his temple [then of concorde][12] full clere,
At Troynouaunt, with[13] gr[e]at repeir;
To whom Belyn was eld[e]st soonne and heire,
And Brenny next was borne, of younger age,
Wherfore Belyn had [all the whole][14] heritage.

The. xxxi. Chapiter.

¶ Belyne, kyng of Brytain, who gaue to Brenny, his brother, Albany, that made hym homage for it, and sone after made hym greate warre, and was false to hym, and after frendes againe in other landes, but not in Englande ne in Scotlande.

BElyn was kyng and sat in royall trone,
Crowned with all maner of royaltee;
To Brenny[15], his brother, he gaue the[16] lande anone
Of Albany; for whiche homage & feautee

Fol. xxviii. Belyn.

[1] And encreste. [2] lawes. [3] plowes. [4] to all. [5] markettis all. [6] Fraunchese. [7] nyghtes and. [8] any. [9] flaumes. [10] als. [11] well. [12] of concorde than. [13] with people. [14] hoole the. [15] Brenne. [16] his.

He

He made forthwith, as to the soueraynte e ;
His [man became, and][1] kyng of Albany
Confirmed was[2], and made full honorably.

¶ But after sone his men hym sette to warre
Vpon B lyn, that fought in batayll sore ;
But Brenny[3] fled, [and] his men discomfite wer,
For then[4] he went vnto Norwaye therfore,
[And in that he dwelled thore,][5]
Wher he wedded the kynges doughter fayre,
That taken wer by sea, homeward in repayre,

¶ By the kyng of Denmarke, ẏ Cuthelake hight,
Who, by tempest, into Logres wer driue,
And brought vnto Belyn, mykell of might,
Wher he bande hym, as chronycles doth briefe,
Denmark to holde of Belyn, to haue leife
Home with his wyfe to passe so anone,
Whom Belyn graunted home agayn so to gone.

¶ Brenne anone great hoste of[6] Belyne brought,
Wher in the forest that tyme of [Colatre,]
In batayll [strong, kyng Brenny all forfought,][7]
Discomfite fled in Burgoyn for feare
To duke Segwyn, to whom he gan hym beare
So manfully and wisely in all thyng,
That he hym wedded vnto his doughter ying.

Sone afterwarde this duke Segwyn dyed,
So Brenny[3] than was duke (by[8] his wyfe,)
That to his brother alwaye full sore anoyed[9],
Came with great hoste to fight with hym ful ryfe.
Conwen, their mother, by her prerogatyfe,
Betwyxte theim treated, & made there wel accorde,
On her blissyng, no more for to discorde.

¶ With wordes peteous, and mothers naturesse,
Shewyng her pappes and wõbe ẇ[10] great beautie ;
" Lo here the wombe that bare you with syckenesse,
As womanhode would and femynitee ;

[1] His name become the. [2] so. [3] Brenne. [4] tene. [5] To pray for helpe to gete that he had lore.
[6] on. [7] strekyn Brenne all forsought. [8] there by. [9] envied. [10] of.

Lo

Lo here the pappes, as was necessitee,
That fed you ofte in your[1] tendre age,
For my loue nowe let be all this outrage."

The. xxxij. Chapter.

¶ These. ii. brethren wanne all Fraunce, and all Italie to Rome, and besieged Rome, gatte it, and wer Emperours of it.

SO made she theim at one and well accorde,
And [made] theim kisse, & coūcelled theim to gone
To their[2] lādes, [lest thei after][3] discord;
Whiche[4] thei did with hostes greate anone[5],
[With manly men of armes full greate, wonne][6]
All Fraunce; thei wanne Sauoye and Lumberdy[7],
Tuskayne also, and all great Italye.

¶ Thei sieged Rome, wherfore their coūcellours,
Galbo[8] and Porcenna, came it to rescue,
With hostes greate, wher then these emperours
Slewe syr Galbo[8] and Porcenna the trewe,
And Rome thei wanne, that alway was vntrewe.
Italye throughout obeyed theyr dominacion,
Without more stryfe or[9] altercacion.

Fol. xxix.

¶ Kynge Belyne there no lenger would abyde,
But lefte[10] Brenny[11] alone with all that lande,
And home he came with mykill[12] ioye and pride,
And Albyon[13] he seased [in his owne][14] hand,
[And so kyng and lorde of all Brytayn lande.][15]
A citee fayre he made, that Kaire Vske hight,
Which mē nowe callē Carlyō by name ful right.

The. xxxiii. Chapter.

¶ He made the hye wayes through out Britayn, and he founded three arche flamynes; at London one, for Logres; another at Yorke, for Albany, that nowe is Scotlande; (for that tyme fro Humbre North, that was that tyme Scotlande;) & the thyrde at Carlion in Wales, for all Wales.

[1] your moste. [2] other. [3] lesse afterwarde they. [4] And so. [5] moone. [6] Solcynly toke ship, both hertis sett in oone. [7] Lombardie. [8] Gabo. [9] or any. [10] lete. [11] Brenne. [12] grete. [13] Albany. [14] into his. [15] Logres als, and Britayne, nowe called Englonde.

IN

IN Brytayn then he made frō Cornwel sea,
Of lyme and stone through[1] all Brytayn,
That men might [ryde and go][2] in al suertee,
Vnto the sea by Northe Catenes[3] certayne,
[Whiche vnto all men was brode and playne.][4]
Another he made in bredth fro Saint Dauid towne,
Vnto the sea flowynge at Southamptone.

¶ Thre archeflamynes[5] he made through al Brytayn,
As archebyshoppes now in our lawes[6] been,
There temples all to gouerne and domayne.
At Troynouaunt, on Logres to ouer seen,
[Her fals goddes to serue and to queme.][7]
At Ebranke[8] another for Albanỳ,
And at Karleō for Cambre, on[9] soueraynly.

¶ A towne he made ful hie, [that hight Belyn][10] gate,
At Troynouaunt, his citee moste royall;
Thyrtene flamynes[11] of bishoppes high[12] estate,
And temples as[13] many, in citees all:
So that there were in his tyme ouer[14] all,
With other so afore edificate,
Xxviii. flamynes[11] in temples ordynate.

¶ And at his death, [he bad his corps to be brent][15]
Into powder, all in a barell of golde
[To put,][16] and sete [vpon his toure,][17] to represent
His body hole; who [that seen it][18] wolde
His triumphes all, that enemyes might beholde,
Well wrought about, in ymagerie and scripture,
Full royally wrought for to refigure.

¶ He reigned had then one and forty yere,
When he thus died, and to his God had sent
His woofull ghoost out of his [corps full][19] ciere,
Emong the goddes euermore to bee present,
For whiche his people of wepyng coulde[20] not stent;
There sorowes great in teares bitter [thei did][21] stepe,
Whiche in streames rāne & fro their eyē did wepe.

[1] A strele thorowe. [2] gone and ride. [3] Catnesse. [4] And fro Cornewaile it lieth full playne.
[5] archeflaumes. [6] lawe so. [7] Nowe Engelonde called in all cuntrese I ween.
[8] Eboranke. [9] one. [10] called Belyns. [11] flaumes. [12] hole. [13] als. [14] ther ouer.
[15] his cors he bode be brent. [16] putte be. [17] his toure on. [18] so it seen that.
[19] cors not. [20] couth. [21] dide they.

The. xxxiiii. Chapiter.

GVrgwyn[1] his sōne was crowned after him,
Of Britayn bare then[2] the diademe,
Who made his lawe vpon[3] lyfe & lymme ;
His peace also he[4] kepte, as he did deme,
As his iudges coulde[5] it full well exprime.
Into Denmarke he went for his truage,
Whiche kyng Cuthelake [graunt him in][6] heritage.

Gurgwyn reigned. xxx. yeres.

¶ He slewe ŷ kyng, and Danes great multitude
His seruise had, and made the lande [to] enclyne
To his lordshyppe, and to his altitude,
There truage paye, forthwarde nomore declyne :
And as he came by sea then homewarde fyne,
He founde shippes thyrty full of myghty men
Accordyng well as many fayre women.

Fol. xxx.

¶ At whose request, of his speciall[7] grace,
He gaue to theim the land [that nowe is][8] Irelande,
Wher they did wone & make their dwellyng place.
There gouernaunte, so then I vnderstande,
Was Partheleyn[9], to holde it then hym bande
Of [kyng Gurgwyn] and all his lynage,
Perpetually by feautee and homage.

¶ Neuerthelesse some chronicles reporte,
That Irelamall their capitayn had to name,
By whome it was so bigged[10] and supporte,
That out of Spayn wer exiled, and thither came ;
And some sayth[11] that Hiberus[12] of great fame,
There duke was than and there gouernour,
That of Spayne[13] afore had been the floure.

How Irelande was hold of this kyng & his heires.

¶ This king Gurgwyn his surname was Batrus,
Came home agayn, after the[14] voyage sore,
All forbeten, so was he corageus,
That from his corps[15] his ghoste departed thore ;
Reigned that had. xxx. [yere afore :][16]

[1] Gurdwyn. [2] than so. [3] on payne of. [4] be. [5] couthe. [6] had graunte in. [7] especiall. [8] called now. [9] Partholoym. [10] beelded. [11] seyn. [12] Luberus. [13] Hispayne. [14] that. [15] cors. [16] wynter before.

In Carlion[1], after his high degre,
Was buried [so] with full greate royaltee.

The. xxxv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Guytelyn, kyng of Britayne, wedded Marcian to wife, that Mercian lawes made, by her great wisedome.

Guytelyn reygned. x. yere.

[GVytelyn, his sonne, gan reigne as heyre][2]
Of all Brytayn, aboute vnto the sea,
Who wedded was to[3] Marcyan full fayre[4],
That was so wyse in her femynitee;
That lawes made of her syngularytee,
That[5] called wer the lawes Marcyane
In Britayne tongue, of her owne witte alane.

¶ This Guytelyn was good of his estate,
Full iuste he was in all his iudgement,
Wise and manly of porte, erly and late,
Right meke and good euer[6] in his entente,
[Although of state he was right excellent,]
With eche poore man that came to his presence,
Through whiche he waxed[7] of moste hie sapience.

¶ When he had reigned, [ful peacebly,][8] x. yere,
He lefte the realme to[9] his sonne and heire,
And to his wife to be his counceller,
For his sonne then was. vii. yere olde, full fayre:
Whom, at her death, she sent for all repayre
Of barons all, [their she][10] delyuered hym
To kepe in[11] payne of losse life[12] and lymme.

Sicilius reygned. xxiiii. yeres.

¶ Sicilius, his sonne, reygned. xxiiii. yere,
And crowned was, and dyed in iuuentude,
That gouerned wel the [realme full well and][13] clere;
At Karlyon[14] buryed, after consuetude,
As kynges afore in all simylitude,
With all repayre of all his baronage,
As well accorded[15] vnto his hye parage.

Fo. xxxi.

[1] Caierlion. [2] Gwithelyne, kinge of Britayne. [3] unto. [4] fayne. [5] Which. [6] euermore. [7] wexe. [8] pesebly full. [9] unto. [10] she there. [11] on. [12] of life. [13] londe and lawe full. [14] Caerlyon. [15] doth accorde.

¶ Rymar

¶ Kymar his sonne, the barons dyd crowne, * Kymar kynge.
With honoure, suche as fell to his degree,
Who twenty yere and one so bare the crowne,
And kepte lawe and all tranquilytee,
And peteous was euer, as a king shulde be ;
In ryghtwesnesse accordyng with his lawe,
Hauyng pytee and mercy where hym sawe[1].

¶ Danius kyng[2] his brother dyd succede, * Danius kynge.
Duryng. x[3]. yere in warre, and greate[4] payne,
Withouten reste he was alwaye in dede.
The lawe vnkepte, was cause there of certayne,
As myne [authour it lyste][5] nothyng to layne,
I wyll[6] it [nowe] wryte, and in this boke expresse,
That men may knowe his foly and lewdenesse.

The xxxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Moruile, kyng of Britaine, was slayne by his owne immoderate ire, withoute knowledge of eny man, with a fysshe bestyall of the sea.

MOruyle[7] his sonne, [a baste][8] goten and bore Moruyle reygned xvii. yere.
On Tangusta his specyall paramour,
Was crowned, then after[9] faught full sore
With the kyng of Morians, as [a] conqueroure,
Where he hym kylled, and had the felde ẏ houre;
And lefte no man on lyue, and[10] brente theim all,
His ire excede[d] his wytte and gouernall.

¶ Sone after then came fro the Yrishe sea,
A bestyous[11] fyshe, a monstre sume [dyd it][12] call,
Wherof afrayde was[13] all the comontye,
For it deuoured the folke both great and smalle;
Wherfore the kyng his yre myght not apall,
Ne cesse, afore he foughten with it had,
All sodaynly alone, as [a] man ryght mad.

¶ Where both were dead or any man it knewe,
His yre full[14] fell was and[14] vntemperate,
His discrecyon out of his brayne flewe,

[1] awe. [2] than. [3] than ten. [4] in grete. [5] auctour liste it. [6] woll. [7] Morwide.
[8] of baaste. [9] that after: [10] but. [11] beestish. [12] it dide. [13] were. [14] so.

But[1] he coulde[2] not, by reason ordynate
Proroge his wyll, [ne yre inordynate,][3]
By other meanes with people multytude,
It to haue slayne by wytte and fortytude.

¶ He reigned had that tyme but seuentene yere
When he thus dyed, and fondly dyd expire,
Vnsemingly of any prynce to heare,
That he with suche a monstre shoulde desyre
To fyghte alone so preuely of yre.
But sonnes he had full fayre then[4] fyue,
Of manly men also[5] substantyfe.

Gorbonyā reygned. x. yere.

¶ Gorbonian, his eldest sonne of fyue,
Was after kyng, and helde the maieste,
Ryghtwesse[6] and trewe to euery creature[7];
[In peace his realme][8] and all tranquillyte[9],
And to his people he helde all[10] equyte;
Tyllers of lande with golde he dyd comforte,
And soudiours all with goodes he dyd supporte[11].

Arthegall.

Fol. xxxii.

¶ Arthegall, his brother, signed with diadene[12],
The kyng was then, with all solempnytee,
By natyfe byrth nexte brother, as men deme,
Who good men [hated] of his iniquyte,
Oppressyng them by greate subtylyte,
And all fals folke with ryches dyd auaunce:
His barons all deposed hym for that chaunce.

The. xxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe this kyng was crowned, in defaute of his elder brother, and after, of pure pytee, crowned his brother agayne.

[1] That. [2] couthe. [3] and yre ymmoderate. [4] that then were. [5] and full. [6] right wise. [7] man on live. [8] his reame in peas. [9] prosperite. [10] hoole.

[11] *Here the following stanza is added in the Harleian and Selden Manuscripts.*

" That they shulde not to other doo no wronge.
Ten yere reignynge in welth and moste plente:
And as nature of life, by processe longe,
Muste nedes haue ende by some mortalite,
The deth his gooste, with his subtilite,
Oute of his cors for euer than dide exile.
At Troynovaunte buried, as men compile."

[12] diademe. *edit. alt.*

ELydoure,

ELydoure[1] then, the thirde brother generate,
Was kynge create by all successyon,
And bare the crowne with all royal estate,
By [lordes wyll][2] and there[3] concessyon,
That[4] ruled well withoute oppressyon.
When he had reigned so fully fyue[5] yere,
Arthegall he founde, that was his brother dere,

* Eledoure, kyng, reygned. v. yeres.

¶ As he was gone on huntyng for [his] disporte,
In the forest and woode of Collatre[6];
That sought had frendes and found had no comforte,
But heuy was, and of full simple chere,
Whome Eledoure toke in his armes clere,
And brought hym to his cytee of Alclude,
That then was of great myght and fortytude.

¶ In Albany [then] was [it] the greatest citee tho,
Besyde the woode that tyme of Collatre[7],
Where his barons, and many other moo,
At his biddyng were come, and presente there;
Whome syngulerly he made them for to swere
Vnto Arthegall his brother to be trewe,
So purposed he to crowne hym all newe.

* Arthegall reygned. x. yere.

¶ And then anon, in haste, so forth they rode
To Ebranke[8], and [helde then][9] his parlyament,
Where of good loue and tender brotherhod,
The crowne he set, with very trewe entente,
On Arthegalle[s] hede, & thought it was wel spent,
By hole decree[10], and iudgement of his mouth,
And made hym kyng agayne by North and South.

¶ Arthegall, [kyng crowned so all newe][11] agayne,
Full well his lordes [after dyd loue all perlees,][12]
Forsoke all vyce[s] and tooke to vertue playne,
And set his laude and people in all [kyne and][13] ease.
Reigning. x. yere, he fell in greate disease,
In maladye of[14] dyuerse[15] great syckenesse,
Dead[16], and buried at Carleyle, as I gesse.

[1] Eledour. *edit. alt.* [2] by wyll of lordes. [3] theire. [4] Which. [5] by five. [6] Calatre. [7] Calether. [8] Eboranke. [9] there. [10] degre. [11] so kynge now crowncde. [12] dide after love & pleese. [13] maner. [14] and. [15] divers. [16] diede.

The.

The. xxxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Eledoure was ỹ seconde tyme crowned king of Britayne for his good rule.

Eledoure reigned. xiii. yere.

THe Briteines all crowned Eledoure[1],
That reygned after. xiii. yere in dignytee,
So well theim payde to haue hym gouernoure
For his goodnesse and his benignyte,
And for he was so full of [all] pytee,
That in all thynge mercy he dyd preserue,
Well better euer then men coulde[2] it deserue.

Iugen and Peredour reigned. vii. yere together.

¶ Iugen[3], with force, and eke syr Peredoure,
His brethren two [on hym rose][4] traytorously,
Deposed hym oute of his hye honoure,
And prisoned hym full sore and wrongfullye,
All in the towre of Troynouaunt for thy ;
[And parted the realme betwixte][5] theim two,
Together reignyng. vii.[6] yere and no mo.

Fol. xxxiii.

Paradour reigned by hym self iiii. yeres.

¶ Paredour[7] then had all the lande full clere,
And crouned was, reignyng after[8] worthely ;
His lawe and peace kepyng full well foure yere,
And dyed then, and to his goddes full[9] hye
He passed so, and buryed full royally,
After their[10] rites and their olde vsage,
With greate honour by all the baronage.

The. xxxix. Chapiter.

¶ Eledour, kyng of Brytein, thrise crouned for his good rule and good condicions.

Eledour reigned. xx yeres.

ELedour[11] was [kyng all newe made][12] againe,
Thrise crouned, ỹ kepte his olde cõdicion,
Of whome the lordes & cõmons were full faine,
And sory for his wrongfull deposicion[13] :

[1] Kinge Elidoure. [2] couth. [3] Vigen. [4] rose on hym. [5] That they dide part the reaume betuene. [6] by seuen. [7] Peridoure. [8] full. [9] on. [10] the. [11] Elidoure. [12] all newe made kynge. [13] deecpcion.

He

He reigned so fro losse and all perdicion:
Reignyng after full peacebly tenne yere,
Buried full faire at Alclude, his citee clere.

¶ Gorbonian that was [Gorbonian his][1] soonne, Gorboniã kyng of Brytaine.
The croune after his vncle in all thynges,
That ruled well fro tyme that [he] begonne,
Full well beloued with olde, and also[2] with young,
He reigned tenne[3] yere of Brytein kyng,
And dyed then, with worship whole enterred,
As to suche a prince of right should bee required.

¶ Morgan, ỹ was the soonne of kyng Arthegall[4], Morgan reigned. xiiii. yere.
Was crowned then, and held the royalte,
Full fourten yere he ruled the realme ouer all,
The lawe and peace with all tranquillite
He kepte full well, [in all prosperite;][5]
For whiche he was full greately magnified
In all his realme with people landefyed[6].

¶ Emnan[7], his brother, so was crouned kyng, Emnan kyng reigned. vii. yere.
Seven yere reigned[8] in all [kynd ofe][9] tiranny,
For whiche he was deposed, as [an] vnderlyng,
When he had reigned [seuen yere fully;][10]
[That to God and manne was euer contrarie,][11]
Till all his[12] lordes and commons euerione:
[Whiche] wer full glad awaye[13] that he was gonne.

¶ Iuall[14], the soonne of kyng Ingen, did reigne, Kyng Iuall reigned. xx. yere.
Louyng alwaye to kepe [all] rightwesnese,
Hatyng all vice[s] and of good menne was faine,
All vicious menne he helde in sore distres,
Helpyng poore menne fallyng[15] in feblenes
When he had reigned full well by twenty yere,
He dyed awaye, as saieth the chronicler.

¶ Rymo, the soonne that of kyng Paradour[16], Kyng Rymo reigned. xvi. yere.
Crouned was then, louyng all gentilnes,
All vertue euer he louid, and all honour,

[1] Gorbonian's. [2] als. [3] hole ten. [4] Arthgall. [5] with all egalte. [6] lawdified.
[7] Emman. *edit. alt.* Enman. MS. [8] reignyng. [9] maner. [10] sex yere full contrarye.
[11] Unto the lawe of the Britayne cuntrie. [12] the. [13] alwaye. *edit. alt.* [14] Rivall.
[15] fallen. [16] Peridoure.

And in his tyme was plenty and larges,
[Of his people full well belouid I gese,][1]
And dyed so[2] in all felicite [on hye,]
Sixten yere whole reigned[3] when he ganne dye.

Kyng Gerēnes reigned. xx. yere.

¶ Gerennes[4] then, the soonne of Eledour,
To reigne beganne, and ruled well this[5] daye,
And sone [the] deathe hym toke [and dyd][6] deuour:
If I the treuth of hym shall saye,
That twenty yere [he] reigned [all menne][7] to paye;
The lawe and peace [full well aye][8] conserued
Of his commons the loue aye deserued[9].

Fol. xxxiiii.

Kyng Catellus reigned. x. yere.

Catellus, his[10] soonne, [then] ganne succede,
Kepyng the lawe and peace as he had hight;
Oppressours all, that poore menne did ouer lede,
He hanged euer on trees full hie to sight,
[That ensample of theim euery manne take might:][11]
Tenne yere reigned[12], full of felicite,
And dyed so vnder his vnsure deite.

Kyng Coile reigned. xx. yere.

Coile, his soonne, after hym succede[13],
And crouned was, reignyng so twenty yere,
In lawe and peace; as to his worthihede,
Accordyng was for lawe and peace cōserued clere,
[As euery manne maye se bothe farre and nere:]
The floures been of royall dignyte[14],
In whiche he reigned twenty yere ere[15] he did dye.

Kyng Porrex.

¶ Porrex, his soonne, was crouned in his astate,
Esye of porte to speake with[16] euery wight;
Their comonnyng to hym was delicate,
Who reason spake, he fauoured as was right:
Who viceous[17] spake or did in his sight,
He chasticed theim after the cause[18] required;
Reignyng fiue yere, of no lande had[19] he fered.

[1] Whiche followeth lawe guyded by sadnesse. [2] right so. [3] reigned, *omitted in the other edition.* [4] Geronnes. [5] his. [6] to his. [7] him. [8] alwey well. [9] he deserved. [10] so his. [11] And trewe iustice he kept with all his myght. [12] reignynge. [13] did succede. [14] dignite withoutyn pere. *The Harleian MS. also here adds this line.* And grete riches and love also he hade therbye. [15] or. [16] to. [17] viciously. [18] case. [19] was.

¶ Cheryn,

¶ Cheryn, his soonne, norished in dronkennes, Kyng Cheryn.
Customably [to whiche][1] folowed all [kynde of][2] vyce,
It exiled witte out of his brayn doubteles,
And reason after that made hym full vnwyse,
He was of all his gouernaunce so nyce,
And reigned so in Brytein but one yere,
When he dyed, laied[3] was on the bere.

¶ His soonne Fulgen reigned but one yere; Fulgen, Eldred, & Androge.
Eldred his brother, and Androge hight the thirde,
Kynges after hym echeone were synguler,
A yere reignyng, whose good rules are hid,
For why, vnto no manne was it kyde:
Thei dyed sone, for long that might not dure
In suche drōkennes, full weake was their nature.

¶ Vryan, the soonne of kyng Androge, Vryan.
Three yere reigned, that was full lecherous;
A mayden young, wher he did ride or goo,
He had euery daye, he was so vicyous:
But yet he was gentill and bounteous,
All if he had maydens in suche charte,
Wedowes and wifes, he had in greate plentie.

¶ Elynde was kyng, & fiue yere bare the croune, Elynde.
Full well ruled the realme in all kynd of thyng;
In Astronomye, full redy aye and bowne.
Dedancius also reigned fiue yere full young, Dedancius.
Who the realme ruled in all maner thyng,
Full peseably frome that Elynde was dedde:
Bothe twoo dyed in their floreshed youthede.

¶ Detonus then was kyng, reignyng twoo yere; Detonus. Gurgūcius. Merian. Bledudo. Cappe. Owen & Sicilius. All the ereigned eche of theim. 14 yeres.
Gurguncius so twoo yere bare also[4] the croune;
And Meryan twoo yere by wrytyng clere;
Bledudo, then, full ready bowne,
Twoo yere also bare the croune;
Cappe and Owen, and then Sicilyus,
Eche after other by twoo yere reigned thus.

[1] wher to. [2] maner. [3] and laid. [4] als.

Bledud. Gabred. castor.

Fol. xxxv.

¶ Bledud Gabred[1] reigned, expert in song,
And in all musike instrumentes
Farre passyng was all other, and had been long,
Suche was his cunnyng and his sentementes,
That for a god in all folkes ententes,
In myrth, and ioye, and maner of melodye,
Thei honoured hym tenne yere onely.

Archiuall. Eldoll. Redon. Redrike. Samuel. Pirry. Penisell. & Capre. Eche of these reigned two yeres.

¶ Archiuall then, his brother, reigned so,
And Eldoll after, his soonne, succeded anone;
And Redon then, his soonne, came nexte hym thoo;
Redrike his soonne, when his father was gonne:
Croune and septer receiued, hath anone,
Samuell, Pirre, Peneysell, and Capre,
Seuerally, eche one reigned twoo yere.

The. xl. Chapiter.

Elynguellus, kyng of Brytein, had greate will to here all mēne whē thei came to hym, whiche is a vertue. For greate cunnyng maketh a manne wyse, and to knowe muche, and for mischefes to fynde remedies; as my lorde Vmfrewill commended neuer a manne that putteth a mischief, and canne fynde no remedie therfore.

ELynguellus, whiche was Capre his sōne,
Bothe wyse and sadde, and in his realme helde right,
He herd all menne what counsaill that thei conne,
(For oftymes a symple manne to sight
More wysedome hath in his insight,
And better reason canne in his braynes fynde,
Then canne a lorde, though he may beres bynde.)

¶ Who in his lande did wrong or any vnright,
He prisoned hym in sore and greate distresse;
He gaue his menne, ẏ souldyours were full wight,
Lyuelode to liue vpon, frome all destres;
Sicke folke and poore, caste into feblenesse,
He visited aye, and reigned had seuen yere,
When that he dyed, and left his realme full clere.

[1] Grabred. *edit. alt.*

¶ Hely,

How Hely the sonne of Flyngwellus made the Isle of Hely.

¶ Hely, his soonne, in all thyng good and wise,
Succeded then; the Isle of Hely made;
His palais gaye, that might right well suffice,
He buylded ther, that was bothe long and large,
Wherin he dwelled muche, and moost abaide.
The lawe and peace he kepte, and conserued,
Which him vpheld, that he was neuer ouer terued.

Kyng Hely reigned. xl. yere.

¶ Three soonnes he gatte, Lud, and Cassibalain,
The third was called that tyme sir Nemynus:
When he had reigned sixty yere in certaine,
The death, cruell to menne, that is aye noyeous,
In his commyng that is alwaye douteous,
Hym sleugh a waye, who was at Hely buryed,
Afore his god that ther was edified.

The. xli. Chapiter.

¶ Lud, kyng of Brytain, buylded frome London stone to Ludgate, & called that parte Luds toune; & after, by processe, was called London, by turnyng of tongues.

Kyng Lud reigned. xl. yere.

His soonne and heire [was Lud, of muche][1] might,
The crouned by[2] all the baronage;
His citees all, [eke his heritage][3] castelles wight,
He did repeire that were his heritage;
And where was worthy[4] his seruesse and homage,
To hym was doone, in landes al aboute
Was none withstode, so was he dred and doubte.

Fol. xxxvi.

With walles faire, and towres freshe about,
His citee great of Troynouaunt, full fayre,
Full well he made, and batelled[5] throughout:
And palays fayre, for [royalles to appeare,][6]
Amendyng other defectyfe and vnfayre,
From London stone to his* palays royall,
That nowe Ludgate is knowen[7] ouer all.

* This palys is now the bishop of [illegible] yn beside Poules.

¶ Betwene Londonstone & Ludgate forth right,
That called was then for his name Ludstone,

[1] Lud was of mekyll. [2] was by. [3] and eke his. [4] due. [5] batailed well. [6] nalles and repaire. [7] full wide.

He made men buyld that [London, so then][1] hight:
His palays fayre then made he there anone,
[With toures high, bothe of lyme and stone:][2]
Besyde Ludgate, and his temple nere thereby,
His God to serue and hym to glorifye.

¶ When he had reigned by fourty yere all out,
He died so, and in his temple fayre
Entoumbed was, with stories all about.
Androgeus was then his sonne and heyre,
[Passyng of sight and Iuly fayre,][3]
Tenancius[4] his yonger sonne, of age
Which wer to young to rule the[5] heritage.

Cassibalyn reigned. xxxiii. yere.

¶ Cassibalayn there vncle then was kyng,
And founde his neuewes full honestly and well,
And nourtred[6] theim while[7] thei wer chylder[8] ying,
And at there age when they could[9] reason fele,
[He theim auaunced right worshipfully and well:]
Androge he made and created[10] duke of Kent,
Of Troynouaunt also by whole[11] entent.

The. xlii. Chapiter.

¶ How Iulius Caesar came to Britayn, that nowe is Englande, and arryued in Thamis, and fled to Fraunce for newe succour.

HE made also then Tenancius[4],
Duke of Cornwail, ŷ time of mikel might,
In whiche tyme so came Caesar Iulius
Into the lande of Fraunce that nowe so hight;
[And on a daye walkyng vp and downe full right][12]
On the sea syde, wher he this lande did see,
Desyryng sore [of it][13] the soueraintee.

¶ His nauye greate, with many soudyoures,
To sayle anone into this Britayn made,
In Thamis aroue[14], wher he had ful sharpe shores[15],

[1] Lud-toun than so. [2] For his astate there to be kept alone. [3] A goodely childe full manerly and feir.
[4] Tennanc us. [5] their. [6] nourished. [7] whiles. [8] childerne. [9] couth. [10] create.
[11] his free. [12] And whan he hade it gotyn with manly fight. [13] thereofe. [14] arrofe. [15] shoures.

And countred was with Brytons that abade
With Cassibalayn, the kyng of Brytons brade:
Wher, after battayll, smytten[1] and forfought,
Iulius fled, and then preuayled nought,

¶ To Fraunce agayn, and there he did soiorne,
The Frenche wer fayn of his discomfiture,
And trowed to make hym so fro theim retorne;
[But the Britons full besely did there cure
In this batell, as came them of nature:][2]
The dukes of Kent, and eke of Cornewayle,
And Nennynus theyr Eme did moste preuayle.

¶ Crudan, the kyng that tyme of Albany,
Gnechet[3], the kyng also of Venedose,
[That North Wales nowe is][4] called specially,
And kyng Bretayle[5], that was full vertuous,
[A manne in armes passyngly curious,][6]
Of Denycye[7], South Wales that nowe hight,
He asked[8] helpe of Fraunce, that fayled hym right. *Fol. xxxvii.*

¶ Then sent he to all landes there about;
To poore menne all he gaue full great ryches,
And exyled men of warre that wer full stoute;
He gaue linclode, and felons all douteles
He delyuered quyte fre of all distres:
All outlawed menne he graunted full perdon,
The bondemen also[9] of euery region.

The. xliii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe, whan Iulius Caesar failed power, he gatte newe power, by wily polycy to haue his purpose, and came again to Brytayn, and fled the seconde tyme.

IN whiche meane tyme, whē he was redy so
With his nauy, [came to Brytayn][10] again,
Into Thamis[11], where Cassibalayn tho

[1] soore smetyn.

[2] In this bataile, as come theym of nature,
Were these astates, whiche were of grete norture.

[3] Guychet. [4] North Walys is nowe. [5] Breetoile [6] A goodely prynce and full chiralrous.
[7] Demecy. [8] axed. [9] als. [10] to Bretayne come. [11] In Temmys so.

Great

Great pyles of tree and yron sette hym again,
His shippes to peryshe[1], and so he did certain:
Throughe whiche greate parte of hys nauy was drowned,
And [some other][2] in batayl wer cõfoũded.

¶ Then fled he eft with shippes that he had
Into the lande of Fraunce, wher he was ere[3],
Hym purposyng to Rome, full wo by stad
Of his rebuke with sorowe and with care.
But then [the kyng full glad of his euell fare,][4]
A feaste royall at[5] Troynouaunt he made,
Where great discorde with his nenewes he had.

The. xliii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Iulius Caesar came agayne to Britayne the thyrde tyme, & accorded with the kyng, and had truage of hym.

PVrposed fully on theim to bee auenged,
For whiche thei sent anone to Iulius,
And prayed[6] to come his right ẏ he had chalẽged,
To clayme it hole, thei wrote [hym right][7] thus,
Thei should hym helpe with people plenteous.
Through whose councell ful gladly then he came,
At Douer arryued[8] with mykeil ioye and game.

¶ Where then the kyng Cassybalayn he met,
And fought full sore, where that Androgeus
Out of a woode on Cassibalayn set,
And to a mounte hym droaue, where [that] Iulius
[And he hym sieged[9]] again[10] full coragious.
[He] fought full sore, with [all] manly defence[11],
All nyght [afore, by myghty resistence.][12]

¶ But some[13], for drede of famyshement,
He treated with the duke Androgeus,
To paye his tribute to Roome in good entent,
And to amende all thynges greuous,
With all his might and [hertes beneuolence.][14]

[1] perse. [2] other sum. [3] are. [4] welfare. [5] in. [6] praied hym. [7] unto hym. [8] rofe. [9] hym beseged. [10] agayn he. [11] resistence. [12] after by watche and grete defence. [13] after soone. [14] herte benevolous.

Androgeus

Androgeus to all this did assente,
And made Iulius to this fully consent.

¶ This truage was. iii. M. li. well payde
Eche yere to Rome, of siluer good and fyne;
These princes thus accorded wer and daied
In peace and reste; and Iulius went fro heyne[1]
To warre vpon Pompey, ỹ nought wold enclyne
To Romys senate, after[2] that Iulius
Hym had conquered by [warre full fortuous.][3]

¶ With whome then went the duke Androgeus,
And in Britayne no lenger wolde abyde; *Fol. xxxviii.*
He lefte his brother, duke Tennancius,
In Britayne with Cassybalyn[4] that tyde,
[And so to Rome with Iulius dyd ryde:][5]
But Neminus, brother of Cassybalayne,
Full manly fought on[6] Iulius tymes tweyne.

¶ With strokes sore ayther on other bette,
But [at the laste this prynce syr][7] Iulius,
Crosea[8] mors, his swerde, in shelde[9] sette
Of the manly worthy sir Neminus;
[Whiche, of manly force and myght vigorous,][10]
The[11] swearde he brought away oute of the felde,
As Iulius it [sat faste][12] in his shelde.

¶ Through which stroke[13] sir Neminus then died,
And buried was at [the North gate.][14] certayne,
Of London then, where nowe is [Scotlande] edified.
[London, cytee royall of all Britayne.][15]
[Thus this worthy knyght in his graue befayne,][16]
Crosea[8] mors, his swearde layde by his syde,
Whiche he [brought from][17] Iulius that tyde.

¶ After whiche accorded[18], this kyng Cassybalayn
Reigned fully in Britayne then. vii. yere,

[1] hyne. [2] afore. [3] were fortunous. Fortunous. MS. *edit. alt.* [4] Cassibelayne. [5] Who afterwarde Engelonde gouerned so wide. [6] with. [7] at laste this grete prince. [8] Crocea [9] the shelde. [10] To haue hym slayne in his grete furious. [11] whiche. [12] faste sett hade. [13] strokes. [14] North-west gate. [15] A yate rounll of all cittee in Britayne. [16] For whome was made grete sorowe not to layne. [17] by strenght toke fro. [18] accorde. *edit. alt.* this accorde, MS.

Payeng

Payeng [trybute to Rome alwaye][1] certayne,
Rulyng his lande in lawe and peace full clere:
And reygned had, in all, full thyrtye yere
And foure aboue, vnto his god so yede;
Buryed at Ebranke w̄ all knyghtly[2] worthihede.

The. xlv. Chapiter.

Temancius reygned. xvii. yere.

TEmancius, his neuewe then full faire,
Kyng Luds sonne[3], ŷ duke was of Cornewayle,
With diademe was crowned as ryght heire,
Of all Britayne had the[4] gouernalle;
Who kepte the lande, in his tyme, by good gouernalle[5],
Full. xvii. yere; to his God then wente,
Buryed full fayre, as to suche a prynce appente.

Kymbelyne.

¶ Kymbalyne so was, his sonne and heyre,
Noryshed at Rome, instructe with[6] cheualre,
That knyght was made, with honour great & fayer,
By Octauyan, reigning then enterly,
Emperour [then of Romes great][7] monerchy:
In whose tyme was both peace and all concorde
Through all ŷ worlde, and borne was Christ oure Lorde.

This Kinbelyne reigned fully. x. yere,
And ruled this lande in lawe and peace full well,
And dyed then, as sayth the chronycler,
That ilke same yere that Christe was [borne w̄ zele,][8]
[Of his mother a mayden fayre and wele,][9]
For christen folke by grace then[10] to redeme
From payne[11] of hell to blysse, as clerkes deme.

¶ From tyme ŷ worlde firste was begoonne and made,
Vnto the tyme of Christes natiuytee,
Accompted ere[12] through Christendom full brade,
Fyue. M. yere. ix. score and. xix. bee
[Or Goddes sonne cam man for to bee;][13]
As Orosius, the discyple of Austyne,
In this writyng so [as he coulde][14] determyne.

[1] a tribute for ever to Rome. [2] manner. [3] son of kynge Lud. [4] all the. [5] counsayle. [6] in. [7] of Rome the myghty. [8] bore with sele. [9] In Bethleem of Marie the maiden so clere. [10] theym. [11] the payne. [12] were. *edit. alt.* been. MS. [13] In bokes wretyn of olde antiquyte. [14] couth it.

¶ Guyder,

Guyder reigned. xliiii. yere.
Fol. xxxix.

¶ Guyder[1], his sonne and heyre, full corageous,
That crowned was, and kyng of excellence,
The trybute which the Romayns had[2] of vs,
[Denied then,][3] and made greate resystens,
With [great trouble and manly violence,][4]
Vnto the tyme that he had reygned clere
In Bretayne by. iiii. and fourty yere.

¶ In whiche yere then the Emperour Claudius,
At Caire Peers[5], that nowe Porchestre hight,
[Arryued a][6] lande, with people full corageous;
[He closed the gates afore][7] with[8] mykyll myght,
And [the cytee assauted both][9] daye and nyght,
The cytezens to famyshe and conquer[10],
His name in armes and honour to proffer[11].

¶ But king Guider[1] fought there ẅ themperour,
And slewe men[12] on euery syde aboute,
Rescowyd the towne as very protectour,
And made[13] hym [to] flé, were he neuer so stoute;
But one Hamon rode faste into the route,
Hauyng on him the Britains sygne of warre,
Who, in the prees, slewe the kyng Guyder[14].

The. xlvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Aruiragus, kynge of Britayne, reygned. xliiii. yere. And howe, in his tyme, Claudeus, Emperour, had truage of this lande, and maryed his doughter to the kynge.

Aruiragus reigned. xliii. yere.

ARuiragus ẏ sawe his brother slayne,
His brothers armis vpon hym self he cast,
And king was then of all ẏ Great Britain,
Vpon Hamon pursued, tyll[15] at the laste,
He droue hym into the hauen full faste,
And drowned him there, after[16] hight Hamō towne,
That [men nowe call][17] shorte speche Southhāpton.

[1] Gwider. [2] clayned. [3] He denyed. [4] his Britons and theire manly defence. [5] Caier Peris. [6] Arose to. [7] assawte that town. [8] with full. [9] it seged both be. [10] to conquer. [11] prefere. [12] his men. [13] caused. [14] Gwiderre. [15] to. [16] after hym. [17] nowe men call for.

To Winchester kyng Aruiragus rode,
Whether Claudius came w̄ Romans ful of pryde,
Where Aruiragus with Britayns him abode;
But as they should haue fought[1] in that tyde,
By both theyr councelles[2] they were [drawē on][3] side:
[Claudius doughter][4] to wed they were accorde,
And truage to paye eche yere withoute discorde.

Then Claudius sente for dame [Gennyse,]
His doughter fayre, full womanly to see;
She came in haste, as then it myght suffyse,
To come oute frome[5] so farre [lande and] countre,
And in a mede, with floures of greate[6] beaute,
Wedded they were; where Claudius then made
A cytee fayre, Cayre Glowe[7] to[8] name it had.

[a] Wherof Gloucester was so named.

¶ Of his name it was so denominate,
Nowe Gloucester, standynge on Seuerne syde:
The[9] maryage, after Christe was incarnate,
Was in the yere fourtye and syxe that tyde.
So in Britayne two yere he dyd abyde;
Orcades ysles in the meane tyme he conquered,
In whiche he enfeffid[10] the kyng, & hym preferred.

¶ And home to Rome he passed so agayne;
But after[11] agayne, the kyng truage denyed,
And none wolde paye; wherefore Vaspasyan
Hyther was sent, with Romains fortifyed.
At Ruteporte, that nowe Sandwiche is notifyed,
The kyng hym met and put hym [frome the][12] lande,
To Totenesse went, and notwithstandyng[13] faude.

Fol. xl.

¶ So went he forth to Exceter his waye,
Caire Penelgorte then hight, and it assaide[14],
Where then the kyng hym met the seuentene[15] day
With hoste full stronge, but then the king preuayled;
But Gennyse, the quene, greatly auayled,
By her trety made them full well accorde,
That with Rome he dyd no more discorde.

[1] foughten. [2] counsailers. *edit. alt.* [3] drawe. [4] The doughter of Claudius. [5] of. [6] fresh.
[7] Clau. [8] the. [9] This. [10] feoffid. [11] efte. [12] fro his. [13] no withstondyng.
[14] assailed. [15] seventh.

The.

The. xlvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Ioseph Aramathie came vnto Britayne with Vaspasyan, and chrystened a parte of this lande.

VAspasyan wintered then in Britayne,
At the prayer of quene Gennyse,
And had truage then fully payde agayne
[To Vaspasyan, as before was the gyse;]
With whome Ioseph full holy and full wyse,
Of Aramathie, with his fellowes fourtene,
[Into this lande then came and gaue contene.][1]

¶ For whome so then Vaspasyan praid the kyng, Vaspasyan.
The quene also, to hym to be good lorde
And good ladie, which they graunted[2] in all thing,
Declaring then, and fully dyd recorde,
[This worthy Vaspasyan by his owne worde]
Howe he hym tooke oute of Cayphas prysone,
Preserued by God, and [not by][3] mannes reasone.

¶ For fourty yere and two he [in prisone][4] laye,
[Fro Christes death to tyme that he hym fande,][5]
Withoute meate or drynke by any [maner] waye.
But only was conforted[6] by Goddes sonde,
[And howe he hym brought oute of Ierusalē lond.][7]
All this he tolde the king and eke the quene,
And prayde theim his supporters to been.

¶ After the wynter, nexte in somer[8] tyed,
Vaspasyan to Rome then[9] went agayne;
Ioseph abode, and fully landifyed[10]
The lawe of Christe, to whiche he was full fayne,
And[11] the kyng gaue,[12] the sothe to sayne,
Twelue hydes of lande ỳ then Mewtryn[13] hight,
Whiche Glastenbury is nowe named full right.

[1] Of holy lifynge full vertuouse and perfite,
Into this londe than come with grete delite.

[2] graunte. [3] by no. [4] prisouned. [5] Fro deth of Criste to tyme he hade hym founde. [6] comforte.
[7] And of Criste blode he founde in Iosephe honde. [8] the somers. [9] he. [10] lawdefiede.
[11] And than. [12] him gave. [13] Insewetryne.

In Bretayne then this Ioseph dyd conuerte
Brytons ay howe[1] to knowe [the incarnacyon,][2]
Afore that [Paynyms][3] and also peruerte,
He taught them, of his conuersacyon,
Of his[4] passyon and his[5] resurreccyon,
[With other thinges, as the chronycler saith,
That apperteygneth to Christes fayth.][6]

Agrestes. ¶ Agrestes[7] reygned by. iiii. and syxty yere,
When he was dead, [& in Caire Glawe][8] was buryed
In a temple entoumbed fayre and clere,
Of his goddes, that there were deifyed:
[Aboute whyche][9] tyme so oure ladye Mary dyed,
Or elles assumpte in body and soule on lyue,
Vnto the blysse after her ioyes fyue.

¶ But Vaspasyan, with his hoste full royall,
And Ioseph also[10], came into Britayne,
The yere of Chryste was then accompte, in all,
Seuenty and syxe, the sooth for to sayne;
Fol. xli. [Whē Vaspasiā to Roome retourned home again,
The kyng enduyd Ioseph in Meutryne.][11]

The. xlviij. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Ioseph conuerted this kyng Aruiragus, & gaue hym a shelde of ỹ armes that wee call sainct George his armes, whiche armes he bare euer after; & thus became that armes to bee ỹ kynges armes of this lāde, lōg afore sainct George was gotten or borne. And as Maryan, the profounde chronicler, saieth, he bare of siluer, in token of clennes, a crosse of goules, significacion of the bloodde that Christe bleedde on ỹ crosse, and for it muste nedes of reason by[12] called a crosse.

[1] where. [2] their caucion. [3] were Payñs. [4] Cristes. [5] of his.

[6] At Caier Lyoun a crucifixe he made,
Full like to Criste, that after ther abade.
Agrestes kinge of Walys he did converte,
And people grete; but soone that kynge gañ madde,
He drowned that rode and falsly was preuerte,
Into the see he caste it, as hym badde
The deucls whome afore he serued hadde;
For the which on hym Gode toke full high vengeaunce,
That in an oven he brent for that offence.

[7] This. [8] at Caier Clau. [9] In whos. [10] als so.

[11] To whome wase yevyn a cuntrey lowe and playne.
The kynge endowed Ineswetryne,
That Avalon was called after syne.

[12] be. *edit. alt.*

IOseph

IOseph conuerted[1] this kyng Aruigarus,
By his prechyng, to knowe ẏ lawe deuine,
And baptized hym, as writē hath Nenius[2],
The chronicler, in Bretain tongue full fyne,
[And to Christe lawe made hym enclyne :][3]
And gaue hym then a shelde of[4] siluer white,
A crosse endlong and ouertwhart full perfect[5].

¶ These[6] armes were vsed through[7] all Brytain
For a cōmon signe, eche māne to knowe his naciō
Frome enemies, whiche nowe we call, certain,
Sainct Georges armes, by Nenyus[8] enformaciō :
[And thus this armes, by Iosephes creacion,][9]
Full long afore sainct George was generate
Were [worshipt heir][10] of mykell elder date.

The. xlix. Chapiter.

¶ Marius, the kyng of Brytain, reigned sixty yere and three. Howe the Peightes inhabited firste in Albany, ẏ is Scotlāde nowe in these dayes, in Catenes, & thei wer the North Peightes ; and a part of theim inhabited sone after bytwyxt the Scottes sea and Tweid, that were called South Peightes.

MAryus[11], his soonne, was then intronizate,
And sette on high in trone of maiestie,
With crowne of golde full royally coronate,
As worthy was vnto his royalte ;
Who nourished was at Rome in [his] inuente,
With his mothers[12] kynne, the beest[13] of the empire,
With Claudius also, that was his oune graūdsir.

¶ In whose tyme a Peight[14] hight Rodrike,
With power greate by sea came fro Sythy,.

[1] converte. [2] Nenius. *edit. alt.* Mewinus. MS. [3] And shewed hym a figure of Cristes pyne.
[4] as. [5] *After this stanza the Harleian MS. has the following.*

Of his oun blode, whiche from his necke did rynne,
He made that crosse in signyficacion
Of Cristes blode, that ranne out fro withynne
Vpon the crosse at his expiracion:
Whiche shelde, by Ioseph exhortacion,
He bore on hym in feldes of werre alwaye,
And in his baners and cote-armour gaye.

[6] The. [7] in. [8] Mewyns. [9] Whiche armys here were made after Criste passion.
[10] Were worshipped here. [11] Maurius. *edit. alt.* [12] moder. [13] best. [14] Picte.

As

As proude and bryme as lyon Marmerike[1],
Arreued [so vp][2] in Albanye,
Distroiyng whole the lande all sodainly;
With whome ẏ kyng thē faught in greate battell,
And sleugh [hym with oute any][3] faile:

¶ Wher then, in signe of his high victorye,
He sette there vp a stone in remembraunce
Of his triumph of his aduersarie,
Titled [on it][4] his fame [for] to auaunce,
[Howe the Peightes there brought to vttraunce,][5]
Wher the redde[6] crosse is nowe in Westmerlande,
In[7] Stanys more, as I canne vnderstande.

¶ Then to ẏ Peightes[8] [left a liue,][9] he gaue Catenese,
To dwell vpon and haue in heritage,
Whiche weddid wher with Irish as I gesse,
Of whiche after [Scottes came on that][10] linage:
For Scottes bee, to saie their[11] langage,
A collecciō of many into one,
Of whiche the Scottes were called so anone.

The. l. Chapiter.

Fol. xlii. Howe Scottes came of Scota, kyng Pharois doughter, ẏ came after many daye into Albanye; so ẏ of Peightes Irish, & of Pharois people, collect to gethers, wer Scottes named: for at the tauerne, or at a gatheryng of people, or of mony, is called a Scotte, and so came first ẏ name of Scottes, which Scottes inhabited theim by twixt Catnes & ẏ Scottishe sea.

BVt Mewynus, the Bryton chronicler,
Saieth in his chronicles orther wise;
That Gadelus[12] and Scota in the yere
Of Christe [seuenty and fiue, by][13] assise,
At Stone[14] inhabitte as might suffise,
And of hir name that countre there[15] aboute
Scotlande she called that tyme with outen doubt.

Howe Galway had fyrst the name of kyng Gadelus.

[¶ This Scota was, as Mewyn saieth the sage,
Doughter and bastarde of kyng Pharao ẏ daye,
Whome Gadele wedded, and in his olde age

[1] Marmorike. [2] up so than. [3] right ther withouten. [4] out. [5] Marius hath slayne Rodrike here with a launce. [6] rere. [7] On. [8] Pictes. [9] on lyve. [10] come Scottes of their. [11] in their. *edit. alt.* MS. [12] Gadolus. [13] sexty and fifteene of. [14] Sconc. [15] rounde.

Vnto

Vnto a lande he went, where he inhabited ay,
Whiche yet of his name is calle Gadelway;
And with the Peightes he came into Albanie
The yere of Christ aforsaid openlye.]

¶ And at hir death she left a precious stone
[In Albany, on whiche Moses did preache,][1]
And buryed there she was by hir [self] alone;
[Whiche stone was holy, as some menne then did teache,
And did miracles, so was ŷ cōmon speache;
In honour it was had bothe of greate and small,
And holden for a relique moost speciall.][2]

¶ This stone was called the regall of Scotlāde, The regall of Scotlande.
On whiche ŷ Scottish kynges wer brechelesse set
At their coronomente, as I canne vnderstande:
For holynes of it, so [did thei][3] of debte,
[All their kynges vpon this stone was sette,][4]
Vnto the tyme kyng Edward with long shankes,
Brought it awaye again the Scottes vnthākes.

¶ At Westmonestery[5] it offered to sainct Edward, The subiection of Scotlād.
Where it is kepte and conserued,
To tyme that[6] kynges of Englande afterward
Should coroned bee, vnder their fete obserued,
[To this entent kept and reserued;][7]
In remembraunce of kynges of Scottes alway,
Subiectes should bee to kynges of Englāde ay.

¶ Also afore the fifte kyng Henrye[s] daye,
Their siluer coigne was, as it ought to bee,
The kynges face loked[8] on side all waye

[1] At that same place on whiche Moyses preached. [2] *Instead of these four last lines the Harleian and Selden MSS. have the following, with an additional stanza.*

For Gadolus of sekenes was well leched,
Vnto a londe he went as he was teched,
And it yuhabite for his abidynge ay,
And of his name he called it Gadelway.

Which by shortenes of newe mens langage,
Nowe is named and called is Gallaway.
This Scota was, as Mewyn saith the sage,
Doughter bastarde of kynge Pharao that day,
Whome Gadell wed and brought with hym away,
And with the Pictes come into Albany
The yere of Criste aforesede openly.

[3] they dide. [4] Whiche custome so amonges theym wase not lett. [5] Westmynstre. [6] the.
[7] As soureyne lorde ouer Scottys to be preserued. [8] shewed.

To his soueraigne [lorde] of Englande as I see:
Whiche [to been hetherwarde][1] of egalite,
Vnto their lorde thei haue of newe presumed
To looke euen furth, whiche would nowe bee consumed.

¶ Kyng Maryus kepte ȳ [realme in lawe &][2] peace,
Full of riches and of prosperyte,
And dyed so at Sarum, buryed dowteles,
When he had reigned sixty yere[3] and three:
His tribute payed full well to Roome citee:
Of Christes faith sumwhat he was enformid,
But muche more he neded[4] to haue been reformid.

Coylus reigned xiii. yere.

¶ Coylus his soonne was kyng then crouned so.
Who nurtryed was at Roome in greate vertue,
Held well his lawes egall to frende and foo,
And in his dooynges[5] full iuste he was and trewe;
Fol. xliii.
His life alwaye and rule in[6] vertue grewe,
That full great name[7] of hym was notifyed,
And in all landes of honoure[8] multiplied.

¶ The lordes, gentiles, yemen, and commontee,
He cherished well, and in no wise oppressed,
And to theim gaue wher was necessitee,
And tribute payde to Rome vndistressed:
And at his death, with sickenesse impressed[9],
He buried was at Norwhiche then full clere,
When he reigned had fully. xiii. yere.

¶ Somewhat in fayth of Christ he was instruct,
But not fully, as was necessitee,
Like as [he was in Rome with hym inducte,][10]
So helde he forth in all stabilitee,
And as he harde in all symylitee,
Howe Ioseph had his graundser[11] enformed,
With benyng herte and wil, he hym confyrmed[12].

The. li. Chapter.

¶ Lucius, kyng of Britayn, reigned. liiii. yere, and was the seconde christ-

[1] hiderwarde toben. [2] well the londe in. [3] yeres. [4] nede. [5] domes. [6] and. [7] fame. [8] honoures. [9] sore impressed. [10] at Rome he was in it inducte. [11] graundesire. [12] confourmed.

ened

ened kyng of Britayn, by Faggan & Dubyan, that baptized all this lande; and for thesame cause bare the same armes after he was baptized. Also he made of. iiii. archeflamynes in Britayn, three archebyshoppes, at London, Yorke and Carlion.

Lucyus kyng.

AFter kyng Coile his sonne, then Lucius,
So crowned was with royall diademe,
In all vertue folowed his father Coilus;
To compare hym in all that myght beseme,
He put his will after, [as] his witte could deme,
In so farre forth that of Christentee[1],
He contynued[2] so a Christen man to bee.

¶ And in the yere of Christes incarnacion
An. C. foure score[3] and tenne,
Eleuthery[4] [the] first, at supplicacion
Of Lucyus, sent hym twoo holy menne
That called wer [Faggan and Duuyen][5],
That baptized hym, & all his realme throughoute,
With hertes glad and laboure deuoute.

¶ Thei taught ỹ folke ỹ lawe of Christ eche daye,
And halowed all the temples in Christes name,
[All mawmentes][6] and idols caste awaye
Through all Britayn, of al false goddes thesame,
The [temples flamynes,][7] the idols for to shame.
They halowed eke and made[8] bishoppes sees
Twenty and. viii. at dyuers great citees.

¶ Of. [iii. archeflamynes][9] thei made archbishoprikes:
One at London, [Troynouannt that][10] hight,
For all Logres, with lawes full autentikes
To rule the churche & christentee in right:
Another at Carlyon, a towne of might,
For all Cambre: at Ebranke[11] the thirde[12],
From Trent North for Albany is kyde.

¶ All these workes [Eugeny then][13] confirmed.
The kyng then gaue to [Faggan and Duuyen][5]
The ysle of Anaioon, and by cherter affirmed,

[1] the Cristente. [2] coueite. [3] And therto four score. [4] Pope Euletherye. [5] Phagane and Dirvyen
[6] And the mawmets. [7] temple-flaumes. [8] made theym. [9] the archflaumes.
[10] that Troynovaunt than. [11] Eboranke. [12] thrid. [13] the Pope gladly.

That was called otherwyse Mewtryen[1],
Also[2] frely as Ioseph and his holy men
Had it afore [then forth][3] for theyr dispence,
Fol. xliiii. Wherof[4] [thei] wer glad, and thought it sufficience.

¶ [But whē this kyng had reygned in cotēplaciō,
Fyftie and. iiii. yere in all prosperitee,
He departed to God, desyryng his saluacion,
In heauen to dwell with all felycytee,
Where the aungelles synge incessauntely
Glory, honoure, and euerlastyng prayse
Be to the lambe of God, nowe and alwayes.][5]

¶ At Cairglowe[6] buried, after his dignitee,
For whom all men made great lamentacion;
Who bare before the[7] baptyme of propertee,
His auncestres armes, and after with consolaciō,
He bare the armes, by[8] his baptizacion,
Whiche Ioseph gaue vnto Aruigarus,
[As the Briton saith, that hight Mewynus][9].

¶ For cause he had no[ne] heire to kepe the lande,
Through all Britayn the barons gan discorde,
Vnto the tyme that Romayns toke on hande
To chese a prince by there stedfaste accorde,
But. iiii. yere were gone or [then] they could accorde[10];
In whiche tyme then Seuer the senatour,
Hether came[11] to be theyr[12] gouernoure.

[1] Inswetryan. [2] As. [3] thensfurth. [4] Therof. [5] *Instead of this stanza the Harleian and Selden MSS. have,*

The yere of Crist an hundreth four score and sixtene,
The crucifixe whiche Ioseph made and sett
At Caierlion, euermore to haue honoured bene,
In Themmys come up, withoute any lette,
Wher Poules qwarfe is now with flodes bett;
Whiche Lucius, with Troynovaunte cite,
With procession brought with solempnyte,

And sett it up at Poules with reuerence,
At the North dore by inspiraciōn,
Wher long it stode whiles Britons had regence;
But whan the kynge hade reigned, in contemplacion,
Fifty and four ycre in grete prosperacion,
He passed to Gode whome he hade alwaye serued,
To haue the blisse that he hade euer deserued.

[6] Caier Clau. [7] his. [8] of. [9] As saith the Britoun called Mewynus. [10] couth concorde. [11] than come. [12] the.

The.

The. lii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe that ther was Britons warre. iiii. yere after the death of Lucius.

SEuerus thus the worthy senatour, Seuerus kyng.
Descēded downe right heire to Androgeus,
The eldest soonne of Lud, that with the Emperoure
[Out of Britayn that went with Iulius:
Whiche senatoure afore sayd, Seuerus,]
To Britayn came and was intromizate,
And with a crowne of golde was coronate.

¶ He brought with hym frō Rome two legion[1],
With whom great part of Britons[2] helde ful sore,
And other parte of [the] northren Britons
With Fulgen stode, was kyng of Scotlande bore,
[Gathered great people euer more and more;]
With whom ỹ Pightes[3] & fugitiues. viii. esenable[4],
Destroyed the lande by warre full violable.

The. liii. Chapter.

¶ Howe Seuer made a dike with a wall on it of turues and soddes, to kepe the Pightes and the Scottes from the Britons, ouertwharte the land, frō the east sea vnto ỹ west sea.

BVt kyng Seuer hym droue ẇ batayl sore
Farre north vnto[5] the Scottishe sea,
Wher thei abode & dwelled for[th] euermore,
Betwene the [Scottishe sea][6] and Twede no lee;
But some bookes saye[n] to Tyne in certayn[7],
And so is like, for Seuer there did make,
[A dike and wall,][8] for [the] Scottes & Pightes sake,

¶ From Tymnouth[9] to Alclud his fayre citee,
With turues & soddes, & wer theim [to againstand,][10]
Where the water myght not the enemytee
Kepe of [warre] from his trewe Britayn lande[11],
By fyfty myles accompte[d] I vnderstande[12],
To the Weste sea, that was of greate Brytayn:
[This wal, ẇ dikes, Pightes & Scottes did refrein.][13]

[1] legyons. [2] Britayne. [3] Pictes. [4] unresonable. [5] beyonde. [6] Scottysse. [7] certaynte. [8] a diche, a wall. [9] Tynmouth. [10] agayn stode. [11] blode. [12] vnderstode. [13] This walle-diche Pictes and Scottys dide refrayne.

¶ But

Fol. xlv.

¶ But kyng Fulgē of Pightes & Scottes again,
With hoste full great [sieged Ebranke][1] citee;
Whiche Seuer rescowed, and was[2] slayn,
And Fulgen also for beten there did dye,
[Receaued his guerdon for his tyrannye:][3]
At Ebranke[4] the kyng Seuer was buried,
With victorie and honours glorified.

Getā king of Britain chosen by ye Romayns.

¶ Getan his sonne, a Romayne generate,
The Romaynes then hastely did crowne:
And Britons bloodde[5] together congregate
By hole assente[6] and playne eleccion,
Bassyan chase without collucion[7];
For borne he was of the feminytee
Of Britayn bloodde and consanguitee.

Bassian reygned vii. yere.

¶ This Bassian with Getan then did fight
In great batayll, wher Getan so was slayn,
To Bassian so discended all the right,
Of whiche the Brytons all were full[8] fayn;
Within. iiii. wekes was all this done full[9] playn:
But Bassian then his brother buried,
And Romayns all on hepes mortifyed.

Bassian then was crouned kyng of Brytayn,
Full well he helde the realme. vii. yere in peace,
To tyme Caranse confedered hym agayn,
With Scottes & Pightes vpō hym gon[10] encrease,
All fugitiues, outlawes, to hym [came prease;][11]
For long he had a robber [been] by the sea,
And richer was then any kyng myght bee.

By his manhode set all on[12] roberye,
Of lowe bloodde came, rysen by insolence;
To soudyours he gaue wages full greatly,
For to betraye the kyng, by diligence,
He to the[13] kyng so made by violence;
Whiche promyse kepte, he slewe the kyng anone,
In place wher as thei wer [with hym][14] alone.

[1] besieged Eboranke. [2] ther was. [3] And Scottes and Pictes to Scotlonde faste dide flee. [4] Eboranke. [5] bolde. [6] entente. [7] with shorte conclusioune. [8] than full. [9] still. [10] gan. [11] gan prees. [12] by grete. [13] be. [14] by theym.

The.

The. liiii. Chapiter.

¶ Carense[1], kyng of Britayne, reigned. iiii. yere by treason, borne of lowe bloodde, and rose vp of robery by the sea.

Caranse reigned iiii. yeres.

THrough treason [of Carense, Scottes & the Pightes,][2]
Assented so by fals cōfederaciō,
Through his giftes & his subtyll slightes,
Betwene theim wrought in councell priuatly[3],
This false Carense[4] so gatte the monarchie
Of all Britayn within the sea aboute,
Foure yere he reigned, of porte that was ful stoute.

¶ The Barons were [so with gold englaymed,][5]
By this Carense[4], and by his language swete,
Semyng like truth in maner as he proclaymed,
As nothyng is more redy for to mete
Then coueteous[6] and falshode as men lete;
So wer they all with his giftes enfecte,
The kynge was slayne and he was electe[7].

¶ But whē to[8] Rome was knowne ŷ false disceyt,
Of this Caranse and his wronge intrucion,
The senate sent [a letter,][9] by theyr conceyte,
Hym to distroye by dewe execucion,
Who for his faute gaue hym absolucion,
In batell stronge slewe hym and had the felde, *Fol. xlvi.*
And Scottes all and Pyeghtes[10] ŷ with hym helde.

The. lv. Chapiter[11].

¶ The wordes of the maker of this booke vnto my Lorde of Yorke, touchynge gouernaunce of this lande, by example of this kyng Caranse, through robbery refen of poore bloude to royall estate.

O Worthy lorde and duke of Yorke ŷ been,
Consyder well this case full lamentable,
The righwes kīg, wel gouerned as [it] was sene,
Thus murdred was of him ŷ was vnhable,
And set hym selfe in trone moste honourable

[1] [Carausius.] [2] so of Caranse, Scottes & Pictes. [3] priuely. [4] Caranse. [5] with golde so en.... [6] covetyse. [7] king electe. [8] at. [9] Allecte. [10] Pictes. [11] *The first of the two stanzas of this Chapter is placed in the Harleian MS. between what are here the first and second of the fifty-fourth Chapter.*

Of

Of all Britayne; yet came he vp of nought,
And of lowe bloude, and[1] it were wysely sought.

¶ Good lorde when ye be set well vnder crowne,
With treytours and misruled ryatours
Dispence right so with all suche absolucyon,
And lette hym[2] seke no other correctours,
But maynteyne [theim your lawes gouernours;][3]
And ouer all thyng be ye the chefe Iustyce,
To kepe the peace, that no false you[4] suppryse.

The. lvi. Chapiter.

* Allectus kyng reygned. iii. yere.

ALlecto[5] then crowned[6] and made kyng
Of all Britayne[7], reigning fully yeres thre,
And well he ruled in all maner werkyng[8],
By power of the Romans greate postee,
That brought with him from Rome legions thre;
But Britayns then dyd set a parlyament,
And chase a kyng by theyr[9] hole assent.

¶ Asclipiade[10], that was duke of Cornewayle,
Who with Brytons to Troynouaunt came[11]
Whylest[12] Romans were, by theyr hole gouernalle,
At sacrifyce[13] of their goddes faynte and lame;
Agaynste whome Alecto[5] of greate fame
Full mightly then faught, tyll[14] he was slayne;
But Gallus drewe all Romans in[15] agayne,

And kepte the wallys, for whiche Asclepiadote
The seege aboute the cytee strongly layde:
In which meane while Britōs brake in, God wote,
And slewe Gallus and Romains sore affrayde,
[All out of araye and sore dismayde,][16]
Besyde a broke that Walbroke men nowe call,
That Galbroke then was called there ouer all,

Of Gallus name, that slayne was in that place,
And some[17] sayne of Walshemen afterwarde,
Walbroke it called, for a sodaine case

[1] if. [2] theym. [3] than of lawes the gouernours. [4] do you. [5] Alleete. [6] was crowned.
[7] Britons. [8] of werkyng. [9] all theyr. [10] Asclepiadotus. [11] than came. [12] while.
[13] the sacrifice. [14] to. [15] theryn. [16] And for Gallus dede to the grounde wase laiede. [17] som meñ.

That

That then[1] byfell vpon a daye full harde;
[Of the Brytons that with theim so miscaryed][2]
[Ouer that ylke][3] brooke, full sore & harde distressed,
By Cornyshmen slayne downe ther & oppressed.

The. lvii. Chapiter.

¶ Asclepiadote, kynge of Britayne, reygned. x. yere, in whose tyme was great persecucyon in Britayne. Sayncte Albons slayne, and many thousandes slayne, for Chrystes sake.

* Asclepiadote reygned. x. yere.

ASclepiadote was crowned king agayne[4]
In royall[5] wyse, with all solempnyte;
The lawes well he helde, and put [in] great payne,
Ouer[6] trespassours for their peruersite,
Theuys and robbers on galowis hanged [to be;][7]
But in his tyme the emperour Dioclesyan,
Into Britayne then sente Maximian.

Fol. xlvii.

¶ This Maximian to surname Hercelyus[8],
A tyraunte false that Christeute[9] anoyed,
Through all Britayne, of werke malycious,
The [christoned folke][10] fully [and sore][11] destroyed;
[And thus the people with hym fonle accloyed.][12]
Religyous men[13], the prestes and clerkes all,
Wemen with chylde, and bedred folkes all[14],

¶ Chyldrē soukyng vpon the[15] mothers pappis,
The mothers also, withoute[n] any pytee,
And chyldren all in theyr mothers lappys,
The crepyls[16] eke, and all the Christentee,
He kylled[17] and slewe with full great cruelte:
The churches brent, all bokes or ornamentes,
Bellys, relyquys, that to [the churche][18] appendes.

The. lviii. Chapter.

¶ This persecucion was in ỳ yere of Christes birth, a C.lxxx and. iiii. yere, and the. x. yere of kyng Asclepiadote.

[1] theym. [2] Where they were slayne myscheuously and marde. [3] On that same. [4] certayne. [5] all. [6] Of. [7] he. [8] Herculeus. [9] cristened. [10] Cristen people. [11] he. [12] In cursed doynge as a tiraunte he enyoied. [13] folke. [14] ouer all. [15] theyr. [16] crisomes. [17] knewe. [18] churches.

HE slew, that time, & martyred saint Albone,
And with him [also Iulus and Araon,][1]
And Amphimabal[2] ẏ wolde not dye[3] alone,
But offered hym to dye with him[4] anone,
For Christes loue, as[5] faste as he myght gone;
For thousandes sele were martered in those daies,
Whose soules be nowe in blysse and shal alwaies.

¶ Asclepiadote reygned fully but. x. yere,
Who, for great feare, suffred all this payne,
And durste nothyng agayne this tyraunt steare,
But him withdrewe to hyde hym was full fayne.
This persecucyon, as some chronyclers sayne,
The. x. yere was of Asclepiadote,
For whiche duke Coyle agayne him rose ful hote.

¶ The duke Caire Colun, [that hight][6] Coylus,
Whiche cytee [nowe] this daye Colchester hight,
Then crowned was, [that slewe][7] Asclepiadotus,
[For cause he came not fourth ẇ all his might,][8]
The tyraunt fell to agaynstande as he hight:
Wherfore Britayns were all full gladde & fayne,
Of kynge Coylus ẏ succured all theyr payne.

The. lix. Chapiter.

¶ Kyng Coyle of Briteyne reygned. xi. yere, that was father to saynte Elyne.

Kyng Coylus reygned. xi. yere.

HE ruled the realme in lawe and peace ful wel,
That, for his wyt and vertuosyte,
Able he was, as chronycles coulde[9] fele,
To haue ruled all the emperalyte[10],
For ryghtwesnesse, manhode and moralytee:
A doughter had he, and none other heire,
Elyne that hyght, farre passyng good and fayre;

¶ That afterwarde she was and is canonyzed,
In shryne at Rome, that is[11] Saynt Elyne;
Her father Coyle set her to be excercysed,
In philosophye and other[12] scyence clene,

[1] als Iulius and Aron. [2] Amphibale. [3] lyue. [4] them. [5] als. [6] called. [7] because.
[8] Come not furth to shewe all his power and might. [9] couth. [10] temporalite. [11] nowe is.
[12] in other.

[In whiche she coulde her selfe ryght wel demeane,][1]
That she was able, by wytte and sapience,
The realme to rule, and haue therof [the] regence. *Fol. xlviii.*

The. lx. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Constancius, senatoure and emperour of Rome, wedded saynt Elyne, and by her was kyng of this lande.

THe Romans sēt to Britayne Constancius,
That Spayne had put in hole subiecyon,
Vnto Rome, as chronicles [haue] writē thus:
Who landed here withoute reiecyon,
To whome kyng Coyle by good direcyon
His message sente, offeryng hym his truage,
[And] he to stande king and holde his herytage.

¶ [Of whiche][2] Constance was glad of his entente.
And here abode at prayer of the kynge,
His doughter wed by their [whole assente,][3]
Elyne, his heyre, ỳ was both good and yonge,
Of hye[4] wysdome, and womanly conning;
And there with all the fairest that men knewe,
More angelyke then womannyshe of hewe.

¶ Within fyue wekes after her father dyed,
Buryed at Care Colune, his owne cytee,
Greatly cōmended, well famed and laudifyed,
Both on this syde and beyonde the sea,
Eleuen yere reigned in greate dignyte;
And ouer all thyng alway[5] comon publyke,
Of his realme wrought not many kīges him lyke.

The. lxi. Chapiter.

COnstance was kīg crowned w̄ diademe, Constaūce kyng reygned. xv yere.
And Elin quene, through al great[6] Britain,
On whom he gate a sonne ỳ had bapteme,
That Constantyne called was then in certayne;
But kyng Constaūce of Rome was hye cheftaine,

[1] Lettred she wase knowinge the science seuene. [2] wherof. [3] both consent. [4] his high. *edit. alt.* [5] the. [6] the grete.

By the senate fyrste made [the] Emperoure,
And after kyng of Britayne and gouernoure.

Whiles he laboured for Romes publyke[1] profete
With his felowe, that hyght Galerius,
That Emperoure[2] of Rome by greate delyte,
Whiche [of Maxence][3] of porte malicyous,
Werryd[4] full sore with [werke full][5] cheualrous;
And all the weste this Constaunce had and hylde,
Galerius had the este there into[6] bylde.

¶ And after, when this Constaunce of Britayne,
Was crowned kyng, the comon wele preferryd[7]
Of all his realme, not lettyng for disdayne,
He wrought it aye, and no tyme it differed,
As chronycles of hym sayde and referred:
And when he had reygned hole. xv. yere,
At Ebranke was he buryed[8] full clere.

The. lxii. Chapiter.

¶ Constantyne, kyng of Britayne, sonne of Constaunce and of saynte Elyn, by. xxxiiii. yere, was fyrst kynge of Brytayne, and afterwarde Emperoure of Rome.

Constantyne reygned. xxxiiii. yere.

HIs sonne ful yonge, Constantyne, his heire,
Then crowned was by all the baronage,
Who lykely was, semely and ryght[9] feire,
Of. xv. yeres, so in his tender age,
Great manhode had to rule his heritage;
Of greate wysdome was, and of sapience,
By discrecyon [had he][10] intellygence.

Fol. xlix.

¶ He had also a lambishe pacience,
To here all pleyntes mekely with sobernes,
A lyons chere in felde, with good regence,
Discrecion good to chastysh[11] wickednes;
The welfare of his realme, with busines,
Preserued euer and kepte in regyment,
And wher nede was, he made suppowelment.

[1] comyne. [2] Emperours. [3] Oon Maxencius. [4] Warred. *edit. alt.* [5] vengeable. [6] therein to. *edit. alt.* theryn hym to. MS. [7] he preferred. [8] he was. [9] also. [10] and high. [11] chastise.

¶ The

¶ The senatours of Roome, by letters well endite,
Praied hym to come to Roome as emperour,
For to destroye Maxence, and disherit,
Of Christen folke the cruell turmentour,
Of Christen[1] faieth the cursed confoundour;
For of his birth thei saied it sette hym so,
Maxence to stroye, that was his fathers fo.

¶ [For whiche][2] he went to Roome ẇ greate power
Of Britons strong, ẇ Flemynges and Barbayns[3],
Henaulde*s*, Gelder*s*[4], Burgonians[5], & Frenche [full clere,]
Duchemēne, Lūbarde*s*, also many Almains,
The yere of Christ three. C. and ten ẇ Romains;
Mette with Maxence and with Dioclesian,
And their feloe that hight Maximian.

¶ Sumwhat afraid of their multitude,
Constantyne [then he held vp to][7] heuen,
And sawe a crosse, in[8] whiche was enclude
This reason good, "*In hoc vinco*[9]," full euine,
His ferdnes so anone then did hym leuen;
In signe of whiche, a crosse of goules[10] he bare
In his baner[11] white, & with hym[12] faught [he] there.

¶ He had the felde, and putte theim to the flight,
Wherfore euer after[13] he bare twoo[14] armes clere,
In all likenes to euery mannes sight
As Englishemenne in this lande bare theim here,
Sainct Georges armes nowe called ẇoutē wer:
Thus hath the kyng of Englande to theim right,
Throughe[15] eldres goottē, [by God his][16] verey might.

¶ The senate whole, hym mette and magnified,
His high tryumphe and mighty victorye,
With laude and honour fully glorified,
As vsage was that tyme of[17] Romanye,
At certain gates sette vp for memory;
And crouned hym in[18] imperiall trone,
That so manly had quit theim of their foone.

[1] Cristes. [2] wherfor. [3] Brabans. [4] Gellers. [5] Burgoynes. [6] infere. [7] beheld up unto
[8] in the. [9] *Vince.* [10] golde. [11] bane. [12] theym. [13] furth. [14] tho.
[15] by his. [16] thorough Godes. [17] in. *edit. alt.* [18] in the.

The. lxiii. Chapiter.

¶ Thanswere of Constantyne whā he was a leper, & should haue been heled with the bloodde of innocentes ; and howe he sent his mother, sainct Elyn, to seke the holy crosse. And howe he gaue his palis and dignite emperiall of Roome to Siluester. And howe he went to Besaūce, and builded it all newe, & called it Constantyne, & destroyed all the Aryanes heresies, and dyed there at Sainct Nychomede, whose daye is halowed with the Grekes in the twenty and one daye of Maye.

BVt howe that he a leaper after grewe,
And by his leches vtterly infourmed,
Many[1] innocentes whiche ther[2] were borne newe,
For his health[3] should slain beē & disformed,
[By theim into heale again returned :][4]
In whose bloodde bathed he should haue been,
His leprous swames[5] to haue weshed of clene.

Fol. L.

¶ But[6] howe their death, of emperiall[7] pitee,
He then released, rather to[8] haue his pain,
Then to recouer by [tyranne crueltee][9],
His health[10] and life so to[11] gette again,
[For whō these innocentes should haue been slain ;][12]
And howe he was by Siluester made clene,
With holy water, that yet in Roome is seen.

Sorcerie.

¶ Nor[13] howe he sente his mother, sainct Elin
[To seke][14] the holy crosse, whiche she hym brought :
Ne howe shē brought the clerkes with hir again,
Of Iewes lawe, it to approue for nought,
With Christen clerkes, by reason[15] well out sought;
Ne[16] when our lawe by Siluester for trewe
Was best approued, that other lawe vntrewe.

Constātine first graūted to the. b. of Rome ye primacye.

¶ Howe then he gaue [his awne][17] palais royall,
With Roome all whole, and all the dignite
Through [out] Romany, with sea[18] emperiall,
To Siluester that had the papall sea[18],

[1] Feele. [2] then. [3] heele. [4] Trustynge that he therto wolde haue confourmed. [5] squamys. [6] And. [7] his imperiall. [8] than to. [9] cruell tiraunte. [10] heele. [11] for to. [12] He in no wise wolde suffre no childe slayn. [13] And. [14] seche. [15] reasouns. [16] And. [17] the grete. [18] cee.

[He gaue it to hym all quite and free,]
And to his successours perpetually;
Ne[1] howe he distroyed the Aryans heresy.

¶ [Nor howe][2] he went frome Roome to[3] Besaunce,
And, of his name, then called it Constantyne;
Nowe menne it call, by all rememoraunce[4],
Constantyne noble, wher to dwell he dīd enelyne,
[There his lawes to kepe and to determyne;][5]
And there he sette his throne emperiall,
And, for his domes, his sea[6] iudiciall.

¶ Nor[1] howe he dyed, after that[7] Nichomeyd,
In cathologe emong the sainctes noumbred,
Of Maye the twenty and one daye in dede,
Vnder shryne buryed and [subumbred,][8]
[Emong all Christē kynges worthy][9] to bee remembred;
Whose daye & feast ý Grekes haue[10] eche yere,
Solemply, as for a sainct full clere.

¶ And when he dyed, reigned had and imperate,
In Brytain, Roome, and also[11] at Constantyne,
By thirty and foure yere ende [and] determinate;
And in the yere of Christ, as menne [did] determine,
[When this worthy emperour his life should fyne,][12]
Three hundred was and fourty also[11] full euen,
So when his soule was rauished into heuen.

¶ And[13] these lōgyng[14] not to Brytons[15] gouernaūce,
But vnto Roome and the empire,
Whiche me nede not with my stile auaunce,
For Marian[16] hath, the Rooman chronicler,
[All the whole substaunce and the mater;][17]
So[18] well it maye[19] with rethorike termes fayred,
Whiche by my simplenes I would not wer appaired.

¶ [But] after his daye came one Octanius, Octanius.
Duke of Westesax that crouned was for kyng,
That sleugh the werdeins of Constatynus[20],

[1] And. [2] And than. [3] towarde. [4] remembraunce. [5] And Emperoure wase there as auctours determyne. [6] eye. [7] at. [8] gretely honoured. [9] As Cristes owne knyght so. [10] halowe. [11] als. [12] By accompte of yeres to a certayne fyne. [13] All. [14] long not. [15] Britayne. [16] Martyn. [17] In his volumes compiled so clere. [18] And so. [19] made. [20] Constantinus.

Whiche

Whiche that he sette for Brytain gouernyng,
In his absence to keipe it in all thyng;
For whiche the senate Traherne to Brytain sent,
[Sainct Elyns vncle, that into Brytain wente.][1]

¶ With legyons three at Portesmouth[2] did lande,
And to Wynchester then rode[3] furth right,
Fol. 8. Where Octauius came, hym to withstande[4],
And with hym faught and putte hym to flight[5];
[Went to Portesmouth again full right,][6]
Wher then he shipped[7] full faste to Albanye,
Wher on Stanemore[8] thei faught again on hye.

Kyng Traherne. ¶ Wher Traherne wāne the felde with victorie,
And into Logres came, crouned with dignite,
And well did rule then all his monarchie;
All menne hym loued for his sanguynite[9];
In his tyme in[10] greate nobilite,
He kepte [it well frome all][11] tyranny,
Foure yere complete in all thyng worthily.

¶ [In] whiche tyme, so then the said Octauius
Procured his death, by whiche then was he slain
By a traytour full false and odyus;
So was he kyng of Brytain then again,
And [sone then][12] after, he fell in age vnbain:[13]
A doughter he had, [that was bothe good][14] & faire,
Whō sume counsailed bycause[15] she was his here,

¶ To Conan Meryadoke anone for to marye,
And other counsailed vnto Maximian,
Kyng Traherne [his] soonne, a prince of Romanye,
To Constantyne next heire he was alaane,
Whiche maryage was fulfilled and tane:
Maximian hir wed, then Octauius,
By fourten yere then reigned and dyed thus.

¶ Maximian after hym ganne succed,
And crouned was maugre of all his fone;

[1] Whiche to Elene was vncle by true discent. [2] Porchester. [3] rode he. [4] gaynstonde.
[5] the flight. [6] With the Romaynes for all their grete myght. [7] shipte. [8] Staynesmore.
[9] consanguynyte. [10] the reame in. [11] full well fro all kynnes. [12] so ther. [13] ungayne.
[14] full good that was. [15] for cause.

For

For ire of whiche Conan departe[d] in deede,
And warred sore on Logres so anone:
Wherfore the kyng full faste with hoost gan[1] gon,
And countred hym with bataile fell and strong,
The kyng preuayled, that other so did emong.

Maximian reigned in all xxxiiii. yere.

¶ Till on a daye, their frēdes made theim accorde.
The kyng ruled the lande full well in peace,
Fiue yere fully, without any discorde,
In whiche tyme he[2] gatte full greate riches;
[Thought in hym self, ouer the sea to passe,][3]
Hauyng no will in Bryton long[4] to abide,
But into Fraunce he was[5] so sette in[6] pryde.

¶ With hoost full greate he landed[7] in Armorike,
A duchy [that] was longyng vnto Fraunce,
[The] lesse Brytain, nowe[8] of Gaule kyngrike,
And conquered it by marciall gouernaunce;
To Conan then it gaue hym to auaunce,
To holde of hym, and called it lesse Brytain,
And stuffed it then with Brytons, soth to sain.

¶ And furth he went & wan the realme of Fraūce,
And so, by processe, Almaigny[9] hym obeyed,
So did [a] greate parte of Italy, by accordaunce:
He putte to flight Gracyan, that hym desobeyed,
And Valentynyan with hym[10] conueighed;
And[11] sleugh by battaile, Fulgen[12] mightely,
And Emperour was made of Romany[13].

¶ Conan the kyng then of litle Brytayn,
To Dyanote the duke of Cornewaile sent,
For Vrsula his doughter, letters plain,
His wife to bee in verey good entent;
With her also, of maydens that wer gente,
Xi. thousande, in his land to bee wed,
For Frenchewemen they would haue none to[14] bed.

Fol. lii. The. xi. M. vyrgins.

[1] dide. [2] so he. [3] Whiche he wolde spende to gete hym some prowes. [4] lenger. [5] wolde. [6] on. [7] londe. [8] it hight of. [9] Almayne. [10] hym so. [11] He. [12] and fightynge. [13] of all grete. [14] in.

¶ This

¶ This Dianote custos[1] was of Britayn,
[His doughters w those virgyns then forth sente[2],][3]
In Thamis shipped, and cast in[4] Almayne,
By tempest greate, there shippes all to rente,
Many of theim wer dead[5], and many shente,
In sykenes, frayde in[6] stormes and sore[7] tempest,
That ful fayn thē there wold haue had there rest.

¶ Gwames was [then kyng of Houndelande,][8]
And Malga[9] kyng of [Pightes, paynymes][10] hatous,
In whose landes they arryued[11], I vnderstande,
Vnto theim [then, they wer][12] full odyous,
[Passyng yrefull, and full malicious;][13]
And for they would not be deuirgynate,
They slewe theim all, through crueltee and hate:

¶ Whiche now beē saynts & marters euerychone,
In nonnes[14] mynster, conserued in Coleyn,
That noumbred been both[15] with frend and foone,
Xi. thousand virgins, of greate Britayn.
Maximian the emperoure of Romayn,
When he had reigned. xxxiiii. yere[16],
By Gracyās frendes was buried[17], & layd on bere.

The. lxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Gracian, kyng of Britayne, in whose tyme kyng Malga & Gwaymes distroyed all Britayne.

Gracian kyng.

GRacian, when Maximian was slayne,
To Britayn sent then by the senatours,
In whose time kīg Malga[9] & kīg Gwayme
This lande ouer road, standyng in all honoures;[18]
That mortall fooes and cruell tormentours,
To Christen[19] fayth wer, and malicious,
All mercylesse and passyng rigorous.

¶ Whiche kynges two, roote of all crueltee,
Full false paynemes replete of felony,

[1] regent. [2] he sente. *edit. alt.* [3] His doughter with alleuye thousande furth sente. [4] into. [5] saufe. [6] with. [7] grete. [8] kynge of Hunes so hight that londe. [9] Melga. [10] Pictes Paiens. [11] reue. [12] were these kynges. [13] And theym to ravish they were full labourous. [14] oone. [15] and called. [16] xxxiii. *edit. alt.* [17] slayne. [18] errours. [19] Cristes.

The

The churches brent, and slewe the commontee;
Wyues nor childre, ne[1] yet the clargye,
Ne religious, ne yet the prelacye,
Thei spared not, but mercylesse theim kylled,
Of wickednes so foule thei wer fulfylled.

¶ But Gracian that crowned was and kyng,
In domys false, and in his iudgementes
Fell dispiteous, great tallages takyng
Both of the lordes there[2] landes and rentes,
And of gentilles agayn all there ententes:
So did he also[3] of all the commontee,
For whiche thei slewe hym[4] without pitee.

¶ Gwames and also Malga[5] the kynges two.
Destroyng Britayn without any reste,
The senate sent [a legion][6] of knightes tho
Into this lande, of eche region the beste,
Chosen out of all the worthieste;
The whiche putte Gwames and Malga[5] to[7] flight,
That shipped home vnto there lande[8] full right.

The. lxv. Chapiter.

¶ The senate of Rome sente a legion of knyghtes into Britayn, who made the Britons to make a walle of lyme and stone from the Easte sea vnto the Weste sea, and called it the Peight wall.

[THis legion][9] and Britons hole assembled, *Fol. liii.*
That[10] made a wall well wrought of lyme and stone[11],
Where Seuer[12] made of turues & soddes sembled,
With castelles strong and towres for[13] the nones,
At eche myles ende to agaynstande[14] all the foonyse[15];
From sea to sea as yet it is well seen,
In dyuers places[16], where it was wonte to been.

¶ This legion home returned then agayn,
For[17] Britayn then suffred great[18] disease;

[1] prestes ne. [2] and of their. [3] als. [4] than. [5] Melga. [6] two legiouns. [7] to the.
[8] londes. [9] These legiouns. [10] than. [11] stones. [12] Cesar. [13] all for. [14] gaynstonde.
[15] foones. [16] place. [17] But. [18] full grete.

The Scottes & Pightes [ther] did theim ful great payn,
Syxe yere then next, [of whiche to haue some ease,][1]
To kyng Aldrye[2] there sorowes to apease,
Of lesser[3] Britayn, then[4] sent theim Constantyne,
To be there [head, and also][5] there medecyne.

Constãtyne reigned. x. yere.

¶ This Constantyn, kyng [Aldries brothers wife,][6]
Was crowned then with royall diademe,
At Caircester[7], as Brytons could[8] deuyse,
That with his hoste royall as did hym seme,
Gwayme[9] and Malga[10], as chronicles [do] exprieme,
The Scottes and Peightes[11] he vẽged[12] & ouercam,
That [Brytayne wrought afore full mykel][13] shame.

¶ Thre sonnes he had full fayre by[14] his wife,
Constance then was the eldest sonne of all,
That was not wise, wherfore then, in his life,
He made hym monke, he was so bestiall,
To gette the life aboue celestiall:
His secounde sonne [that hight][15] Aurelius,
His surname was called Ambrosius:

¶ The yonngest sonne hight Vterpendragon:
These two were wyse, but young they wer of age,
To there vncle sent, to be at his direction
Nurture to learne[16], and all maner language,
By whiche after they maye haue knowelage[17],
With discrecion and all good ordinaunce,
To rule and haue the realme by gouernaunce.

¶ When Constantyne had reigned well[18]. x. yere,
Vpon a daye, as he in his garden went,
[A Peight that was in his house, hym full nere,][19]
Hym slewe anone, by treason and consent
Of Vortiger, that euer[20] in his entent
Conspyred had, to haue the regaltee
Of greate Britayn, the kyng so to bee[21].

[1] for whiche for some eas. [2] Aldroe. [3] lesse. [4] who. [5] helpe and eke. [6] Aldroe brother wise. [7] Circestre. [8] canne. [9] Gwayne. [10] Melga. [11] Pictes. [12] venqueshed. [13] to Britayne afore hade doo grete. [14] so by. [15] hight than. [16] lere. [17] hoole knowlage. [18] full. [19] A Picte than in his house was hym full nere. [20] ay. [21] for to be.

The. lxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Constaunce, kyng of Britayne, reigned but one yere, that was monke first and after made kyng, and was not wyse, but an ideote; whome Vortiger crowned to that entent to make hymselfe kyng by false cōtryuyng, seyng the kyng full symple to rule the lande.

Constaūce kyng.

COnstaunce his sonne ẏ mōke was in Cairgwente,
Vortiger[1], duke of Westsex, was that daye
In haste crowned by barons hole assente,
Knowyng he shulde be but a foole alwaye,
[The realme to saue, and kepe out of disraye:][2]
He waged Peightes[3] on[4] hundreth to serue ẏ kyng,
Alwaye vpon his body abydyng.

¶ He made the kyng full certenly beleue
Thei shuld espie emong the enemytee
By their frendes, ẏ no Peightes[3] shuld hym greue, *Fol. liiii.*
Ne Scottes of theyr greate peruersitee;
But thei of it afore in certayntee
Shuld let hym witte, there malice to vnderstande[5],
Such subtyll meane[6] to fage[7] the kyng he fande.

¶ And vnder that, a while he payed theyr wage
Full well, with chere full good, & all pleasaunce,
Vnto a daye he sayd, to theyr knowlage,
The kyng nomore would haue theyr attendaunce,
But wer he kyng, he shuld theim well auaunce:
[Whiche thyng, and euer came to preefe,
About his persone they shuld be cherished as cheefe.][8]

¶ There wages also[9] full well shuld[10] be payde,
For whiche beheest anone they slewe the kyng,
And brought his head to hym full foule arayde,
Of which he made hym wroth in all semyng;
But to London, by his subtyll wrytynge,
He gaue charge[11] the Peightes[3] all to kyll,
And none escape[12], nether for good ne yll.

[1] Vortigern. [2] And so he thought the rule to haue for ay. [3] Pictes. [4] an. [5] gaynstonde. [6] means. [7] fade.

[8] And geue theym giftes with chere and herte benynge,
And thus he sode be treason tobe kynge.

[9] als. [10] ay shulde. [11] in charge. [12] to escape.

¶ This

¶ This Vortiger protectour was that yere,
And in his handes[1] the kynges castels all
He had, and sawe he might the crowne full clere
Haue at his wyll; so dred [the] lordes temperall,
And prelates hie that were spirituall,
His heuynesse and indignacion,
That they assente[d] to his coronacion.

¶ Whē Cōstaūce thus ŷ kyng had been one yere,
And could[2] nothyng of rule ne gouernaunce,
The commons sawe he was an ideote clere,
Theyr voyce[s] all gaue, with all theyr obeisaunce,
To Vortiger with theyr hole attendaunce;
As comons would euer yet of olde and newe,
Eche yere their kyng to chaunge[3] and renewe.

The. lxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Vortiger, kynge of Britayne, reigned. xviii. yere, through his falshed and treason cōspired with Peightes to slea his kyng. And howe Engist and Horsus, paiens, landed in Kent, and were beloued with Vortiger. And howe Wednisdaye and Frydaye had name, and what goddes and goddisses they honoured. Howe and when Engist and Horsus lāded in Kēte, & made Thoncastre & Horne Castre in the coūtre of Lyncolne. & howe Engist sent for his doughter, & maried her to kyng Vortiger, and brought in with her greate multitude of paiens, that accombred all the realme both of warre & of Christen fayth, wherfore the Britons crowned the kynges sonne.

Vortiger, kynge of Britayn, reygned. xviii. yeres.

THis Vortiger thē crowned kyng of might,
The Peightes[4] and Scottes for he there kyng[5] so kylled,
They sclaundred hym, that [mikell good][6] he hight,
Vnto Peightes[7], [the kyng haue slayn][8] and spilled,
By suche treason his will they so fulfilled;
And after, by his preuy ordinaunce,
He made thesame be slayne, for thesame chaunce.

¶ For whiche they aroose[9] on hym to been auēged,
With ful great hoste destroyed[10] both corn & towne,

[1] honde. [2] couth. [3] chaungen. [4] Pictes. [5] kyn. [6] right grete goodes. [7] his Pictes. [8] that Constance slew and. [9] rose. [10] destroyinge.

And

And brent his[1] lande, and felly reuenged[2];
In whiche tyme came into this region
Engist and Horsus[3], dukes of great renoune;
By sort sent out all voyde of Saxonye,
With menne of warre also of Germanye.

¶ In shyppes thre[4] arryued[5] so then in Kent, *Fol. lv.*
Whe̅n Vortyger at Caunterbury laye,
Whiche[6] he withhelde anon, and farre[7] him sent,
To [warre on the][8] Scottes and Pyeghtes[9] aye,
That brente his lande and noyed[10] day by daye.
Peynemis they were, and trowyd of[11] Mercury,
And on Venus theyr goddes[12] of Payanie.

¶ That Mercurie Woden, in their language,
Was called so by his propre name,
For whome they honoured of olde [and age,][13]
The fourth daye in euery weke at hame[14],
[And so of Mercury geuing it a name ;][15]
And of Wode̅ called[16] it Wednisdaye, * Wednysdaye, wherof it was named.
Of olde custome as they haue vsed alwaye.

¶ And Venus, also, was[17] theyr hygh goddesse,
For whome alwaye they halowed the sixte daye
Of euery weke in prayer and holynesse,
Who in theyr tonge Friday[18] was called alwaye,
For whose honoure, that named was Frydaye.
The Sonne, the Moone, Iubiter and Saturne[19],
And Mars, the god of armes, they dyd adorne[20].

¶ The yere [after] of Christes incarnacyon,
Foure hundreth [full fourty][21] and syxe also,
Was when Engyst into this regyon
Firste came, and hauen[22] w̄ thre shippes and no mo,
As saynte Bede sayeth in[23] Gestis Anglorum so:
With Scottes & Pieghtes[9] they faught ful mightely,
And droue theim oute and had the victorye.

[1] the. [2] it reuenged. [3] Horne. [4] there. *edit. alt.* [5] arroue. [6] whome.
[7] for. *edit. alt.* MS. [8] to werre with him on. [9] Pictes. [10] noyed it. [11] on. [12] goddesse.
[13] usage. [14] home. [15] In Germanye frome whens that they come. [16] they called it.
[17] was called. [18] Fry. [19] Satoure. [20] honoure. [21] fully fifty. [22] Horne. [23] De.

¶ This Engist [had then none habitacyon,][1]
Desyringe so a castell in to dwell,
Hym and his men to kepe frome [all] aduersacyon,
Of Scottes & Peyghtes[2] ỳ enemyes were then fell,
[As all olde chronyclers canne you tell:][3]
Asked as much ground as a bulleis skyn thonge,
[Myght cyrcuyte fully of brede and longe,][4]

¶ Whiche the[5] king him graunted then anone.
[He made a thonge then][6] of a bullys skyn,
So small and longe that rounde about dyd gone
A stony grounde to set his castell in:
[And thus by subtelte and his sleyghty gyn,][7]
Where then he made Thongcastre[8] as men tolde,
In Lyndesey, that nowe is [Castre of][9] the Wolde.

¶ Engyst then sent for his doughter Rowan[10],
[That came anone, with shyppes eyghtene,][11]
Well stuffed of men, for [they were][12] of Britayne
Agayne the Scottes and Peightes[2] to opteyne,
Whome Vortiger then thought ful longe to sene;
She proferred him a drynke and sayde "Wassayle;"
As he was learned, he sayde to her "Drynke hayle:"

¶ Which wordes fyrst came vp [so into][13] this land.
With that he set his herte her for[14] to loue,
That he her wed by all [kyndes of][15] lawfull bonde,
As then the church [could best hym learne][16] & moue,
[And thus the Saxons by Vortiger set aboue;][17]
For whiche his sonnes, and all the Baronage
Hym hated sore, [ryght for his][18] maryage

¶ Of paynimes[19] bloodde; for to their ydolatrye
Greate people were then turned and peruerte,
Fol. lvi. And greate[20] also in Pilagien heresye
Were accombred, and [hole] to it aduerte;

[1] then hade noone inhabitacion. [2] Pictes. [3] And for that he the enemyse dide so quell.
[4] Myght fully compasse as it was brode and longe. [5] which so. [6] Engiste then made a thong.
[7] So stronge it was that no man myght it wynne. [8] Thongcastell. [9] the castell on.
[10] Rowayn. [11] Whiche come anoone with shippes grete eightene. [12] the werre. [13] than in.
[14] so. [15] manner. [16] hym dide avise. [17] Hir to forsake his lawfull wife to loue.
[18] for that wronge. [19] Payans. [20] grete partie.

Wherfore

Wherfore his sonne, the people to conuerte,
For Lupus sent, and his fellowe Germayne,
Christen fayth to preache in all Britayne.

Which bishoppes. ii. the folke conuert [did] againe
By processe so, and home agayne then went.
This Engyst then, to please the kyng full fayne,
For his sonne Occa[1] to Germany sent[2],
For Ebissa and Cherdryk by consent[3]
Of Vortiger, that. iii. C. shyppes brought,
Of[4] men of warre, the best that might be sought.

Of whiche his sonne, that then hight Vortimer,
Of his fyrste wyfe, and also[5] the barons all,
Of suche multytude of people affrayed were,
And to the kyng, as then it did befall,
Compleyned had, without helpe in generall;
Wherfore anone together they dyd consent[6],
This Vortymer to crowne by hole assent[7].

The. lxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Vortymer, the sonne of kynge Vortyger, kynge of Brytayne, to withstande the power of Engyste, and of Saxons, was twyes crowned. Howe this Engyst, vnder treaty, slewe all the Baronage of Brytons on ŷ playne of Salysburye.

THen Vortimer [they crowned anon][8] ryght, Vortymer kynge of Britayne.
With royalte that might to it appende,
That was ful wise approued, lyke a knight,
In all courage, that to knighthode did extende,
For to assayle or elles [for] to defende[9];
Who with myscreauntes faught sore vpon Derwent,
So did he elles[10] at all place where he went.

¶ At Abirforth[11] he fought with theim also,
The better ay he had where as he yede,
But Catigerne his brother was kylled tho,
And Horne also was slayne by greate manhede,
[And thus Vortimer victorius where so he yede;][12]

[1] Octa. [2] than sent. [3] assent. [4] with. [5] als. [6] assent. [7] consent. [8] anoone they crowned. [9] offende. [10] als. [11] Abirforde. [12] Eche of these two slewe other in that stede.

An

An other tyme vpon the North sea bankes,
He faught with them in batayle their vnthankes.

¶ They fled vnto the ysle then of Tenecte,
Where he theim syeged fearfully and assayled,
And slewe theym doune on hepes ay as they met,
That theyr power almoste then was fayled;
All forefoughten and full sore batayled,
Besought the kyng they myght haue his lycence,
To Germany to make their reuertence.

¶ So wente they home, with [lytell folke alyfe,][1]
That, in his tyme, they came no more agayne,
But[2] cytees all and churches amended[3] full ryfe,
The Christentee to mainteyne was full fayn;
But then anone the subtell quene Rowayne
Made hym [to] be [poysoned, of whiche][4] he dyed;
With her venymes thus was he mortifyed.

¶ In a pyller of brasse [he layde][5] on hyght,
At the gate were Saxons had landed[6] afore,
He bad his men for also[7] farre as he[8] myght
Hym se, he truste they wolde not[9] nerre come thore,
But, neuerthelesse[10], they letted not therfore;
Fol. lvii. But buryed hym at Troynouaunt citee,
As he them bade, with all solempnite.

¶ Kyng Vortiger was crouned then again,
For Engest sent, and bade hym come anone,
For Vortimer his soonne was deade and slain:
Who ẇ three hūdred shippis, full of mēne echone,
In Brytain landed[11], and to the kyng ganne[12] gone:
Of whome he was full glad, and well reioysed,
And of his folke [that were of][13] greate power noised.

¶ But[14] Brytons all, and also[15] the baronage,
To fight with hym arose by whole consent[16],
For whiche he sent to theim by[17] message,
That to the realme, none eiuill he ment,

[1] people feaue on lyue. [2] Than. [3] he mende. [4] poisounde wherof anoone. [5] hym laye.
[6] londe. [7] as [8] they. [9] no. [10] nethelesse. [11] londe. [12] dide.
[13] ther was. [14] Wherfor. [15] eke. [16] assent. [17] by hoole.

But

But for to helpe the lande in[1] his entent,
And if thei were of his hoost displeased,
As thei could[2] best deuise, thei should been eased:

¶ And bad theim set a daye wher thei might mete,
By their auise his power home to sende,
Or all[3] to hold for their common quiet,
Fro their enemies the realme for to defende,
All his defaute by their auise [t]amende.
The Brytons[4] thought his profer reasonable,
And to the realme also full profitable.

¶ Thei sent hym woorde to mete [the] first daye of Maye,
With foure hundred so [on euery][5] side,
Vpon the plain of Sarum[6] in meeke araye,
That Caire Cradok was called so that tyde,
Byside Awmesbury[7] [full] fair edefied;
Again whiche daye this Engist bad his menne
Within their hose[s a long][8] knif to haue then.

The craft & pollicye of Engist.

¶ And when he saied, "Nemyth[9] your sexes, then,
Eche manne [then] slee a Bryton with his knife;"
For so I shall vs marshall as I can,
A fore a Bryton a Saxon sette full rife:
So shall wee reue theim sonest of their life,
And sette vs ay in rest and moost quiete,
At [a] daye lymete, together when wee mete.

¶ A daye assigned, as was his ordinaunce,
The watche woorde saied, eche panyme[10] a Bryton slewe:
Foure. C. lordes, of Christes holy[11] creaunce,
Betrayed were by Engist so vntrewe,
[The death of whome, many a Bryton did rewe:][12]
[Whose corps all][13] were buryed at Awmisbury,
Whiche [after that daye was made a][14] nonnorye.

¶ [With the hoost of panymes came full fast,][15]
And toke the kyng, held [hym at][16] Troynouaunt,
For marred sore and greately was agast:

[1] was. [2] cou the. [3] els. [4] barouns. [5] of eyther [6] Salisbury. [7] Amesbury.
[8] a large. [9] Nymeth. [10] Pan n. [11] oun. [12] But yit with stones the Britons of theym slewe.
[13] All Britons cors. [14] this day is a full denoute.
[15] Engist the paian than come on full fast. [16] in.

What so thei asked[1], anone he did theim graunt,
The citees all and castels sufficiaunt,
To lette hym passe awaye without[2] troublaunce,
Whiche Engist graunted[3], because of aliaunce.

The. lxix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Engist caused Logres to bee called then Engestlande, of whiche the commons putte gest awaye in their common speache, and calle it England, for shortenes of speache.

Fol. lxiii.

Englãde wherof it was so named.

ENgist with [his] hoost had all[4] thorient,
The South & North, in all [ẏ] greate Britain
In his kepyng, except thoccident,
Whiche Brytons held of warre and muche[5] pain,
By olde chronicles as I haue herd saine.
And then anone, he called it Engestes[6] lande,
Whiche after was shorted and called England,

¶ Through the cõmons, ẏ thought it long to say,
And muche lighter in tongue to saie Englande,
Then with their mouth, ouer[7] long to name it aye,
By long producyng, to call it Engistislande[8].
[And thus came first in as][9] I vnderstande,
As I conceiue, thus came first Englandes name,
For short[10] speach corrupt per sincopene.

¶ But Engist then gaue all the lande about
To Saxons all, and kyng was so of Kent.
But Vortiger in Cambre sought through out,
To buylde vpon a castell, to his entent,
To holde hym in fro the panymes[11] violent;
Whiche[12] in Cambre the castell of Genoren,
He made full strong, in the lande of Hergigyen,

¶ Vpon the ryuer of Ewey, on Cloarte[13] hill.
But of dragons and of [the] water vnder,
That Merlyn saied that castell did so spill,
[Ne of his][14] birth, that many menne on wounder

[1] axed. [2] with such. [3] graunte. [4] all the. [5] mekell. [6] Engist. [7] so. [8] Engistlonde. [9] The name of Britayne loste was. [10] shorter. [11] payens. [12] Where. [13] Galoarte. [14] Of whos.

Of

Of that werke, bothe aboue and vnder,
That no father had, ne of his prophecye,
I cannot wryte of suche affirmably[1].

¶ [Notwithstandyng that philophiers wise,][2]
Affirme[3] well that sprites suche there been,
Bitwene the moone and therth, called Incubice,
That haue gotten chyldren of wemen vnseene,
As in stories diuerse I haue so seen:
Howe the philosophier, wise[4] Magancius[5],
Affirmeth it also, and Apuleyus.

The. lxx. Chapiter.

¶ Aurelius Ambrose, kyng of Brytain, the seconde soonne of Constantyne.

AVrelius Ambrose, brother of[6] Constaunce:
Into Britain with strong & greate power,
And segid then Vortiger by ordinaunce
In his castell of Genoren[7] full clere,
Whiche with wild fire he[8] brent, [and hym][9] in feere,
And crouned was by all the baronage,
To reioyse[10] Britain [that was his][11] heritage.

¶ He sought Engist, that panyme[12] was full grym,
With hooste[s] thei faught, but Aurele had ŷ better,
The Saxons fled, before that were full brime,
For in their quarel it might bee no better.
Duke Eldoll toke Engist and did hym fetter,
In Kent, as he hym mette awaye fleyng,
At Conanburgh[13] hym brought to the kyng;

¶ Where he was heded with swerd and decollate.
And Occa[14] then [and his soonne][15] Ebissa,
His cousins[16] dere, at Yorke, came in ful late,
[And with hym Saxons full many one moo,][17]
Wher then the kyng [hym segid with muche woo;][18]
But Occa[14] then, and al his compaignie,
Came to the kyng, to whome he gaue mercye.

[1] affirmandlye. [2] Not gaynstondynge the philosophers wise. [3] Affermen. [4] full wise. [5] Magancyus. [6] to. [7] Generon. [8] was. [9] theryn. [10] enjoye. [11] his true. [12] payan. [13] Conyngesburgh. [14] Octa. [15] his son, and. [16] cosyn. [17] And kepte the toun with hauberke and escua. [18] theym seged, as I herde sa.

Fol. lix.

¶ The kyng then made a worthy sepulture,
[With ŷ stone hengles,][1] by Merlins whole aduise,
For all the lordes Brytons hye[2] nature,
That there were slain in false and cruell wise,
By false Engest, and his feloes vnwise;
In remembraunce of his forcasten treason,
Without[3] cause, or [any els][4] encheson.

¶ But Pascencius, the soonne of Vortiger,
With hoost of Irish, Cambre he[5] destroyed,
With whome the kyng faught with his power,
And droue hym out to Irelande sore anoyed,
[Of his people many slain and foule acloyed;][6]
[But] Eopa then clad in monkes clothyng,
With his poysonis then poysoned had the kyng.

¶ But then the kyng of Irelande and Pascence
In Cambre brent, the kyng full sicke then laye,
He sent Vterpendragon for defence,
With hoost royall and mighty greate araye:
He faught [ŵ hym, for whiche thei fled that daye,][7]
With shame and hurt to Irelande home again,
Vterpendragon the felde so had [full plain.][8]

¶ Then[9] Vter sawe a [starrye beame][10] full bright,
And asked[11] Merlyn what that it might meane;
He said it is Stella Cometa[12] righte,
It sygnifieth the kyng his death to been,
That nowe is gonne to the blisse I ween;
The dragon also[13], thy self dooeth signifye,
With beames twoo extendyng seuerally.

¶ The beame southward, to Fraūce ŷ dooeth extende,
Thy soonne that thou shalt haue, dooeth signifie,
That shall conquere all Fraunce vnto thend[14],
Almaignie also, and[15] all Germanie,
And so to Roome, throughout al Romanie:
Aboue all princes in his tyme moost famed,
Through Christente moost dred and best named[16].

[1] Withyn Stonehenge. [2] of high. [3] Withoutyn. [4] or els any. [5] so. [6] And many of his hooste were ther destroied. [7] with theym, and made theym flee away. [8] certayne. [9] This. [10] blasynge sterre. [11] axte. [12] comata. [13] als. [14] the ende. [15] and eke. [16] benamed.

¶ That

¶ That other beame, to Irelande extendyng,
Thy doughters eke[1] dooeth also signifie,
Their children also[2], that of theim shalbe[3] comynge,
[The realme to haue, with all the regalie:
Thus Merlyn to hym dooeth specifie.][4]
So went he furth anone to[5] Cairgwente,
Where he had woorde of his brothers enterremēt.

¶ Within [the] Giaūtes carole, that so then hight,
The [stone hengles,][6] that nowe so named been,
Where prelates &[7] dukes, erles & loides of might,
His sepulture to worship there were seen.
[Thus this worthy kyng was buryed by dene,][8]
That reigned had that tyme but thirten yere,
When he was dedde, and laied [so on][9] beere.

The. lxxi. Chapiter.

¶ Vter Pendragō, kyng of Brytain, and of his armes that he bare.

Vter Pendragō kyng of Brytain.

HIs brother Vter[10] at Cairgwēt was croūd,
In trone royall thē fully was admit:
Twoo dragons made of gold royall that stound,
[That one][11] offred of his[12] deuout wit,
In the mynster there, as he [had] promit;
That other before hym euer[13] in battaile bare,
Of gold in goulis, wher so he gan to fare.

Fol. Ia.

¶ [Tharmes also][14] of Troye, that Brutus bare,
Tharmes also of good kyng Lucius,
Whiche after baptyme his armes alwaye ware
The same armes that kyng Constantynus,
At his batayll against Maxencius,
So[15] bare alwaye, ý sayut George armes we call,
Whiche Englyshemen nowe worshippe ouer all.

¶ And for he bare the dragon so in warre
The people all hym called then Pendragon,
For his surname, in landes nere and farre,

[1] so. als. [3] beth.

[4] This is tokenynge that thy blode trulie
This reame shall haue with all the regallie.

[5] vnto. [6] Stonehenges. [7] all. [8] And comons many whome he defende fro teene.
[9] was on his. [10] Vther. [11] Oon he. [12] his owne. [13] aye. [14] The armes als. [15] He.

Whiche

Whiche is to saye in Britayn[1] region,
In theyr language, the head of the dragon;
And in the North as he a castell made,
Pendragon hight, wher he his dwellyng had.

¶ But Occa[2] sonne then of that false[3] Engist,
And Oysa[4] also the sonne of Occa[2] with,
That[5] Northlande brent, of which when Vter[6] wyst,
He faught with theim, there saued theim no grith,
[Nor none of the people that came theim with;][7]
He tooke Occa[2] and Oysa[4] in batayll,
Beside Dane hill[8], wher [they did hym][9] assayle.

¶ The Saxones also[10] he slewe ẏ with hym[11] came,
And had the felde, with [all the][12] victorie;
For ioye of whiche he made [great ioye][13] and game,
Proclaymed his feast of Pasche solemply[14]
To holde at London, wher then he made his crye,
That euery lorde his wife with hym shuld bryng,
For [worshippe of][15] that feast, and [of] the kyng.

The. lxxii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng was an amoured of the duke of Gorloys wyfe, and how he gatte on her kyng Arthure.

EMonges other, Gorloys, duke of Cornewayle,
His wife did bring, Igrene[16], fayre of figure,
Whose beautee their all others made to faile;
So well and hole auised was nature,
Her womanhede excede[d euery][17] creature:
That though nature her beautee woulde [haue] amẽde,
Hir cõnyng might therto in no wise extẽde.

¶ Of whiche beautee, and of her goodlyhede,
The kyng with loue so greatly was oppressed,
It chaunged all his corage and manhede,
In kalendes[18] of eschaunge he was [so] impressed:

[1] Britouns. [2] Octa. [3] the. [4] Eosa. [5] The. [6] Vther. [7] And slewe theym doun with grete myght and pith. [8] hilles. [9] he dide theym. [10] als. [11] theym. [12] ioye and. [13] muche myrth. [14] full solemplie. [15] to worship. [16] Igerne. [17] ech. [18] kalenders.

For

For whiche the duke with hir then home adressed,
Perceauynge well the kynges fykelnesse[1]
Was set, for loue, on[2] her womanlynesse.

¶ In Tyntagell his castel strong [he] her set,
Hymselfe then laye in castell Dymyoke,
Wher then the kyng hym sieged her to get;
But Merlyne then from it hym did reuoke,
[And by his councell subtelly dyd prouoke,][3]
Knowyng his loue he had to dame Igrene[4],
By coniurisons[5] made in haste[6] full yerne.

¶ He made the kyng vnto duke Gorloys like,
Hymselfe like [to] Brethel in all semblaunce
That [then was][7] the dukes preuy myke,
And Vlfyn lyke, by all [kyns gouernaunce,][8]
Vnto Iordan[9] in all maner conysaunce[10],
That moste knewe of the dukes preuytee,
By whiche he brought to Igrene[4] all three. *Fol. lxi.*

¶ Thus laye the kyng hir by euer[11] whē he would,
She trustyng then[12] that he had been hir lorde;
But euer his siege he made sadly [to] been holde,
[His people assautyng the castell by one accorde:]
But Gorloys men then pleynly did recorde
Theyr lorde was slayn, and Vter[13] had the felde,
Of which she merueyled, & then fast hym behelde.

¶ There gatte he then on hir a sonne full fayre,
And fro hir went vnto his hooste agayn,
The duke was slayne, with all his moste repayre,
[Of whiche the kyng glad is not to layne:]
To Tyntagell, with all his hoste full fayne[14],
He came anone and had it at his wyll;
He comforted hir and bad her holde it styll.

¶ But then betwene theim two he did discure,
The priuetee in all, as it was wrought,
And sette his daye to wed hir, and to cure

[1] sekelynesse. [2] of. [3] And made the kynge the sege that he forsoke. [4] Igerne. [5] congerasiouns. [6] grete haste. [7] was then so. [8] maner conysaunce. [9] Iurdayne. [10] gouernaunce. [11] aye. [12] euer. [13] Vther. [14] *The Harleian MS. adds* Fro Dymyoke they were remeued certayne.

Of

Of heuynes, that she was then in brought,
Her lordes death so muche was in hir thought :
For hir so slayne, hir wyfehode also[1] defouled,
Afore that tyme that euer was kept vnfouled[2].

¶ And at the daye he [wedded hir][3] and crouned,
And she ferforth with childe was then begonne,
To comforte her he sette the table rounde
At Wynchester, of worthiest knightes alone
Approued best in knighthode of[4] their foone ;
Whiche table rounde Ioseph of Arimathie,
For brether made of the [seynt Grall][5] onely.

¶ In whiche he made the seege pereleous,
Where none shulde sytte without great mischiefe ;
But one that shuld be moste religious
Of knightes all, [&] of the rounde table chiefe,
The saynt Graal[6] that shuld recouer and acheue[7]
By aduenture of[8] his fortunitee,
And at his death a virgyne shulde bee[9].

¶ But at hir tyme the quene had borne a soonne,
That Arthure hight, and[10] was of statur fayre,
More large of lymme and wysest vnder sunne
Of his age then, to bee his fathers heyre,
[Of all his lymmes right comly stronge & fayre ;][11]
But Occa[12] then, and Oysa[13], that afore
Stale[14] home, were come & warred [in Britayn] sore.

¶ The kyng sent forth syr Loth of Lowthian[15],
A worthy prince, hardy and bounteous,
His doughter had wed[ded], ỳ hight thē dame Anne;
[A manly manne and right cheualrous,]
The first knight [that] was electe, right fortunous[16],
Of the table round, that ofte with theim did fight,
That[17] ofte preuayled, and sometyme put[18] to flight.

¶ For whiche the kyng ordeyned a horse litter,
To beare hym [so then vnto the][19] Verolame,

[1] als. [2] vndefouled. [3] hir wed. [4] oñ. [5] Seyngrale. [6] Seyntgrale. [7] eschief.
[8] and. [9] he be. [10] that. [11] Vnto this kynge the Britons dide repeire. [12] Octa.
[13] Eosa. [14] Were escaped. [15] Lothyanne. [16] *The Harleian MS. adds* in marciall actes full adventerous.
[17] And. [18] was put. [19] than so to.

Wher

Wher Occa[1] laye, and Oysa[2] also in feer,
That Saynt Albones nowe hight of noble fame:
Bet downe the walles, but to hym forth they came,
Wher in battayll Occa[1] and Oysa[2] were slayne,
The felde he had, and therof was full fayne.

¶ There was a well whiche his enemyes espied,
That he vsed [the water ofte][3] to alaye
His drynkes, all his sores to be medifyed[4],
Whiche they venomyd with poyson on a daye,
Of[5] whiche he dyed, and went to blisse for aye,
In the carole, besyde his brother dere
As to suche a prynce it dyd ryght well affere.

Fol. lxii.

¶ He reygned had then. ix. and thyrtye yere,
And in the yere of Chrystes natiuyte,
Fyue hundreth and syxtene, then was full clere,
The realme he lefte in good felicyte
Arthure his sonne to haue the royalte,
To reygne and rule the realme ẏ then was able,
That, of his age, was none so cōmendable.

The. lxxiii. Chapiter.

¶ Arthure, kyng of Britayne, reygned. xxvi. yere. Howe the kynge bare syxe banners in his warre; and howe he renewed and increased the table rounde, and helde vp royally the rule of it: and howe he conquered Irelande and Denmarke, with all the ysles of theim.

Kynge Arthure.

ARthure, his sōne vp growen, then peerlesse,
Throughout ẏ world approued of his age,
Of wyt and strength, beawte and[6] largesse;
Of persone hye, aboue his baronage,
And other all of Brytons vasselage,
By his shoulders exceded in longitude,
Of all membres full fayre in latytude.

¶ At Circestre, then of. xv. yere of age,
When Dubryk[7], archbishoppe of Carilyon,
With all estates within his herytage,
Assembled there, duke, earle, [lorde] and baron,
And commentye of all the regyon,

[1] Octa. [2] Fosa. [3] with that water. [4] modified. [5] On. [6] and also. [7] Dubrice.

Vpon his hedde did sett the[1] dyademe,
In royall wyse, as wele hym[2] dyd beseme.

¶ The yere of Christe[s byrth.] v. C. and syxtene,
Was whan he was crowned all with golde,
Where than he made a vowe for to sustene
The Chrysten fayth, the churche also [to] vpholde,
The peace and lawes, mawgre who [so] other wold;
The Saxons also[3] to warre[4] and destroye,
That of longe tyme [had done vs][5] greate anoy.

¶ King Arthure sought ŷ Saxons in Scotland:
His chiefe baner of goules was to see,
An ymage of our Lady of golde enthronde,
Crowned of golde, as freshe as it mygt be;
His other banner was of the Trynite;
Of golde and goulis of saynt George was ŷ third[6];
The. iiii. was Brutus armes knowen [and kyd.][7]

¶ The fyfte baner of goulis. iii. crownes of gold;
The syxte of goulis, a dragon of golde fyne:
With hoost full great of Britons ŷ were bolde,
On Douglas water the Saxons he did vntwine,
Colgrim, [ŷ was] their capitayne, fled fro thyne
To Yorke anon, and it with people helde,
His men then slayne, the kyng had so the felde.

¶ Cheldrik & Baldoffe[8], two dukes of Germanie,
With hostes great then landed in Britayne,
To Colgrym came, and brent that[9] lande [in hye;][10]
Fol. lxiii.
But to Arthure kyng Howell[11] came full fayne,
With hoost great[12], his systers sonne certayne,
Of lesse Britayne, that with his vncle went
Against Colgrym to fyght in his entent.

¶ Cador the duke that tyme of Cornewayle,
The kynges brother of his mothers syde,
Came to the kyng with people ŷ might auayle,
So dyd all other of all Britayne full[13] wyde:
With their enemies then met [of mikell][14] pryde,

[1] his. [2] it. [3] als. [4] werre on. [5] hath doone this lande. [6] thrid. [7] vnbid.
[8] Baldulfe. [9] the. [10] ther by. [11] Hocle. [12] full grete. [13] so. [14] with full grete.

And vaynqueshed theim at Lyncolne then seging,
For whiche they fled full faste ẏ syege leauing.

¶ To Calidon wood, nere [vnto the sea,][1]
Where the kynges two theim seged sore about,
That for [famishment & fought][2] they swore to be
The kynges men, and their lande throughoute,
[For to voide their people of all the land out & out;]
Colgrym, Baldolffe[3], and also duke Cheldryk,
[That chieftayns][4] were ẅ dughty duke Cordrik:

¶ And leyde hym hostage all this to spede.
And when they were vpon the sea agayne,
They landed eft at Totnesse so in dede,
And seged Bathe, where Arthure was full faine,
Their hostage[s] honged in their syght ful plaine,
And with them fought, Colgrym & Baldof[3] slewe,
To Cordryk[5] gaue Westsex to [be] his man trewe.

¶ Duke Cador then folowed vpon the chace,
And slewe Cheldryk and his [of Saxonie,][6]
And to the kyng agayne came for this case,
That kyng beseged[7] was in Albanye;
Wherfore they went with hoste full manly
To Alclud, where Scottes & Peightes[8] laye about,
Theim discomfyted[9] and hym delyuered oute.

The Scottes & Peightes[8] he droue into oute[10] ysles
Of Scotland then, & there became his men
To lyue in peace, that euer were full of wyles;
[But Gwillomare, the kyng of Irelande then,
Ouer kyng Arthure full harde warre bigaune,
With hoste full greate of Iryshe and Saxonye,][11]
In Scotlande brent, and also[12] in Albanye.

¶ But then ẏ kyng hym met, & with hym faught,
Discomfyted[9] hym, and put hym to the flygt,
Vnto[13] Irelande, with batayle sore vnsaught;

[1] nygh to the cite. [2] famyshte and faynte. [3] Baldulph. [4] Whiche capetayns. [5] Cerdike.
[6] Saxonry. [7] Hoell seged. [8] Pictes. [9] discomfite. [10] the out.
[11] And of discoite they sent by their fals giles,
To Gillomaure the kyng of Irlonde then,
Whiche with grete hooste of Irysh and Saxony. *MS. Harl. The Selden MS. except in the word* Saxonry *agrees with Grafton's Text.*
[12] als. [13] Into.

Of Scotlande, then [of Lowthyan][1] by ryght,
The kyng was then, that [loth of Lowthian hight,][2]
The fyrste knyghte was so of the table rounde,
To Arthure true & also[3] his lyegeman founde ;

¶ His syster Anne vnto his wyfe had wed,
On whome he gate the curteous knyght Gawen[4],
In Dunbar castell his lyfe [there] he ledde ;
And Agûzell[5] was kyng that tyme certayne,
Of Albanye, and Vryan, of Murref[6] playne :
The kyng was then[7] to kyng Arthure full trewe,
His lyegeman aye, [and chaunged not of][8] newe.

¶ The[9] kyng Arthure then wedded to his wyfe
Gwaynore, faiereste of any creature,
That tyme accompte[d] for passyng [birth natyfe,][10]
So iuly[11] fayre she was of her fygure,
More aungelyk then womannyshe [of] nature ;
Fol. lxiiii. In so ferfurth mē thought them selues wel eased,
Her to beholde, so well al folke she pleased.

¶ The table rounde of knightes honourable,
That tyme were[12] voyde by great defycience,
For many were, through actes marcyable,
Dispended then by warres violence ;
Wherfore the kyng then of his sapience,
The worthyest of euery realme aboute
In the table rounde then sent[13] without doute.

¶ The thre kynges foresayde[14] of Scotlande,
Two kynges also of Walys, full chyualrous,
Howell[15], the kyng of lesse Briteyne lande,
And duke Cador of Cornewayle corageous,
[And worthy Gawen, gentyll and amarous,][16]
And other fel[17] ; theyr rule was wronges to oppresse[18]
With their bodyes, where lawe myght not redresse[19],

The fayth, ŷ church, maydens, & widowes clene,
Chyldren also that were in tender age,

[1] Loth of Lothian. [2] was of full grete myght. [3] als. [4] Gawayne. [5] Agnysell. [6] Murefe. [7] that. [8] that were of olde and. [9] The [illegible] any life. [11] yuly. [12] nygh. [13] serve. *edit. alt.* MS. [14] aforesayde. [15] Hoell. [16] Knyghtes of the rounde table were made aunterouse. [17] suany. [18] represse. [19] expresse.

The

The cõmon profyte euer more to sustene :
Agayne enchauntmentes his body for to wage,
[Agayne whiche crafte of the deuelles rage,
Theim to destroye, and all kinde of sorcerye,
Of whiche were many that tyme in Brytaynye.][1]

¶ On Whitsonday alwaye euery yere,
They shoulde eche one at the feaste be[2] ẅ the king,
In anye place where euer so that he were ;
But yf he were in prysone, or harde[3] lettyng,
By dede of armes, death, or elles sycke lyeng,
In whiche cases one of the table rounde
Shulde seke hym [all ŷ yere, tyll here][4] were found.

¶ Also their rule was eche[5] one should tell,
His owne actes of warrys auenture,
Afore the kyng at meate, howe hym[6] byfell
In his trauayle, or of his misauenture,
The Secretorye should put it in scrypture :
For none auaunt it should [not] then betake,
But for his rule to holde, ŷ king [then] dyd [it] make.

¶ Also to steare & moue yonge knightes corage,
To seche armes and warrys of[7] worthynesse,
And [of] dyuerse landes to learne the[8] langnage,
That elles wolde lyue at home in ydylnesse,
For honoure & ease abideth not together doutlesse ;
Also it moueth these poore & yonge knighthode
To be[9] auaunced by theyr ladies lyuelode :

¶ For doute it not ladies ne gentylwemen
No cowardes loue, in maner[10] that is abusyon,
And shamefull also[11] repreuable amonges men,
His cowardyse doth him greate confusyon,
[A man to withdrawe him by feynt collusyon.][12]
For better is with honour for to dye,
Then with [lyfe ay][13] ashamed for to be.

[1] Theym to destroy and sorcery outrage,
Of which was that tyme in Britayne,
Grete wonte and custume, if I shuld be playne.

[2] been. [3] hade. [4] aboute all to that he. MS. He. *edit. alt.* [5] euerech. [6] he. [7] for.
[8] so the. [9] been. [10] man. [11] als. [12] And in knyghthode it is the grettest poison. [13] the life.

¶ The

¶ The somer nexte Arthure went to Ireland,
With batayle sore forfoughten yt conquered,
[And of the kyng had homage of that lande,
To holde of hym, so was he of hym feared,
And also gate, as chronycles haue vs lered,][1]
Denmarke, Friselande, Gotelande, & Norway,
Iselande, Greneland, Thisle of Man, & Orkynay.

Fol. lxv.

¶ He conquered these to hold of hym euermore;
He made kyng Loth, that was of Lowthian,
Of Norway kyng, wher he had fought full sore;
And Lowthyan[2] he made his soonne Gawayne
The kyng, to hold of hym by homage then[3]:
For Norway was his veray heritage,
Discent of bloodde of kyng Sechelynes[4] lynage.

¶ Kyng Arthure then through Christētie moost famed,
And[5] conquerour aboue all kynges royall,
Was [the] moost doubted of [māhode &][6] best named;
But[7] kynges and princes of Septentrionall,
[His to present] [8] most high emperiall
Eche daye came newe, that then more like it semid,
An heuenly life, then erthely, as menne demid.

¶ He held his houshold and the rounde table,
Some time at Edenburgh, some tyme at Striueline[9],
Of [kynges renomed][10] and moost honourable[11],
At Carleile sumwhile, at Alclud his citee fyne,
[Emōg all his knightes and ladies full femenine];
At Bamburgh also[12], and Ebrank citee,
At London, at[13] Wynchester, with greate royalte.

¶ At Carlion, Cardif, and Aualyne[14];
In Cornwaile also, Douer, and Cairelegion[15];
And in Scotlande, at Perthe[16], and Dunbrytain,
[At Dunbar, Dumfrise, and sainct Iohns towne,
All of worthy knightes moo then a legion,

[1] And of the kynge homage for that londe
He toke glade forto suere be the crosse of his swerde,
To holde of hym, so was he of hym ferde. *With the exception of the last line of the three in Grafton's Text, the Selden MS. and the old printed copies here agree.*
[2] Of Lothiane. [3] in certayne. [4] Sichelnes. [5] As. [6] all manhode. [7] That. [8] To his presence.
[9] Estrynelyne. [10] knyghtes famouse. [11] *Here the MS. adds*, Thorough oute the worlde named moste notable. [12] als. [13] and. [14] Avallon. [15] Caerlegion clere. [16] Perch.

At

At Donydoure also, in Murith region,
And in many other places bothe citee and towne.][1]

¶ But euer as next the valey is the hill,
After long rest commeth[2] sharpe labour,
Kyng Arthure [then] had so firmely sette his will
To conquer Fraunce, as his progenitour
Maximian did, with full greate honour,
Wherfore he sent to all his homagers,
That to hym came with all their powers[3].

The. lxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Arthure conquered Fraunce, and sleugh kyng Frolle, of Frauce, and wan many lādes thitherward. And when he had wone Fraunce and ruled it nyne yere, he came to Carlion, and he and the quene were crouned there again with greate solempnite, & dewe seruice dooen by his homagers.

ANd into Fraunce anone so furth he went,
And in Paris Frolle ẏ was gouernour,
By segid[4] then, who vnto Arthure sent,
[Profered hym bataile with full greate honour,]
With hande for hande for right of themperour,
To fight with hym to iudgen[5] all the right,
Whiche to fulfill Arthure graunted and hight.

¶ [At a][6] daye assigned thei twoo together mette
Within an Isle without Paris citee,
Wher either other with wepons sore then bette ;
But kyng Arthure, by greate humanyte,
[That daye hauyng of hym the souereingte.]
Sleugh Froll ẏ daye, with Cāleburne his swerd,
For whiche all Fraunce [of hym were sore][7] aferd.

¶ Paris thei yeld, and all the realme[8] of Fraunce,
The royals all to kyng Arthure obeyed,
Seruice did hym, and [all] whole obeisaunce
As to their kyng, and hym nomore disobeyed. *Fol. lxxi.*

[1] At Douydour, in Murrefe region infere,
And in many other citefe ferre and nere,
At the cauſe requyred for nyghyng of the feſte
Of Witsontide, whiche that he loued beſt. *The Selden MS. has only the two last of the four lines of Grafton's text.*

[2] so comyth. [3] hole powers. [4] He seged. [5] so all. [6] The. [7] than were for hym. [8] londe.

He

He sent Howell[1] with hoost, and hym conueighed
To Guyan then, who made Guytard obeye
To kyng Arthure, with all that euer he maye.

¶ Nauerne and Spain, Portyngale, Aragon,
Prouince, Sauoye, and Langdok, with also
Flaundres, Braban, Henauld and[2] Burgoyn,
[Orliaunce, Poytiers, and Lectoo,
Cateloigne, eke Almaignie, and many mo,][3]
Holande, Selande, and Gelders, [within fere,][4]
His menne became, as prince without[5] pere.

¶ At Paris then he feasted all thastates
By fourty dayes, were he [and] also the quene
Were crouned then, and had the lande subiectes[6];
[In all honour and ryalte as was seen,
He feasted all the commonalte full clene,][7]
The prelates whole, and the vniuersite,
And ladies all, with their feminite.

¶ Nine yere he helde his throne riall in Fraunce,
And open hous, greately magnified
Through all the world, of welthe and suffisaunce
Was neuer prince so highly gloryfied:
The rounde table with princes multipled,
That auentures then sought cotidianly,
With greate honour, as made is memory.

¶ And when he had so ruled Fraunce nine yere,
To Brytain went he home then[8] again;
At Cairlion, his citee faire and clere,
At Witsondaye to se his knightes faine,
He sette his feast royall, the sooth to sayne,
By fourty dayes for all that there woulde been,
Moost for his knightes that[9] he desired to seen.

[1] Hoell. [2] als and.

[3] Catelyne, eke Almayne, and many moo
Cuntreise he conquerde, and made rebels full woo,

[4] als in fere. [5] withoutyn. [6] so gates.

[7] He fested all the comonte full clene,
Oppyn housholde to all clenelie besene.

[8] so than. [9] whome.

¶ At

¶ At whiche feast he and the quene also
Crouned were with royall diademe
By Dubrice[1], that tharchibishop was tho
At Carlion, as the churche did deme,
[With all rialtie as well did beseme ;][2]
Tharchebishopes of London and Ebrank[3],
Came to that feast, and had [full muche][4] thanke.

¶ At [the enoyntyng][5] of this moost noble kyng,
Tharchebishop of London the right arme,
Tharchbishop of Yorke, by all writyng,
The left held vp, without[6] any harme,
[While the people to see that sight did swarme ;][7]
This was their charge and verey dewe seruise,
Of anonxcion[8] tyme to dooe and excersise.

¶ Kyng [Agurell that was of Albanye,]
The kyng Posses[9] of Southwalis that hight,
And of Northwalis Ewayn[10] the kyng manly,
And duke Cader[11] of Cornwaile, by right,
A fore the kyng bare foure sweordes [full bright ;][12]
Whiche was seruice of greate[13] antiquite,
For their landes dewe to[14] his souerente.

¶ Afore ŷ quene Gwaynour the queenes came,
Of Southwalis, Northwalis, and Albanye[15],
And the duches of Cornwaile, of greate fame,
[Right well bee seen of chere benyngly ;]
Eche of theim bare on[16] her hande on hie
A turtel doue, that was of coloure white,
To please the queene so was her[17] moste delite.

Fol. lxviii.

¶ Syr Kay was then the duke of Aungeoy,
At Parys made by Arthur and create,
His stewarde was, that had with mekell ioye,
A thousande knightes [to serue early and late,][18]
[Ententyfly, not feynt, wery ne mate,][19]
Duryng the feast, clothed [all] in ermyn,
For best araye that he [could best][20] ymagyn.

[1] Saint Dubrice. [2] The prelacye full well dide hym beseme. [3] Eboranke. [4] deserved. [5] at thanoyntment. [6] withoutyn. [7] Their myters on their hedes in copes arrayed warme. [8] aunciẽ. [9] Pelles. [10] Owayne. [11] Cador. [12] upright. [13] olde. [14] vnto. [15] of Albanye. [16] upon. [17] theire. [18] with hym consociate. [19] Manhe, jauntill, louynge no debate. [20] couth then.

¶ Sir Bedwer then at that feast was boteler,
A thousande knightes with hym consociate,
The[1] feast to serue of wynes good and clere,
Clad all in graye of pelury preordinate,
That was full riche, accordyng to there estate:
Thetis, goddesse of waters, ther had no might,
For Bacchus, god of wynes, shed his power right.

¶ Thousādes many of lordes & knightes honorable,
Eche daye during the[1] feast imperiall,
Afore the kyng and quene incomperable,
To masse and meate went in especiall,
A thousande ladies of estate temporall;
Besyde thousandes that were of lesse degree,
Wyues and wydowes with other virginitee.

The. lxxv. Chapiter.

¶ A good cause to make knightes worthy and coragious, and ladies and gentilwomen to lyue in great clennes.

THer was no knight accompted[2] of honoure
But if he wer in warre approued thrise,
Nor[3] with ladies beloued as paramoure;
Whiche caused knightes armes to exercyse,
To be[4] vertuous, and clene of life and wise;
It comforte[5] also ladies and theyr femynitee,
To lyue the more in perfite[6] chastitee.

¶ And when this feast royall was dissolued,
The kyng rewarde[d] so highly eche estate,
And in his mynde ymagened and inuolued
Howe sone and when, at tyme preordinate,
They might agayn bee[7] consociate;
And commaunde[d] theim at the nexte Pentecost,
There for to bee[8] with him, both least and moste.

¶ Dubricyus, then archebyshop of Cairlyon,
Mekely ceased and [hole] forsoke his cure,
Purposyng so, of good religion,

[1] That. [2] accompte than. [3] Neither. [4] been. [5] comforted. [6] honeste. [7] so been. [8] been.

An

An heremytes[1] lyfe thence forwarde to endure;
In whose steade Dauid, of life full pure,
Was set to rule the churches dignitee,
To Gods pleasaunce with all[2] libertee.

¶ To Mangauero, the sea[3] pontificall
Of Chichester[4] he gaue withouten lette,
Of Wynchester with [the] cōmoditees all
To Duuyan he gaue, and hym in sette,
[To God and the churche as fell of dēwe dette;]
Thysle of Alclud also pontificall
To Eledoure[5] he graunte[d] as might befall.

¶ As then befell the feast of Whytsondaye,
That all his knightes of the table rounde *Fol. lxviii.*
To his presence were commen in good araye,
And euery knight his auenture that stounde
Had tolde the kyng, as his order was founde;
Whiche aduentures the kyng made [all] be writtē
In his register, euer to be knowen and weten[6].

The. lxxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Galaad came to kyng Arthure, and acheued ŷ seege pereleous in the roūd table, & howe the saynt Graal apered at supper in ŷ hal, wherfore he made a vowe neuer to abide two nightes in one place, to tyme he knewe what it was, and that he might se it agayne.

GAlaad that tyme was. xv. yere of age,
The goodlyest [afore that men][7] had seen,
Whō Laūcelot gat, in very clene spousage,
On Pelles doughter, (ŷ kyng full longe had been
Of Venedose, that Northwales is nowe men wene,)
Clene armed came at meate [&] obeyed the kyng,
The quene also, and estates there syttyng.

¶ And sate hym[8] downe in the siege pereleous
Of the table rounde, where none durst sitte afore
But Ioseph, that was full religious,
That made it so ere[9] Galaad was[10] bore,

[1] ermyte. [2] all the. [3] see. [4] Circestre. [5] Eledenne. [6] not forgetyn. [7] that men afore. [8] right. [9] or. [10] were.

And kyng Arthure that satte therin therfore[1],
And neuer moo that it had ought presumed,
But they were brent therin, shamed & consumed.

¶ Whiche Ioseph sayd afore that tyme ful long,
In Mewyns booke, the Britayn chronicler,
As writen is the Britons iestes emong,
That Galaad the knight, and virgyne clere,
Shuld it acheue[2] and auentures [in all][3] fere
Of the [seynt] Graale, and of the great Briteyn,
And afterwarde a[4] virgyne dye certeyne.

¶ But the knightes all then of the round table
Conceyued well, and fully then beleued
He was thesame persone incomperable
Of whō Merlyn sayd euer shuld be[en] wel cheued,
Moste fortunate of all knightes that [then] lyued;
For whiche they all [anone] to hym attende,
In all thynges that to knighthode appende.

¶ At supper as he sate agayn at euen,
In thesame seege with full knightly constaunce,
That proued well, whiche made theim al beleuen
That by his rule and noble gouernaunce,
To all knightes he shuld do great pleasaunce;
In speciall[5] to all of that order,
Ful greate worshyp and all knightly honoure.

¶ So sodenly doores and wyndowes al[6] clapped
With hydeous noyce, farre passyng meruelous,
Opened and sperred[7] al by theim selfs fast rapped,
For whiche thei trust [of some cause meruelous;][8]
As[9] with that noyse the saynt Graall precious
Flowe[10] thryse about within the hall full ofte,
Flytteryng[11] full fast aboue [theim] high on lofte.

¶ And as it came sodenly vnknowen
Right so it went awaye withouten lees,
The knightes all that tyme [that had it sawen,][12]
Amerueled were of it doutelesse[13];

[1] to fore. [2] eschieve. [3] all in. [4] elene. [5] especiall. [6] fast. [7] shett.
[8] some care auenterouse. [9] and. [10] Flewe. [11] Fetherynge.
[12] whiche had it seen. [13] so douteles.

Wher-

Wherfore they all with wepens gan to presse[1], *Fol. lxix.*
To see and wete[2] what thyng it[3] myght bee,
But whether it went they could[4] nomore it see.

The. lxxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Galaad and the knightes of the rounde table made theyr auowes to seke the saynt Graal, some tyll thei found it, and some for a yere.

BVt on ỹ morowe Galaad & other knightes,
Afore the kynge by one assent compered,
Where Galaad made his auowes & hightes,
Neuer [to lye,][5] but he were presoned,
[In one place, in no maner of grounde,][6]
Two nightes together, no where tyll he it see,
Besought the kyng his knight that he might bee.

¶ The kyng hym made a knight of ỹ table roūd,
And armes wolde haue geue [hī,] but he wold none,
Afore [that] he gatte theim in [a stronge][7] grounde,
By auenture, or els vpon his foone,
And tooke his leaue to passe so forth anone;
The knightes all then of the rounde table,
Graunt hym seruice a yere then perdurable.

The. lxxviii. Chapiter.

¶ The lamentacion of kyng Arthure for his knightes vpon theyr departyng from hym; & of the rule whiche Galaad made emōg the knightes, in the queest of the saynt Graal: and howe at Auelon he found a shilde of the same armes, a speare & a sweorde, that Ioseph lefte there for hym; which armes Aruiragus, Lucyus, and Constantyne bare of siluer, a crosse of goules.

FOr whiche the kyng, ẇ heuy & dulful chere[8],
Thus sayd: "O God, what shall I do or say,
That my knightes al which I had ī quere[9],
Thus sodenly fro me that passe awaye,
They[10], my blisse, my hertes hele eche[11] daye,
My landes helpe, custodyes[12] of my crowne,
And membres of my corps to kepe my region.

[1] prees. [2] witt. [3] that it. [4] couth. [5] for tobe. [6] Or els so seke that he myght not iourneid. [7] ane straunge. [8] herte. [9] querte. [10] They were. [11] every. [12] and kepers.

¶ O God,

¶ O God, ŷ[1] deth wold brest myne hert on twayne,
Who shall maynteyne my crowne & my ryghtes,
I trowe nomore to see you eft agayne
Thus hole together, and so goodly knightes;
Would God I might make myne auowe & hightes,
To passe with you in what land so[2] ye go,
And take my parte with you [both] in well and wo."

¶ This Galaad [then] rode forth with[3] his route,
At euery waye he made a knight for to departe,
To tyme they were all seuerally[4] gone oute,
And none with hym, so had echone theyr parte;
And yf any[5] met another at [any arcte,][6]
His rule was so, he shuld his felowe tell
His auentures, what so [that] hym befell.

¶ And also sone as theyr waye laye on sūdrywise,
They shulde departe and mete nomore agayn,
But aduenture it made of[7] exercyse,
Of diuers stretes that together layne,
[Of this mater is nomore to seyne;][8]
But[9] when he had his felowes all conueyed,
He tooke his waye full like a knight arayed.

Fol. lxx.

¶ Of auenture he came to Auelon,
Where that he found a shylde that was ful white,
A crosse therin of[10] gowlys, by it one
A speare also, a sweard of great delyte,
The whiche with hym he bare awaye full tyte;
He gyrde hym with the swerde anon full[11] ryght,
The shylde he hunge vpon his shoulder lyght.

¶ The spere he toke on hande ful lyke a knyght;
But there he founde in bokes clerely wryten,
Howe Ioseph loste that shylde therin forth[12] ryght,
When he there dyed, as then it was well weten;
[And also in scrypture lefte there wryten,][13]
That no man should it beare without mischeue,
But one that should ŷ doughteous siege acheue[14].

[1] if. [2] that. [3] so with. [4] severably. [5] oone. [6] ane arte. [7] by.
[8] And as is seide than to departe agayne. [9] And. [10] in. *edit. alt.* [11] furth. [12] full.
[13] For a tokyn that Criste shuld not be forgetyn. [14] eschieve.

¶ [That

¶ [That same was wryten][1] ryght there of ŷ swerd,
Whiche Vacyan[2] lefte there when he dyed,
And of the speare he was nothyng a ferde,
All yf the same parell of it was notifyed,
[Lyke as to fore of it was][3] specifyed ;
But[4] when [that] he had laboured so foure yere,
He founde in Walys the Saintgraal[5] full clere.

¶ Then rode he forth vnto the Holy Lande,
Through God and holy inspiracyon,
To God he gaue his seruyce, and hym bonde
To chastyte, and greate contemplacyon;
And kyng was made, by hole coronacyon[6],
Of Garras[7] then, and duke of Orboryk,
Of whome the people full well [dyd theym][8] lyke.

¶ Syr Boers[9] with hym went, and syr Percyuall,
And other moo of the table rounde,
Whome knyghtes he made of the [seynt Graall,][10]
Whiche order so he ordeyned then[11] and founde
At Sarras, that to Egypt lande doth bounde;
To[12] lyue chaste and maynteyne Christentye,
Lyke as Ioseph dyd of Armathye.

¶ But longe after, vpon the Whitsondaye,
Sir Boers[9] and Percyuall came to the kyng,
With knyghtes all that lyuyng were that day,
At Carlyon: but Percyuall dyd bryng,
[Vnto that courte full dolorous tidyng,][14]
Syr Galaad [his] herte closed all with golde,
Vnto the kyng full openly and[15] tolde,

¶ Howe Galaad had acheued[16] the auenture
In kyng Pellis householde with great honoure,
That called was ŷ [saint Graall][17] by scrypture,
And kyng was made by his worthy laboure ;
[As he that was of knygthode a worthy floure]
Of Sarras so, and duke of Orboryk,
Besyde Egypte, where there[18] was none hym lyke.

[1] The same writynge. [2] Nacian. [3] Thus went he furth as it is. [4] And. [5] sank roiall. [6] creacioun. [7] Sarras. [8] than dide. [9] Bors. [10] sanke riale. [11] so. [12] Forto. [13] Bors. [14] Out of Sarras withoute any lettynge. [15] he. [16] escheued. [17] sanke roiall. [18] than.

Where

The saynt Graall what it is.

Where thenne he made. xii. knightes of the order
Of [saynt Graall][1], in full signifycacyon
Of the table whiche Ioseph was the founder,
At Aualon, as Mewyn made[2] relacyon ;
In token of the table refyguracyon[3],
Of the brotherhede of[4] Christes souper & maundie
Afore his death, of hyghest dignytee.

¶ And howe Galaad [then] at his deth you prayed
His herte to bury, besyde kyng Eualake[5],
And duke Saraphe[6], in golde thus arayed,
Fol. lxxi.
[Where they be buryed besyde Ioseph their make ;
And thus muche he prayed you to do for his sake,][7]
In the chapell of our Lady, Chrystes mother,
At Glastenbury, with dyuers sayntes other.

¶ This[8] kyng Arthure, with princes & barons al,
And all[9] knyghtes of[10] the rounde table,
To Glastenbury then rode as myght befall,
And there enterred the hert of Galaad honorable,
With all seruyce for the death accordable ;
And ouer it he hanged[11] his shylde [that he bare,][12]
The whiche afore saint George armes were[13].

¶ And when this feaste was come [vn]to an ende,
The kyng Arthure also and quene Gwaynour
To all estates greate gyftes gaue and[14] sende,
As they were wonte eche[15] yere afore,
[For his great honoure encreased more and more ;][16]
Of hyghe knyghthode[17], houshold[18], and all largesse,
Aboue all princes moste famous he was doutlesse.

¶ These were knightes[19] then of the table rounde :
Morued the carle that tyme of Gloucestre,
Of Shrewisbury therle Heralde[20] that stounde,
Therle Mawron also of Worcestre,
Therle Ingence that was of Leycestre,

[1] the sanke roiall. [2] maketh. [3] and refiguracion. [4] at. [5] Ewelake. [6] Seraph.
[7] Thus he you praied for oure lade sake,
Wher they be buried beside Ioseph their make.
[8] The. [9] with. [10] als of. [11] honge. [12] he bore. [13] wore. [14] or. [15] alwaye ech.
[16] At that same feste opyn house euermore. [17] kynghode. [18] he held.
[19] the knyghtes. [20] Harolde.

Arthegall

Arthegall therle of Warwyke [full] corageous,
Therle[1] Curson of Chestre [full] bounteous,

¶ [Kymar then earle][2] of Caunterbury,
When[3] the earle of Bathe, and Ionathall,
Thearle of Dorcestre, Gallus[4] erle of Salisbury,
[The earle Gurgen,][5] of Herforde, knowen ouer all,
Beuyse[6] earle of Oxenforde that men dyd call,
Gwerande[7] earle that was of Excestre,
And Paradoure[8] the earle of Wynchester,

Cador, the duke that then was of Cornewayle,
The kynges brother was [on the syster][9] syde,
Dame Igrene[10] was their mother without fayle,
Gwytelene[11], earle of Carlele was that tyde,
Waldeue[12] the duke, cōmended and laudifyed,
Of Northumberlande, a lorde of greate power,
Fro Humbar North to Twede then was full clere,

¶ Kynge Aguzell, that was of Albany,
Kyng Vriayn of Murref, with Ewayne[13]
His sonne. that was corageous and manly,
And the noble and curteous knyght Gawayne,
That kyng was then of all fayre Lowthyan[14],
And syster sonne vnto the kyng Arthure,
Mordred his brother was of the same ordoure,

¶ Loth, of Lowthian[14], that kyng was of Norway,
Of Lowthyan[14] that kyng afore had been,
Father to Gawayne, and murdred[15] was that daye,
Kyng Vryan of South Walys I wene,
The kyng Pellis[16] of Northwalis full clene,
The kyng Howell[17] also[18] of Lytell Britayne,
Boers[19], and Hester[20], Degionaunt[21] and Ewayn[11],

¶ Syr Percyuall, Launcelot Delake and Kaye,
Sir Colingraunt[22] Bedewer, and syr Degarye,
Geryn of Charters, ŷ douzepers of Fraunce gaye,
The kynges of Man, Orkeney, Irelande, all thre,

[1] And erle. [2] Kynmare the erle than. [3] Vrgen. [4] Gallok. [5] erle Gurgoyne. [6] Beaufitz. [7] Emerade. [8] Peridure [9] of the seker. [10] Iugerne. [11] Guythelyne. [12] Waldif. [13] Owayne. [14] Lothiane. [15] mordred. [16] Pelles. [17] Hoell. [18] als. [19] Bors. [20] Hestor. [21] Degrevaunte. [22] Colgrevaunt.

Fol. lxxii.

Of Iselande, Gotlande, and dukes of dignyte,
Of Portyngale, Nauerne, and Cateloyne,
Of Spayne the kinges, & the duke of Burgoyne,

¶ Syr Lyonell, Gryffith, Kynkar[1], Olenius[2],
Donalde, Macoyle[3], Cynmarke[4] & Gorbonian,
Kymbalyn, Rydran, Eualake and Carthelius[5];
Crade and Cradok, Dunwallon[6], and Morgan,
Gadwaloure[7], Eneas, and Ternuan,
And many mo ẏ were full longe to wryte,
Whiche with my style I canne not nowe endyte.

The. lxxix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the embassade of the Emperoure Lucius was receyued solemplye, and presented the Emperours letters vnto kynge Arthure; and also of the tenoure of the same letters, the whiche Lucius sent to hym.

BVt whyles the kyng sate in his trone royal,
His prynces all, and knyghtes of dignite,
Aboute him, there thambassade[8] imperyall
Were fayre brought[9] vnto his [royall dignite;][10]
[That prynces][11] were of authoryte,
Of [moste] rype age and[12] reuerende chere,
With olliffe braunchies in their landes[13] clere.

¶ Otokyn[14] of message and legacye,
A stately pase[15] vnto his hye presence,
Where they offered of Lucius Heberye
The letters then, on knees with reuerence,
Of whiche this[16] the wordes and comprehence
As foloweth nowe, when they were reed and sene.
As [chronyclers wryten thus do][17] contene.

¶ " Lucius of Rome, the emperoure,
Procurator for all the hole senate,
Of [the] publyke profyte chiefe gouernoure,
By hole senate made and denominate;
To Arthure kyng of Britayne procreate,

[1] Kyncure. [2] Clenyus. [3] Mapcoile. [4] Cimmarke, *edit. alt.* Kymmarke. MS. [5] Cathelyus. [6] Dunwalen. [7] Cadwaloure. [8] the imbassiate. [9] brought ynne. [10] roialte. [11] Whiche princes twelue. [12] and of. [13] hondes. [14] A token. *edit. alt.* In tokyn. MS. [15] paase. [16] this was. [17] cronycles so wretyn doth.

Sendeth

Sendeth gretyng, [lyke] as thou haste deserued,
Nowe in[1] Fraunce, which was to vs preserued.

¶ Amerueled[2] much of wronge[s] that thou hast done
Within our lande of Fraunce, by great rygour,
Without[3] ryght, that better had bene vndone;
But yf thy wytte amende thy foule erroure
That syth of Fraunce then[4] were the gouernour,
No trybute payde, but as thyne owne conquest
Haste [holde it aye][5] vnder thyne[6] areste.

¶ And for thou haste no wyll it to amende,
And were[7] so prowde to do [so cruell a][8] dede,
Kyng Froyle to sle, to vs that dyd apende,
And mekell[9] more, for cause thou takest no[10] hede
Of the gate[11] imperyall that [12] we lede;
To whiche all landes obey and paye truage,
Saue[13] thou alone gaynstandest of thyne outrage.

¶ Wherfore we byd strayghtly and cōmaunde,
That from August nowe nexte within a yere,
Thou come to Rome, and pay that we demaunde,
The truage, which thou haste of thy power
Of Britayne longe withholde[14] so in feare;
And thy defautes amende thou did in Fraunce,
By sentence of the senates ordynaunce.

¶ And elles we shall approche to thy countre,
And what so thy foly hath vs [be]refte, *Fol. lxxxiij.*
With sweordes wee shall it make restored bee,
Till[15] our senate, as first it was infefte,
The liuelode that thy father so the lefte:
Thou art els like for thine intrusion,
To lose and [be brought][16] into confusion.

¶ Wrytten at Roome in the consistorye,
By whole auise of all the wise senate,
At Pasche last past, to byde in memorie,
Their regestred and determinate,
Lest thy youthed our letter[s] and the date

[1] Late in. [2] Mervailynge. [3] Withoutyn. [4] thou. [5] holden it. [6] thine oun. [7] was. [8] such cruell. [9] muche. [10] noone. [11] greate. *edit. alt.* astate. *MS.* [12] whiche. [13] Saufe. [14] witholdyn. [15] To. [16] bryng.

Would couer with feyned forgetfulnesse,
Trustyng in vs the same defaute I gesse."

¶ With that the kyng went to the giaũtes toure,
With princes all that were of his counsaile,
By their aduise to wryte to themperour,
For his honour and for his gouernall,
Of whiche so wise would not [for gette][1] ne faill:
So well were made to Lucius and endite,
Whiche saied right thus, as in[2] my stile I wryte.

The. lxxx. Chapiter.

¶ The letter that kyng Arthure sent again to Lucius, themperour of Roome.

" ARthure, kyng[3] of all the greate Brytain,
And emperour of Rome by title of right,
[Whiche deforced][4] by Lucius Romain[5],
Pretendyng hym for emperour of might,
Vnto the same Lucius, for[6] thyne vnright,
Vsurper of the sea[7] emperiall,
Sendeth gretyng, as enemie moost mortall.

¶ To the senate of Roome it is well knowe[n,]
Howe Iulyus Ceaser with iniurye
The truage had, Brytain was brought so lowe,
By helpe of erle[8] Androgeus and [his] traytorye,
That brought hym in by his false policye,
Without right or title of discent,
Or any right [that to the senate][9] appent.

¶ And what so he had then by iniurye,
Leefull to vs [nowe is it to][10] withstande;
For what euer[11] thyng is take vniustly[12],
Maye neuer be had, as I can vnderstande,
By any other, to hold it with strong hand,
Frome hym that had it well and rightfully,
By none other maye bee had lawfully.

[1] foryete. [2] with. [3] the. [4] With wronge deforced. [5] Lucius. [6] of. [7] cee. [8] duke. [9] the senate. [10] is nowe forto. [11] maner. [12] vnjustfullie.

¶ By whiche reason the[1] wrong we shall defende,
And hold our realme so in our[2] first astate,
Of seruage free, as it to Brute apende,
Who held it free afore that Roome bare date,
Whose right to vs is nowe determinate;
And by suche right as thou dooest nowe pretende,
We maye clayme Roome & to thempire[3] ascende.

¶ For kyng Belyn, that was our auncetour,
And Brenny also[4], the kyng of Albanye,
All Roomain did wyn by [conquest there;][5]
Of[6] Roome thei had, and all greate Italie,
[And sleugh themperour by their great maistrie,][7]
And crouned were in [the sea][8] empiriall,
Wher no prince was that tyme to theim egall.

¶ But yet we haue a better title of right
To thempire[9] whiche nowe we will pretende; *Fol. lxxiiii.*
For Constantyne, sainct Elyn soonne of right[9],
By right of bloodde, of Constaūce downe discēde,
Emperour was, that Roome did well defende
Again Maxence, and his feloes tweyn[10],
Whiche there[11] made muche Christē people [to dien.][12]

¶ Maximian kyng of greate[13] Brytain,
By whole decre, and will of the senate,
Was emperour of Roome, and ruled Almaigne,
Whose rightes we haue, and al their [whole] astate,
And[14] heire of bloodde borne and generate;
Wherfore we clayme the throne empirial,
Frome hens furth by lawe iudicial.

¶ As to the daye whiche[15] thou hast vs sette,
To paye to Roome the tribute and truage,
We shall bee their to chalenge, of dewe debte,
Truage of Roome, with all [their rerage,][16]
And to enioyse and hold our heritage
Of Roome citee, to kepe the souereigne sea[8]
With all that longeth to themperalite[17].

[1] thy. [2] his. [3] the empere. [4] als. [5] theire conquestre. [6] And. [7] In their power by their grete victory. [8] cee. [9] myght. [10] tweye. [11] thre. [12] deye. [13] the greate. [14] As. [15] the whiche. [16] the arerage. [17] the imperialte.

¶ And

¶ And if thou wilt me sonner haue or seeke,
Bryng Romanye with the wher so thou will,
With me I shall[1] bryng Brytain eke,
And whiche of vs that daye maye other kyll,
Bere Roome with hym, and Brytain also[2] their till.
Wryten at our citee of Cairlion,
By whole aduise of all our region."

The. lxxxi. Chapiter.

¶ He gaue to thambassatours royall giftes, and sent his letters with his ambassatis to passe to Roome with theim in cōpaignie, & he with his hoost folowed sone after theim.

THe kyng then gaue [vnto[3] ŷ hie ambassate,
Full riche giftes & golde enough to spend,
And bad theim giue their lordes[4] in whole senate
His letters so, whiche he then to hym send,
And bad theim saie, that soner then he wend,
He should hym se, before the daye assigned,
In trust of whiche theim with his seale assigned[5].

¶ This noble kyng Arthure his princes prayed,
And barons all, and knightes honorable,
To passe with hym at wagis to bee payed,
With their power and their retenue able,
For to directe his right full resonable;
Marciall[6] actes thempire to obtein,
To whome thei all [consented whole and clene.][7]

¶ And with the kyng thei passed forth anone
Into Brytain, wher Howell[8] then was kyng,
Wher then he hard ŷ countre make greate mone,
For a gyaunt horrible in all thyng,
That rauished had, by his cruell werkyng,
Kyng Howell[8] sister, Elein without pere
Bytwene his armes was slain and layed on bere.

¶ For whiche ŷ kyng to [mount Michell][9] thē wēt,
With that gyaunt that[10] faught a bataile sore,
With Caliborne his sweord, or that he stint,
He sleugh hym there, to death for euermore,

[1] shall so than. [2] als. [3] to. [4] lorde. [5] he signed. [6] By marciall. [7] consente the soth to seyne. [8] Hoell. [9] Michell mounte. [10] ther.

And

And charged Kay for his victorie thore,
To smyte his hedde of then for memorye,
In[1] worship of his worthy victorye. *Fol. lxxv.*

¶ In whiche mount[2] kyng Howell[3] hir tōbe made,
A chapell faire theron[4] edefied,
Sith that tyme hether vpon that place abade,
Wher that gyaunt and she were homycied:
But all his hoost and people hym magnified,
[And all the landes about wholy enioyed,][5]
[Of] that gyauntes death so[6] felly anoyed.

¶ The kynges all, of Portyngale and Spain,
Of Nauerne also[7], and eke of Catheloyne,
Vnto hym came, and dukes of Almaigne,
The dukes of Sauoy, and of Burgoyne,
Douze peres of Fraunce, and the duke of Lorain,
The kynges also of Denmarke and Irelande,
Of Norwey, [Iselande, and of][8] Gotelande.

¶ Through Fraūce, Burgoyn[9], Sauoye & Lumbardie,
Into Italy, and so through all Tuskayn;
Fro Tuskayn then so into Romany,
To Awbe ryu_r kyng Arthure came so than,
And [log d on that water as][10] manne;
Wher with Lucius he faught in[11] battaile strong,
Either other proued with strokes sore emong.

¶ But kyng Arthure, and thē[12] princes all,
His knightes also[7] there of the round table,
So manfully theim bare that daye ouer all,
That neuer their better were seen, [nor] more able,
[So were Romaynes][13] that daye full[14] cōmendable;
[Ne none][15] might dooe better in any wise,
So worthely thei faught without feyntise.

¶ And at the last the Brytons bare the bell,
And had the fi lde and all the victorye,
Wher Arthure sleugh, as chronicles dooeth tell,

[1] For. [2] mount so. [3] Hoell. [4] therouer he. [5] The londes aboute also highly enyoied.
[6] that theym soore. [7] als. [8] and of Iselande and. [9] Burboyne.
[10] on that water hym loged as a. [11] a. [12] eke his. [13] the Romayns als. [14] were. [15] no man.

[Themperour

[Themperour Lucius Hibery,][1]
And [toke his feloe][2] contributorye ;
But Lucyus [hedde to][3] Roome for his truage
He sent, [his corps also for their][4] arerage.

The. lxxxii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the senate and the citee of Roome, mette hym in seuen processions, and crouned hym, and there wintred hym by all the whole winter.

THe senate sent vnto the kyng Arthure,
[And prayed][5] hym thempire to admit,
Whiche became hym & semed hym of nature,
As Constantyne did in the honour sitte,
And al truage forthward[6] thei would remitte
Of greate Brytain, neuer to aske it more,
But make it free as [it was euer before :][7]

¶ To whiche prayer kyng Arthure did consent,
And came to Roome in[8] royall high astate,
Wher the citee, by good and whole assent,
Full richely[9] hym mette, and the senate,
With greatest laude that might been[10] estimate,
And[11] euery gate his triumphe and his glorie,
Full curyously was wrought in greate storie.

¶ The seuen orders in procession,
Full solemplye at Peters churche hym mette;
The wifes whole by good discrecion,
The wydowes after full deuoutly sette,
Fol. lxxvi. In order came then[12] nexte, as was there dette,
The virgyns[13] then, of pure virgynitee,
[And then thynnocentes][14] of tender iuuentee.

¶ Thorders all of good religion,
The preastes and clerkes seculer,
The byshop and cardinalles in vnyon,
With the sacrement and lightes clere,
And belles ryngyng therewith in fere ;

[1] The procuratour of the comonte Lucius Hiberie. [2] made Leone the emperoure. [3] had. [4] to Rome his corps for the. [5] prayinge. [6] thens forwarde. [7] euer it was. [8] with. [9] roially. [10] be. [11] At. [12] ther. [13] maydens. [14] the Innocentes.

Euery

Euery order with laude and reuerence,
Reioysed[1] greatly of his magnificence.

¶ At [the] Capytole, in [the sea][2] imperiall,
They crowned hym with crownes thre of golde
As emperoure moste principall,
And conquerour that daye moste worthy holde;
Wher then he fested[3] the citee manyfolde,
[Of Rome the byshop, and all his cardinals,][4]
The senatours, with other estates als.

The. lxxxiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe that tydynges came to the kynge at Roome that Mordred had wedded his wyfe, and vsurped the crowne of Englande; for the whiche he came home agayne, and gaue Mordred batayll at Douer, where Arthure preuayled, and after again at Wynchester, wher the round table began, and fell for euer.

ALl that wynter at Rome he did soiourne,
In palays of Mayns[5] palacium;
The[6] somer cā ẏ home he might retourne,
At whiche somer so when it was come,
Tydynges came to Arthure hole[7] and some,
That duke Mordred was kyng of all Britayn,
And wedded[8] Gwaynour to[9] his wyfe certayn.

¶ For whiche at Rome he made his ordenaunce
To rule that laude and all the[10] hole empire,
And home in hast with full great purueyaunce
To[11] Britayne [came,] to venge hym on that sire
That[12] trayterously agayn hym did conspire,
[To rauyshe his wife by stronge and mighty hāde,
And also for vsurpyng the crowne of his laude.][13]

¶ At porte Rupyn, whiche nowe[14] Douer hight,
He landed then, where duke Mordred hym met,
And fought full sore, by all a daye to night,
Wher syr Gawen & Anguzell[15] were sore bet,

[1] ioyced. [2] cee. [3] feeste. [4] The pope and all his worthy cardynals. [5] Mayus. [6] To. [7] all. [8] had. [9] as for. [10] that. [11] Towarde. [12] Whiche.

[13] With all his hooste that thedir with hym went,
Theym outakyn that there were dede and spent.

[14] this daye. [15] Agnyzell.

And slayne both two, so sore they were ouer set;
But Arthure had the felde, and Mordred fled
To Wynchester that night, full fast hym sped.

¶ The kyng folowed fast vpon the chace,
And there he fought agayn with hym full sore,
Where many princes and lordes, in that case,
Were slayn on bothe sydes for euermore;
Of the round table, that longe had been afore,
Many worthy knightes there were spended,
For Arthures loue, that might not been[1] amended.

¶ The rounde table at Wynchester beganne,
And there it ended[2], and there it hangeth yet;
For there were slayn [at this ylke battayl][3] than,
The knightes all that euer did at it sitte,
Of Britayne borne, saue Launcelot yode quyte,
And with the kyng folowed on[4] the chase,
Fol. lxxvii. When Mordred fled to Cornwayle for ŷ case.

The. lxxxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ The battayll of Camblayn, where Arthure preuayled and slewe Mordred, and Arthure had his deathes wounde; and howe Arthure died, and was buried in the blacke chapel of Glastenbury.

WHer on the water ŷ called was Camblayne,
Mordred abode, w̄ mightie hoste & stronge,
With Arthur fought ŷ day [of hie][5] disdayne,
Full oft alone euer as they met amonge;
But Arthure slewe Mordred with his knyfe[6] long,
That Calibourne was called, of suche vertue,
That whomsoeuer he smote therwith he slewe.

¶ But this Mordred gaue Arthure deaths wo\u0304d,
For whiche he yode his woundes to medifie[7],
Into thysle of Aualon that[8] stound,
[And gaue][9] Britayne that was full solitarie,
To Constantyne, duke Cader[10] sonne on[11] hye,
His neuewe was, for Cader[10] was his brother,
As well was knowen they had but one mother.

[1] be. [2] ende. [3] of that rounde table. [4] upon. [5] with grete. [6] suerde. [7] medicyne. [8] wher he diede that. [9] He gaufe. [10] Cador. [11] in.

¶ Kyng

¶ Kyng Arthure then in Aualon so died,
Wher he was buried in[1] a chapell fayre,
Whiche nowe is made and fully edified,
[The mynster churche this daye][2] of great repayre
Of Glastenbury, where nowe he hath his leyre;
But then it was called the blacke chapell
Of our Lady, as chronycles can tell.

The death of kyng Arthure.

¶ Wher Geryn, erle of Charters, then[3] abode,
Besyde his toumbe for whole deuocion,
Whether Launcelot Delake came, as he rode
Vpon the chace, with trompette and clarion;
And Geryn tolde hym ther, [all] vp and downe,
Howe Arthure was there layde in sepulture,
For whiche with hym to byde he hight full sure.

¶ And so they abode together in contemplacion,
And preastes were aboute his toumbe alwaye
In prayers greate, and holy meditacion,
With heare the fleshe repressyng night and daye,
Three dayes eche weke at breade and water aye,
They fasted[4] & lyued in great [sorowe and][5] penaũce,
To soules helth and Goddes hye pleasaunce.

¶ But whē the quene Gwaynour had perceyued
Howe Mordred was fled awaye then thryse,
Frō Yorke then yode, lest she were deceyued[6],
On fote by night, with a mayden full wise,
To Carlion to lyue in Goddes seruice,
In the mynster of saynt Iuly, with nonnes,
In prayers whole and greate deuocions.

¶ This kyng Arthure, to whō none was cōdigne
Through all the world, so was he then perelesse,
His life and soule to God he dyd resigne,
The yere of Christ, as chronicles expresse,
Fyue hudreth and two, in sothefastnesse,
And fourtye also accompted hole[7] and clere,
At his endyng without[8] any were.

[1] beside. [2] Weste fro the mynstre churche faire. [3] ther. [4] faste. [5] and sore. [6] out disceived. [7] wholyn. [8] withoutyn.

The. lxxxv. Chapiter.

Fol. lxxviii. ¶ The commendacion of Arthure, after the conceipte of the maker of this booke, in fewe woordes; and also the compleynte and lamentacion of the sayde maker, for the death of Arthure.

REigned he had then sixe and twenty yere,
Moste redoubted in erth & moste famous,
The worthiest and wysest without pere[1],
The hardyest man and moste coragious,
In actes marciall moste[2] victorious.
In hym was neuer a drope of cowardise,
Nor in his herte a[3] poynte of couetyse.

¶ There was neuer prince [of giftes more][4] liberal,
Of landes geuyng, ne of meate so plenteous,
Agayn his fooen was moste imperiall,
And with his owne subiectes[5] moste bounteous;
As[6] a lyon in felde was moste douteous,
In house a lambe of mercy euer replete,
And in iudgement euer [eguall was][7] and discrete.

¶ O good Lorde God, suche treason & vnrightes,
Why suffred thy deuyne omnipotente,
That of theim[8] had precience and forsightes,
That[9] myght haue lette that cursed violence
Of Mordredes pryde, and all his insolence,
That noble kyng forpassyng[10] conqueroure,
So to destroye by treason and erroure.

¶ Fortune[11], false executryse of weerdes[12],
That euermore so with thy subtilitee,
To all debates [thou strongly so enherdes,][13]
That where men euer[14] would lyue in charitee,
Thou doest perturbe with mutabilitee,
Why stretchest[15] [thou] so thy whele vpon Mordred
Agayne his eme to do so cruel dede.

[1] any pere. [2] in hooste. [3] oon. [4] yit of yiftes so. [5] sogettis. [6] And as. [7] wase egall. [8] hym. [9] And. [10] ferre passynge. [11] O Fortune. [12] worldes. [13] so strongely enheredes. [14] aie. [15] streched.

¶ Wher-

¶ Wherthrough that high & noble conqueroure
Without[1] cause shuld algates[2] peryshed bee,
With so [many kynges][3] and princes of honour,
In all the worlde might [none there][4] better bee.
O fals Fallas, of Mordredes propertee,
Howe might thou so in Gwynoure haue such might,
That she the death caused of so many[5] knightes.

¶ O false beautie of Gwaynour, predestinate,
What vnhappe made the [false to][6] thy lorde,
So good a prince and so fortunate[7]
Was neuer yet seen, as all men can recorde,
The whiche betwene you made so greate discorde,
That he and [all] his princes wer there slayne,
Thy chaungeable hert to venge he was so fayne.

¶ But O Mordred, tofore[8] so good a knight,
In greate manhode proudly [aye approued,][9]
In whom thyne eme, the noblest prince of might,
Put all his trust, so greately he the loued,
What vnhappe thy[10] manly ghost hath moued,
Vnto so foule and cruell hardynesse,
So [many] to be slayn through thyn vnhappynes.

¶ The highnesse of thyne honoure had a fall,
When thou began to do that iniurie,
That great falshode thy prowesse did appall,
As soone as [in the entred][11] periurie,
By consequens treason and traitourie,
Thy lorde and eme, and also[12] thy kyng souerayn,
So to betraye thy felowes eke certayne. *Fol. lxxix.*

The. lxxxvi. Chapter.

¶ Constantyne, kynge of Britayne, sonne of duke Cador of Cornewayle, reygned foure yere.

COnstantine, his brother sōne was crowned,
Duke Cador sōne of Cornwaile boūteous,

[1] Withoutyn. [2] ogates. [3] go de kyngates. [4] there no. [5] goode. [6] falsen.
[7] well fortunate. [8] before. [9] ever thou proued. [10] so thy. [11] thou entred into. [12] als.

Afore

Afore had been one of the table rounde,
In Arthures[s] tyme, a knight [was] ful auenturous;
In trone royall was set full precyous,
With diademe on his hed sygnifyed,
At Troynouaunt, where no wight it replyed.

¶ Who then anone with Saxons sore did fight,
And also with Mordred sonnes two
Their capitaynes were, & put theim [to the][1] flyght,
That one fled to Wynchester, and hyd hym so,
That other to London with mykyll woo,
Where Constātyne theim bothe in churches slew,
At the autres where they were hyd in mewe.

¶ This Constantyne set all his lande in peace,
And reygned well foure yere in greate noblesse,
And dyed then, buryed at Caroll no lesse,
Besyde Vterpendragon[2] full expresse,
Arthures father, of greate worthynesse;
Whiche called is the[stone Hengles][3] certayne,
Besyde Salysbury[4] vpon the[5] playne.

* Aurelius Conan, kīg of Britayne, reygned thre yere.

¶ Aurelius Conan, his cosyn fayre[6],
The sea[7] royall then[8] helde, and ganne succede
To hym as nexte then of bloude[9] and heyre;
His vncle and his sonnes two in dede
In prysone slewe, to crowne hym selfe I rede,
That should haue been kynges of [all] Britayne
Afore hym so, yf they had not be slayne.

¶ He maynteyned aye ciuyle warre and debate,
Bytwene cytees, castelles, and countees[10],
Through al [his] realme, w̄ mysruled mē associate,
Whiche was greatly agaynst his royaltees,
And but thre yere, he reygned in dignitees;
As God so wolde, of his hye ordynaunce,
For wronge lawes maketh shorte gouernaunce.

* Vortiper, king of Britayne, reygned vii. yere.

¶ Then Vortyper[11] succeded after hym,
Crowned was then with all the royalte,
Agaynste whome the Saxons stronge & grym

[1] both to. [2] Vther Pendragon. [3] Stonehenge. [4] Ammesbury. [5] that grete. [6] than feire. [7] cee. [8] he. [9] his blode. [10] countrees. *edit. alt.* MS. [11] Vortipere.

Made

Made full greate warre, destroyed the comente[1];
But in batayle by greate humanyte,
He them ouercame, and set his lande in peace,
Vnto the tyme that death made him decease.

¶ Seuen yere he reigned and his people pleased.
And tender was he of his comynalte[2],
Aboue all thyng he sawe that they were eased,
The [publyke cause][3] afore the syngulerte,
[Preserued also][4] as it of ryght should be;
For cōmons fyrst for prynces supportacion
Were set, and [nought been waste][5] by dominacion.

¶ Malgo nexte hym to the crowne attayned, Malgo, kīg of Britayn, reygned. xxii. yere.
Feyrest of other that euer was in his daye,
All tyranny fully he restreyned,
[And conquered holy thryse][6] of Orkenay,
Irelonde, Denmarke, Iselonde, and eke Norway; *Fol. lxxx.*
And [Gotlande also][7] obeyed his royalte,
He was so wyse full[8] of fortunyte.

Within his realme was none so large ne strong,
Ne none that was in feacte[9] of warre so wise,
With swerde or[10] axe to fyght[11] in the thronge,
Nor with his[12] speare that had suche exercyse,
For to assayle hys foes[13], and them suppryse;
And defence[14] [also] he had [great keenyng][15]
As any prynce euer had [or any kyng.][16]

¶ But one defaute he had of greate offence,
Of Sodome synne, he wolde [it] not amende;
He haunted[17] it euer withoute any defence,
Whiche greued God, and brought hym to an end.
Two and twenty yere as[18] dyd appendé,
His lande [he] helde in peace and vnyte,
Without suppryse of any enmytee.

¶ Carreys[19] was then crowned kyng[20] anone, * Carreys kīg of Britayne, reygned thre yere.
That loued well in all cytees debate,

[1] comynalte. [2] comonte. [3] comon well. [4] Preferred aye. [5] not tobe wasted.
[6] He conquered hole the Iles. [7] Scotlande als. [8] and full. [9] feete. [10] ne. [11] fighten.
[12] a. [13] foone. [14] And in. [15] also cunnyng. [16] afore euer levynge. [17] haunte.
[18] with croun as. [19] Careys. [20] to be kyng.

Betwene townes[1] and citees euery chone,
And in suche wyse maynteyned early and late,
Imagened of his[2] wyll preordinate,
So muche in[3] warre that[4] cytees and countrees
Full comen [were, of his][5] malicyousnesse.

¶ For which Britons made hym [full mykel][6] war,
And Saxons also[7] vnto[8] kyng Gurmound sent
Of Affrycans that then in Irelande were,
Who with his fleete to perfourme his[9] entent,
To Britayne came by[10] all theyr hole assent;
But Saxons then and he were full accorde,
And Britons also[11] that had[12] ciuyle discorde.

The. lxxxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Gurmounde, kynge of Affrycans, conquered Brytayne, and departed it in seuen kyngdomes, to Saxons & Englyshe; and went to wynne moo landes, & made Gurmonde Chester.

GVrmoũde, [ý then was][13] mighty cõquerour,
King of Affricãs[14], most dred in euery lond,
With helpe of Britõs & theyr great socour,
And of Englishe & Saxons had made thẽ bonde,
That dwelled that tyme in[15] Northumberlande,
And other places[16] in Britayne vnder truage,
Rose with hym whole agayne ý kynges outrage.

¶ And fought with him, and put hym to ý flight,
To Circestre went and strongly helde the towne,
But kyng Gurmound ý towne then seeged right,
And gate it so [with myght & greate][17] renowne,
Wherfore he fled to Wales for [his] proteccyon.
What came of him myne authour nought expressed,
But with the death I trowe he was oppressed.

¶ But[18] Gurmound then [Britaine hole][19] destroied,
Bothe churche and towne & eke the Christen faith,
For he a paynym[20] was, and sore anoyed

[1] cuntrees. [2] selfe. [3] that. [4] in. [5] was through his. [6] right muche. [7] als. [8] which to. [9] their. [10] with. [11] als. [12] helde. [13] than a. [14] Fraunce. [15] withyn. [16] place. [17] by myght and be. [18] Kynge. [19] of Britayn which he. [20] payoun.

The

The Chrystentye[1], as Gyldas wrote and seyth,
Through[2] Logres [ỳ] whole was lost w̄ paynī[3] leyeth:
The prelates all[4], curates and religyous,
With reliques all fledde awaye full dolorous,

¶ And hid them then in[5] hilles, woodes and caues:
Tharchbishops, the one[6] of London then, *Fol. lxxxi.*
And Tadyok[7] of Yorke, that fled fro[8] Knauis
With sainctes bones, to wildernes fast ranne
[And hid hym there, and Gurmond sore did banne][9]
With crosse and bell, & with greate candill light *Cursyng.*
Thei cursed hym, as ferre as the churches[10] might.

¶ This kyng Gurmōd gaue all Northūberland,
Fromē Trent North, [ỳ] then hight [Berun & Deyre,][11]
Northfolke, Southfolke, and Cābrydge shire at hāde,
(Whiche Estāgle Bede calleth in his storie,)
And all fro Trent to Themis, for memorye,
Mers[12] he called, all[13] to English gaue
[That dwelled ther for euer to reioyse][14] and haue.

¶ He gaue all these to Englishe menne in deede,
Whiche came out of a lande hight Angulo,
In Germany that was, and [with] woodes, I rede,
[Replenished of wild bestes buck and doo,]
Sith that tyme hether, hathe been and yet is so:
Wherfore thei were of it called Englishemenne[15],
All Logres & Northumberlande Anglande[16] then.

¶ He gaue Sussex then to the Saxons,
Essex, Midelsex, with Surry whole and Kent;
But then Hamshire, Barkeshire, toures & townes,
And Shropshire whole, & Gloucester as thē apēt,
All these were[17] called Westsex, as Bede ment:
Thus dalt he the lande to theim therin dwellyng,
Whiche long afore paied truage to the kyng.

¶ Thē went he home through Fraūce & it distroied,
And many other landes and regions;

[1] Cristen people. [2] All. [3] Payans. [4] and. [5] than in. [6] theon. [7] Chadioke. [8] for.
[9] To hide theym there and Gurmonde cursed than. [10] church. [11] Bernie & Deorby.
[12] Vrsh. [13] all these. [14] Ther to duell euer it so to reioyce. [15] Anglish men. [16] Angulonde.
[17] were than.

But Brytons then to ŷ West parties sore anoyed[1],
[Droue theim of Logres, with all religions][2]
To liue in peace, for dred of rebelions;
For after[3] Carreis was fled thei had no kyng.
To tyme Cadwan was made by their chosyng.

Howe y^e^ Britons were kynglesse xx. yere.

¶ So stode thei then kyngles by twenty yere,
Fro the yere of Christ fiue hundred and four score,
And therto three, as clerly dooeth apere,
Vnto the yere after that Christ was bore
Sixe hundreth and three, without any more,
When Cadwan was of Brytons kyng elect,
And crouned was, to rule theim and protect.

A lamentacion of y^e^ maker of this booke to y^e^ lordes.

¶ O kyng Carreis[4], vnhappiest[5] creature
That in Brytain reigned euer afore,
What infortune made the flee from thy cure,
What caused the to maintene so euermore,
Cyuile discord within thy realme so sore;
That might haue reigned ouer many a lande,
Through whiche thyne owne is lost I vnderstād.

¶ Thou vnderstandest[6] full litill theuangilye[7],
That euery realme within it selfe deuide,
Mat. xii. Shall desolate bee [made,] as clerkes tell[8],
And euery hous on other shall fall and slyde.
Thy wycked will, that nowe is knowen[9] wyde,
That suffred so debate bytwyne lorde and lorde,
Bytwyne citees and landes[10] cyuyle discord,

¶ The cause was[11] of thy dishériteson,
And of thy realmes[12] desolacion,
That with lawe and peaceble constitucion
Fol. lxxxii. Might haue been saued, with greate consolacion,
And the churche preserued in greate prosperacion;
The Christen faith in thy lande distroyed,
That with the peace shuld haue be kept vnnoyed.

¶ O woful Carreis[13], thyne heires & thy Brytons,
Their children all, the widdowes and their wifes,

[1] noied. [2] Drewe theym fro Loegres and fro their mansioums. [3] fro. [4] Careis. [5] the vnhappiest.
[6] vnderstode. [7] the euangell. [8] doone tell. [9] knowe full. [10] townes. [11] so was.
[12] reame. [13] Careys.

The

The commonalte[1] in citees and in townes,
The churche also may bāne[2] full sore those[3] striues
By thy[4] supporte, that rest so many[5] their liues;
Wher lawe and peace [if thou had][6] well conserued,
[All had been saued][7] with thanke of God deserued.

¶ Defaute of lawe was cause of this mischiefe[s],
Wronges sustened by maistry and by might,
And peace layed downe that should haue been the chief
For whiche debate folowed and vnright:
Wherfore vnto a prince accordeth right
To kepe the peace with al tranquillite,
Within his realme to saue his royalte.

¶ What is a kyng without lawe and[8] peace
Within his realme sufficiently conserued;
The poorest of his realme maye so encrease
By iniury and force to bee preferred
Till he his kyng with strength haue ouerterued,
And sette hym self in royall maieste,
If that he bee in suche a ieopardie.

¶ O ye lordes and princes of high astate,
Kepe well the lawe and peace in[9] gouernaunce,
Lest your subiectes defoule you and depreciate,
Whiche been as able with wrongfull gouernaūce[10]
To reigne as ye, and haue as greate puysaunce,
If peace and lawe been voyed and vnytee,
The floures are[11] lost of all your souerentee.

The coūcel of the maker to duke Richard of Yorke.

¶ O worthy prince! O duke of Yorke I meane,
Discendid downe of highest bloodde royall,
Se[12] to suche ryotes that none sustene,
And specially that alyens none at all
Inhabite not with power greate ne small,
That maye this lande ought trouble or ouer ride,
For twies it was so wonne with muche[13] pride,

¶ Through Vortiger, by Engist and Horsus,
Whome he receiued[14], whiche after hym distroyed,

[1] comonte. [2] cur-e. [3] thi. [4] the [5] fell. [6] thou myght haue. [7] And saued all.
[8] or. [9] with. [10] ordynaunce. [11] been. [12] Se ye. [13] full muche. [14] resett.

And with his[1] helpe full false and noyous[2],
The worthy bloodde of Brytain sore anoyed,
At the Caroll murdred [and all][3] accloyed:
And nowe again when Carreis[4] was exiled,
The[5] kyng Gurmōd & [the] Saxons hym beguiled.

¶ For Saxons, Peightes[6] and Englishemenne,
Reigned then[7] through all [the Logres][8] lande,
Deuided in seuen realmes[9] fully then,
Westsex, Sussex and Kente, I vnderstande,
Estsex and Mers[10], Estangle & Northumberlande,
That droue Brytons into the West countre[11],
To Walis and Cornwaile[12] fro [towne and citee.][13]

The. lxxxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Ethelbert kyng of Saxons.

WHils Ethelberte was reignyng kyng of Kēt,
Sainct Austin, sēt by Gregory [of R.[14] bisshop,][15]
Landed in Tenet with clerkes of his assēt[16],
Fol. lxxxiii. [And many][17] monkes, to teache the faith I hope,
That clothed were echeone vnder [a] blacke cope;
Whiche in procession with crosse and belles came,
The latinies[18] syngyng[19] in [Iesus his][20] name.

¶ In the yere of Christ his incarnacion
Fiue hundreth foure score and sixtene,
Kyng Ethelbert [had in][21] his dominacion
All Kent throughout, with greate ioy, as was seen,
Were[22] baptized then in holy water clene;

[1] their. [2] odeous. [3] all and. [4] Careys. [5] By. [6] Victes. [7] tho. [8] Loegres. [9] kyngdomes. [10] Mersh. [11] cuntrees. [12] to Cornewaile. [13] townes and citees. *Here the Harleian* MS. *has the following passage in prose. In the Selden MS. it does not occur.*

Nota quod legitur in libro Gilde sapientissimi Britonum, et in libro primo Willelmi de Malmesbury de gestis Regum Anglorum, quod Britones propter auariciam et rapinam regum et principum, propter iniquitatum et injusticiam judicum, propter desidiam predicacionis episcoporum et aliorum virorum ecclesiasticorum, et propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, regnum et patriam perdiderunt. Ubi vero Saxones et Angli regnantes in diuersis Insule partibus successerunt, nam post discessum Gurmundi Affricani, de quo jam supra diximus, inceperunt Saxones et Angli regnare declaro in Anglia qui prius non regnabant sed dominabantur, quia Hengistus non fuit rex neque regulus sed dux; licet ita scriptum sit quod tanto tempore regnavit, et sic de aliis ducibus usque ad annum sextum. Postquam Gurmundus Carecium Regem Britonum devicit et a regno fugavit: quia post Vortigernum fuerunt plures monarche videlicet orto.

[14] Rome. *edit. alt.* [15] the pope. [16] intent. [17] Of holy. [18] latenye. [19] syngynge deuoutely. [20] Ihesu. [21] and. [22] He.

To

To whome Gregory[1] sent Mellito[2] and Iusto,
With other clerkes and doctours many mo.

¶ Gregory[1] hym made archebishop of Caũterbury,
Of all Englande hiest[3] then primate,
And had the paule[4] with hyest legacye
By Gregorye sent to hym and ordinate.
Fro London then, thus was that tyme translate,
To Caunterbury, the sea[5] metropolitan,
And London sette as for his suffrigan.

¶ Saynt Augustyne[6] then, w̃ helpe of Ethelbert,
Saynt Augustyns[7] made, & Christes churche[8] also,
That Christes churche hight, as it was aduerte,
And sacred so by hym and halowed tho,
For the chiefe sea[5] metropolitan so
Of all Englande, by Gregory ordinate,
And saynt Augustyne[6] of all Englande primate.

¶ Then Augustyne[6] made Peter, a clerke deuoute,
Of saynt Augustynes[7] thabbot religious;
And made Mellito[2], as Bede clerly hath note,
Of London then byshoppe full vertuous,
A clarke that was then beneuolus;
Who then conuerted[9] of Essex the kyng Sebert,
And all his lande baptized with holy herte.

¶ Kyng Ethelbert sainct Poules edefied,
And kyng Sebert Westminster founded,
Mellito[2] theim both halowed and edefied[10].
Austyn then made clerke full wel grounded
Iusto[11] that hight, of Rochester [full] well bounded
The bishop then, to preache and helpe Austyn,
And to baptise the folke by his doctrine.

¶ Saint Austyn set ful nere[12] to Walis his seane,
That prelates all, bishops and doctours wise,
Of Brytons bloodde, thither might well atteine,
To make all rest and loue in humble wise,
Through all ỹ churche and lande, by good auice;

[1] the pope. [2] Mellite. [3] the hieste. [4] palle. [5] see. [6] Austyn. [7] Austyns.
[8] Crichurche than. [9] conuerte. [10] deified. [11] Iustus. [12] nygh.

To

To whiche sean came tharchbishop[1] of Brytain,
And bishops fiue, with doctours wise certain:

¶ In[2] whiche Austyn syttyng as president,
Archbishop, and also[3] the high primate,
Required and prayed, with all his whole entent,
As he that was of England high prelate
By Gregory[4] sacred and ordinate,
Of fraterne loue and due obedience,
To helpe hym furth with all their diligence.

¶ To[5] conuerte and to teache the Saxons all,
The Englishe also, in Christen feith and trewe,
And baptize theim; through Brytain, ouer[6] all,
The pasche to kepe, as Roome did then full dewe:
To whiche Brytons aunswered, ẏ they not[7] knewe
Fol. lxxxiiii. That he had suche estate in all Britayn,
For they had three archebyshops to obeyn;

¶ Of Cairlyon, London and Yorke citee,
By byshops of Rome graũted to vs & ordinate,
Full long afore ye had suche dignitee,
Wherfore we will obeye no newe primate,
And specially none Englyshe newe prelate:
For Englyshemen and Saxons haue vs noyed,
And [haue our lande][8] and all our kyn[9] destroyed.

¶ And Pasche we wyll holde forth as we afore,
And holy fathers vnto this daye haue vsed,
We wyll not chaunge for youre doctrine ne lore,
There shall no newe emong vs been abused,
As saynt Iohn did we haue it not refused,
That on Christes bozome[10] saw his great priuetees,
So will we vse, and none other solempnitees.

¶ S. Austyne saied, sith ye nowe thus forsake
The seed of God to sowe, by your doctryne,
The Christen fayth for to encrease and make;
By ryghtfull dome of God ye muste enclyne
Vnder theyr handes that fro the fayth declyne,

[1] archbishopes. [2] To. [3] eke. [4] pope Gregorie. [5] For to. [6] than euer. [7] ne.
[8] hath oure londes. [9] londe. [10] breste.

The cruel death to suffer for hie vengeaunce,
Sith ye refuse Christes wyll and ordinaunce.

¶ This tyme eche kyng warred on others lande,
Of seuen kynges of Saxones nacion,
And of Englyshe with Peightes[1] I vnderstand,
And Britons also[2] did great aduersacion;
But Ethelfryde of Englyshe gouernacion[3],
Of Northumberlande kyng, and panyme[4] cruell,
Fought with Aydan the kyng of Scottes fell.

The. lxxxix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kynge Ethelfryde of Northumberlande had seruyce of Aydan kyng of Scottes, the yere of Christ. vi. hundreth and three, after sayut Bede.

AT Degfastan[5], wher Ethelfryde preuayled,
And sette Aydan[6] in his subiection[7],
To Bedes dayes ȳ Scottes nomore assayled
Englande, but aye obeyed his ediccion,
And was his man without contradiccion;
And held of hym his lande as[8] was accorde,
By many yeres, thens forth nomore discorde.

Homage of the Scottes.

¶ This battayl was of Christes incarnacion,
Syxe hundreth yere & three, as sayth sayut Bede,
And of his reygne, by Bedes computacion,
The eleuenth yere it was then, as I rede,
That twenty yere and. iiii. reygned there in dede,
In all his tyme; to whom the Peightes[9] obeyed,
And Iryshe also[2], and nomore hym disobeyed.

¶ In that same yere of Christes incarnacion,
The Britons all did sette theyr parliamente
At Cairlion, by good informacion,
[Cairlegeocestre hight][10], as some men ment,
That Westchester is [become of][11] entente;
Where they did chose Cadwan vnto there kyng,
Theim to defende fro theyr fooes warrying.

[1] Vectes. [2] als. [3] generation. [4] paien. [5] Deysaston. [6] Aidon. [7] subdicion. [8] as it. [9] Pictes. [10] Caerlegio that Chestre hight. [11] be comoñ.

The.

The. xc. Chapiter.

Fol. lxxxv. ¶ Cadwan, kynge of Britayne, that firste was prince of Northwales. This Cadwan was crowned in the yere of Christ syxe hundreth and thre, and, after Bede, by. xiii. yere reigned ouer the Britons, in the West parties of all Wales and Cornwayll.

THis kyng Cadwan at Wynchester crownd,
Was made ỳ kyng of Britayne & Brytōs,
Agayn whom kyng Ethelfrede ỳ stound,
Warred full sore all the regions[1]
Where Brytons were, so did he all religions[2];
Who Westchester sieged with violence,
Wher Brochewall[3] therle made greate defence.

¶ But there he slewe Brochewall[3] in batayll,
And gatte the towne of Westchester [in] that tyde,
A murder of mōkes. Where. xii.C. monkes, without[4] fayle,
He slewe downe right, a lytle there besyde,
That[5] came to praye for peace without[4] pride,
Fro Banger there in hole[6] procession,
That marters wer there by his oppression:

¶ Whō kyng Cadwan ẁ mighty hoste & strōge,
Met in felde[7] full ready for to fight,
But both theyr frendes treated so theim emong,
That good accorde betwene thē was made righte,
Daryng theyr lyues well kepte as they hight;
With all frendshippe, great loue and vnytee,
That both theyr realmes stoode in great dignitee.

¶ But Ethelfrides wyfe with chylde farre gone,
Violently exiled and repudiate,
And wedded another full wrongfully anone,
Wherfore she went to recouer his[8] estate
To kyng Cadwan, full sycke and desolate;
Whom he receyued[9] with noble reuerence,
And sory was for her[10] wofull offence.

¶ [But thē his wife][11] as great was gone ẁ childe,
For whiche he [kept hir in][12] house to abyde

[1] religiouns. [2] regiouns. [3] Brochivale. [4] withoutyn. [5] Which. [6] holy. [7] the felde. [8] hir. [9] receite. [10] his. [11] Than Cadwans wife. [12] held both in his.

To

To tyme he might hym haue reconsyled
Her to receyue, and set [the other on syde;][1]
But in [the] meane tyme they might no lēger abide,
[Both queenes delyuered wer][2] of sonnes two,
That one Edwyn, that other hight Cadwallo.

¶ The[3] chylder two together noryshed were,
In tender age, to tyme[4] that they were men,
At whiche tyme there[5] rose full cruell warre
Betwene Redwald, kyng of Estangle then,
And Ethelfride, [that fought as folke did kenne;][6]
Whér Ethelfryde on[7] Idell was downe slayne,
And Redwald[8] the feld ther had with payn.

¶ Kyng Cadwan then out of this worlde so died
The[9] same yere, so[10] dyd Austyne also,
And Laurens made fully and glorifyed
Archebyshop[11] of Caunterbury tho,
And Ethelbert of Kent to heauen dyd go;
Thus chaunged they theyr habitacion,
Some to[12] payne, and some to[12] saluacion.

¶ Cadwall[13] then, [the] sonne of kyng Cadwan, Cadwall lxi. yeres reigned.
After his father had[14] reigned. xiii.[15] yere,
Was crowned at Westchester as a man,
Of Britons all, as[16] clerely dyd appeare,
The yere of Christ. vi.C. and. xvi. cleare;
That reygned well full syxtye yere and one, *Fol. lxxxvi.*
Aboue all kynges, as souerayne [of echeone.][17]

¶ But kyng Edwyn then of Northumberlande,
The sonne and heyre vnto kyng Ethelfryde,
Was crowned kyng at Yorke, I vnderstande,
For whiche the kyng Cadwall[13] hym defyed,
And made hym warre with Britons fortifyed;
And sente hym worde no crowne for to were[18],
And elles he should[19] vnder it his hed of shere.

Which Edwyn then accompted at ryght nought,
But kepte estate full royall and condigne,

[1] th'other aside. [2] Tho quenes both deliverde. [3] These. [4] the tyme. [5] so there.
[6] kynge of Northumbers yken. [7] in. [8] kynge Redwalde. [9] That. [10] als so. [11] The archebishope.
[12] vnto. [13] Cadwallo. [14] he. [15] thritty. [16] and. [17] ouer echone. [18] bere. [19] wolde.

With crowne of gold at Yorke ful freshly wrought:
Elfrydes sonnes[1] of his wronge wyfe vndigne,
Goten and borne, he felly dyd repugne[2];
[Hym dyd exyle][3] in Scotlande dyd[4] abyde,
For his mother [was exyled][5] by Ethelfryde.

¶ And[6] Ethelfryde hym[7] gate on his wrong wyfe,
And had exyled his owne wyfe truely wed,
Edwyns mother, as knowen was full ryfe,
Full great w̄ chylde with hym, as Bede hath red.
Then made he welles in dyuerse countrees spred
By the hye wayes, in[8] cuppes of copper clene,
For trauelyng folke, faste chayned as it was sene.

¶ And euery daye he rode withouten reste,
With trompettes lowde afore him where he rode,
That euery wyght myght suerly in hym truste,
That he wolde then of his ryghtwyshode[9]
[Do euery man ryght without more abode;][10]
[All complayntes][11] here, & as lawe wolde reforme,
So all his lyfe to rule he did confirme.

¶ He sente vnto Ethilbalde[12], kyng of Kent,
His syster [for] to haue, and[13] wed her to[14] wyfe,
Dame Ethelburge that was full fayre and gent;
But Ethelbalde[12] then sent hym worde by lyfe,
It was not good, but lykely to make stryfe,
That [a Christē woman][15] to [a] paynim shuld be wed,
And elles he sayde his message had be sped.

¶ Edwyne then sent his message so[16] agayne,
He wolde well she kepte her owne creaunce,
And bade hym sende with her a chapelayne
And clerkes wyse, [without any][17] varyaunce,
To kepe her in her fayth [and] in all suraunce;
And yf her fayth be better then is myne,
When it is [knowen I wyll therto][18] enclyne.

¶ Kyng Ethelbald[12] her[19] sent with Paulyne,
That sacred was byshop of Yorke that tyme,

[1] Ethelfride son. [2] repygne. [3] Theym he exiled. [4] to. [5] exiled was. [6] For. [7] theym. [8] with. [9] high rightfulhode. [10] That same waie cume as than longed to knyghthode. [11] Compleyntes to. [12] Edbalde. [13] to. [14] to his. [15] Cristen women. [16] furth. [17] withoutyn. [18] knowe to it I woll. [19] than hir.

By

By Iusto[1] archbyshop, [that] was full fyne
Of Caunterbury, to kepe her true bapteme
And her beleue, that none her fethers lyme
With heresye, to [foule his][2] owne creaunce:
Thus wedded he her at Yorke in all suraunce,

¶ The yere of [our Lorde.][3] vi. hundreth &. xx. tho
And fyue therto, as Bede hath clerely writen,
And in the yere. vi. hundreth and twenty so,
And syxe therto, kyng Edwyn, as is[4] weten,
To Westsex went, where batayle sore was smyten
Betwene hym and byshop Quychelyne,
King Kinigils[5] sonne, of Westsex then so fyne.

¶ Where then he slewe this manly Quichelyne, *Fol. lxxxvii.*
For cause he had compassyd his death afore,
By pryuey wyse, as he coulde[6] ymagyne:
He put the lande then vnder trybute sore,
And Kynygell[5], the kyng of Westsex thore,
Became his man, and helde of hym his lande,
At his byddyng to ryde with hym and stande.

The. xci. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Cadwall fled, and was dryuen from his realme by kynge Edwyn, and helde it in subieccion, and was baptyzed by saynt Pawlyn, archbyshop of Yorke.

KYng Cadwallo then of all Brytons[7],
The yere of Chryste. vi.C. and eyghtene,
By wronge councell, on Edwyns regions
Great warres made; but Edwyn then full kene,
Faught with hym there full sore, as it was sene,
And to the flyght hym droue out of the felde,
All Britayne lande he conquered so and helde.

¶ Cadwallo[8] fled vnto[9] lytell Britayne,
And dwelled there in heuynesse and [in] payne
By dyuers yeres, and durste not come agayne; The subieccion of the Scottes.
For power none he myght not yet[10] obteyne,
The Britaynes durste hym not obeyne,

[1] Iustus so. [2] voide hir. [3] Criste. [4] was. [5] Kynegils. [6] couth. [7] the Britouns. [8] Cadwalleyn. [9] into. [10] longe.

For kyng Edwyn had hole dominacyon
Of theim and[1] Saxons, & [of the Scottyshe][2] naciō.

¶ And in the yere of Chryste. vi.C.xx. and. vi.
Edwyns doughter, that named was Eufled,
At Yorke was borne; to whome men dyd complex
Maydens twelue, to take the chrystenhede,
That lordes doughters wer of great worthihede;
Whiche saynt Paulyn archbyshop dyd baptyse,
In Yorke mynster [in full][3] holy wyse.

¶ And in the yere of Chryste. vi.C.[xx.] & seuen,
The Chrysten lawe, disputed[4] amonge his lordes,
Was founde[5] beste to wynne[6] the blysse of heuen,
[Wherfore Edwyn, by good and hole concordes,
Both of his comons and also of his lordes,][7]
With all his realme, baptime toke as goddes mē,
Of saint Paulin that archbishop was then.

¶ In that same yere byshoppe Honorius,
To Paulyn sent the palle of dignyte.
The kyng Edwin and this ylke Paulins[8],
Yorke mynster made newe of greate beaute;
And comons all full well so baptized he,
In Northumberlande, in Swale, Owse & Trent,
And other ryuers in countrees where he went.

¶ By thyrty dayes and sixe labored he [thus,]
And then he came to Lyncolne with Edwyn,
Where he conuerted Blecca[9], as Bede sayth, [to] vs,
The Mayre and all the cōmons by his doctryne,
And Lyndsey hole vnto the fayth deuyne;
And made the mynstre of Lincolne at [his] costage,
Of kyng Edwyn, [and also the][10] colage.

¶ And in the yere[11]. vi. hundreth and thyrty moo,
Iusto[12] dyed, to whome Honoure [dyd] succede,
Of Caunterbury archbishop made was tho[13],
Whome saint Paulin, as wryten hath sent Bede,

[1] and of. [2] Scottys. [3] full well in. [4] dispute. [5] foundon. [6] fynde.
[7] His payans lawe so voide was they accorde,
Wherfore Edwyn by goode and hole concorde.
[8] Paulius. *edit. alt.* Paulinus. [9] Blacta. [10] than called the kynges. [11] yere of Criste. [12] Iustus. [13] so.

Dyd

Dyd sacre then at Lyncolne so in dede,
In the mynster that he and Edwyn founde, *Fol. lxxxviii.*
The kynges colage [named that ylke][1] stounde.

¶ And in the yere. vi. hundreth thyrty and two,
Kynge Edwyne, by holy[2] doctryne
Of saynt Felyx, an holye prieste [that] was tho,
[And preachyng of the holy archbyshop Paulyn,
Of Chrystes worde and verteous discyplyne,][3]
[Conuerted Edordwolde,][4] of Estangle the kyng,
And all the[5] realme where Felyx was dwellyng.

¶ At Dōmok[6] then was Felyx fyrste byshop
Of Estangle[7], and taught the Chrysten fayth,
[That is full hye in heauen I hope;][8]
But then the kyng Edwyn, as Bede[9] sayth,
[Had made the people stable in the Chrysten layth,]
To Yorke went home, with hym also Paulyn,
To rule the[10] lande after the lawe deuyne.

The. xcii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Cadwall and Penda slewe kyng Edwyn, and reigned ouer Brytons agayne.

BVt in the yere. vi. hundreth thyrty & thre,
Kyng Cadwall[11] of Britaine that had been,
With king Penda of Merces[12] great coūtre,
Assembled stronge with hostes fell and kene,
And Northumberlande brent, as then was sene;
And slewe both wyfe and chylde, olde and yinge,
[Prestes][13] and clerkes, they spared there no thyng.

The churches all they brente and foule destroied,
Whome Edwyn met with power that he might,
At Hatfelde towne, in herte full sore anoyed,
All redy so in batayle for to fyght,

[1] that named was that. [2] the holy.
[3] Whome Redwalde herde publysh the lawe devyne,
And the prechyng of tharchebishope Paulyne.
[4] Conuerte Redwalde. [5] his. [6] Dommake. [7] Estenglonde.
[8] Which sacred is in hevyn full high I hope,
Amonge the sayntes that in that place nowe pleieth.
[9] seynt Bede. [10] that. [11] Cadwallo. [12] Mersh. [13] The prestes.

Within

Within Yorkeshyre, where Edwin was slaine right,
And all his realme [was wasted][1] and subuerte
By kyng Penda, that [a paynym][2] was peruerte.

¶ The same yere then, for cause of warre & stryfe,
Saint Paulyn went to Kent, there to[3] dwell
With Ethelburge, that was kyng Edwyns wyfe,
That [welcome were,][4] as Bede surely doth tell,
At Rochester, [as that tyme][5] befell
Saint Paulyn was vnto [the sea][6] translate,
And byshop therof [then] denominate.

Subiecciō of Scottes.

¶ Kyng Cadwall[7] reygned full hole agayne
In Britayne lande, as prynce without[8] pere,
Aboue Englyshe, as lorde souerayne,
Ouer Saxons, Scottes [& Peightes][9] clere,
And [Englyshe also,][10] as clere did appere.
And Eufryde[11] then, and Osdryk[12], paynimes[13] fell,
Northumberlande[14] then helde, as Bede doth[15] tell,

¶ Whome Cadwall[7] and Penda felly slewe.
From tyme they two had reygned but a yere,
Oswolde theyr cosyn, as knowen was full trewe,
That in Scotlande norysh.d was full clere,
To Englande came with mighty greate[16] power,
And gate his ryght and all his herytage,
[With helpe and socoure of his baronage.][17]

The. xciii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Oswolde, kynge of Englande, reygned ouer Brytons, Scottes and Peightes, Iryshe, and ouer all Logres and Cambre.

Fol. lxxxix. Oswold.

THis kyng Oswolde [in] Englād gan succede
The yere of Christ, vi. c. was thē clere,
Thirty and fiue, replete of all manhed,
And afterwarde full clerely did apere,
As to suche a prince of nature should affere;
That[18] Yorke minster repaired[19] then all newe,
Of lyme and stone, as Christen prince and trewe.

[1] wasted was. [2] payen. [3] for to. [4] well couth duell. [5] and than as it. [6] that cee. [7] Cadwallo. [8] withouten. [9] Pictes and Vectes. [10] Irish als. [11] Amfride. [12] Osrike. [13] payens. [14] Sum of Northumberlonde. [15] can. [16] stronge. [17] At whiche tyme he was but yonge of age. [18] Whiche. [19] repairailed.

¶ Who

¶ Who for ayde[1] then into Scotlande sent,
An holy monke he was and religious,
And bishop sacred, after Christes entent;
In Christes doctrine he was full laborous,
Whome for teachyng and preachyng vertuous,
[He made hym][2] bishop of all Northumberlande,
Whose sea[3] was chief then at [the] holy Isle lande.

¶ In that same yere Oswold to Westsex rode,
For Christ his loue at prayer of sainct Biryne,
Wher thei the kyng Kynygill, of paynymhode[4],
Baptized, and made a Christen manne full fyne,
And sette Westsex vnder tribute syne,
For to bee payed to hym and[5] his heires,
Perpetually by yere[6] at certeine feires.

¶ Sainct Biryne bishop[7] thei made furth right,
Of all Westsex, at Dorchester was his sea[8],
Frome Oxenforde, but litill waye to sight.
Kyng Oswold wedded Beblam[9] his wife to bee,
Kyng Kynygilles doughter full[9] faire to see,
And on hir [he] gatte a soonne hight Cidilwold[10],
In Deyre reigned vnder his father Oswold.

¶ And in the yere sixe hundrith thyrty[11] and sixe,
Kyng Penda sleugh Ordewold[12] of Estanglande[13],
In batаile strong, and mighty gan to vexe[14],
That wastid sore about hym euery lande;
As tyraunt fell, wher he the Christen fonde,
He sleugh theim downe, and cruelly ouer ran
Sparyng [nother wife][15], childe, ne manne.

¶ The kyng Oswold so mighty was in deede,
That ouer Scottes, Peightes[16], and Brytaines,
Irish, Westsex, and English I rede,
And ouer Logres and all the Saxons,
None so mighty, aboue all regions;
As Flores and Bede hath wrytten[17] thus,
Whose [wrytynges are full][18] vertuous.

[1] Aidane. [2] Made was. [3] cee. [4] paienhode. [5] and to. [6] yeres. [7] than bishope.
[8] Bebba. [9] that was full. [10] Othilwolde. [11] sexty. [12] Oswalde. [13] Northumberlonde.
[14] wexe. [15] no wife, widowe. [16] Pictes. [17] wretyn us. [18] writynge is full trewe and vertuous.

¶ As

¶ As he at meate did sitte vpon a daye,
At Bamburgh, a[1] palmer [came to][2] his gate,
Asked some good for Christ [his] loue alwaye,
To whome he sent his dishe of syluer plate,
For cause he had not[3] els for his astate,
The poore manne to[4] refresh and comforte;
Sainct Bede of hym thus clerely dooeth reporte.

¶ An holy manne within his hermitage[5],
Desired sore in his meditacion,
If any better, [of any maner][6] age,
Wer in the lande of any nacion;
To whome was said[7] by reuelacion,
That kyng Oswold more holy was of life,
Notwithstandyng he had weddid a wife.

The. xciiii. Chapiter.

Fol. xc. ¶ How an hermite proued sainct Oswold his wife, at his desire, by biddyng of sainct Oswold.

WHerfore he came vnto the kyng Oswold,
And prayed hym he might knowe[8] his life,
And of his reuelacion then hym[9] told:
Wherfore he toke to hym his ryng by life,
And [bade hym] saye the quene that was his[10] wife
To dooe with hym, [on] nightes twoo or three,
As she was wonte at home to dooe with me.

¶ This token had [he], he satte with hir at meate,
His meate & drynke when he would haue the best,
But water and brede he might none other gette;
And then at night she leide hym for to rest
Right with hir self, so well hir self she trest;
And when he [was ought][11] sette to dooe amisse,
In water [he] was cast, his fleshe to [keele and lisse.][12]

¶ But when the daye came, he was full fain,
And of the quene full soone toke his leue;
Vnto the kyng he went anone again,
And prayed hym fast he might passe home at eue,
For of his life he would no more[13] preue,
Whiche more holy was one[14] daye and night,
Then all his life he[15] euer been might.

[1] so a. [2] at. [3] nought. [4] so to. [5] heritage. *edit. alt.* [6] lever of any. [7] sent. [8] here. [9] he. [10] so than his. [11] onte. [12] slake and losse. [13] more than. [14] on a. [15] he saied.

¶ But

¶ But Cadwall[1], the kyng of Brytons, sent
The kyng Penda to warre on kyng Oswold,
Whome Oswold mette with greate assemblemēt[2],
In battaile strong, at Heuenfeld, as God would,
Wher people[3] fled, with people manyfold,
To kyng Cadwall, who with Penda anone
Assembled an hoost on Oswold for to gon.

¶ Oswold thei[4] mette on Marfeld[5] that tyde,
Wher he was slain, the yere of Christ was than
Sixe hundred whole and fourty and twoo beside;
His hedde and armes[6], as Bede, the holy manne,
In his chronicle hath write, who [so] rede it can,
Vpon a tre was hong[7] many a daye,
That rotted not, nor[8] in this world neuer maye.

¶ Oswy then in all Northumberlande — Oswy kyng of Northūberlande.
The croune had and all the royalte,
With Cadwallo he hight allwaye to stande;
As souereigne lorde of Bryton then[9] was he,
And ouer[10] all other [had then][11] the mageste,
But this Oswy made Humwald for to kyll
The kyng Oswyn, that feloe was hym tyll.

¶ For cause he rose on hym with multitude,
And nought for thy when thei together mette,
All his people of full greate fortitude
He withdrewe then, and with Humwald[12] sette
In pryue wise, without[13] any lette;
But false Humwald prively hym slewe,
On whome he trusted[14] and [trowed had bee][15] trewe.

¶ Quene Eufled that was kyng Oswys wife,
Kyng Edwyn his doughter full of goodnesse[16],
For Oswyns soule a minster in hir life
Made at Tynmouth, and for Oswy causeles
That hym[17] so bee slain and killed helpeles;
For she was kyn to Oswy and Oswyn,
As Bede in chronicle dooeth determyn.

[1] Cadwallo. [2] suppowelment. [3] Penda. [4] theym. [5] Maserfelde. [6] armie. [7] honged.
[8] ne. [9] so. *edit. alt.* [10] of. [11] than hade he. [12] therle Humwald. [13] withoutyn.
[14] truste [15] went he hade be. [16] goodelynes. [17] made hym.

¶ This Oswyn nowe is canonized in shryne.
Fol. xxi. Saynt Oswyn called at Tynmouth gloriously,
But kyng Oswy to Cadwall did enclyne,
And Oswalde [his] hed and arme had leue to burye.
Whiche he betoke[1] to quene Bebla[2] in hye,
Who closed theim in siluer fayre and clene,
And theim betooke to saynt Aydan I[3] wene.

Kynge Cadwal. ¶ This kyng Cadwall his feast at Londō made,
To hym all kynges as souerayne lorde obeyed,
Saue kyng Oswy at home that tyme abade,
For whiche he trowed that he hym disobeyed;
Wherfore he sent to Penda and hym prayed
To warre on Oswy without delaye[4],
And make hym to his souerayne lorde obey.

¶ In which meane tyme this Penda slewe[5] Anne
Of Estangle[6], that long had ben kyng[7],
A Christen prince and a full manly[8] manne,
And so[9] came on kyng Oswy fast rydyng,
Wher on [the felde][10] they met sore fyghtynge,
Whom Oswy slewe, and. xxx. dukes also
That with hym came, and. xxx. M. moo.

The. xcv. Chapiter.

¶ In the yere of oure Lorde God. vi. hundreth and. lv. Penda slewe the kyng of Estangles; and the yere of our Lord God. vi. hundreth and. lvi. Oswyne slewe Penda, kynge of Marchelande; and the foresayde kynge Oswyne condiscended to holde and kepe his Easter accordyng to the vse of Roome and Caunterburye, the yere of oure Lorde vi. hūdreth and. lxiii. whiche before was celebrated accordyng to the Iudeicall custome.

THose[11] battayls two after thincarnacion
Syxe hundreth yere fyfty [wer,] & [also] fyue,
[In the yere after, by][12] computacion,
That[13] kyng Oswy made Penda kyng belyue,
[Of Marces lande and to conuerte his lyue,

[1] tooke. [2] Bebba. [3] as men. [4] any delaye. [5] hade slayne. [6] Est Englonde. [7] the kynge. [8] worthy. [9] than. [10] mened. [11] These. [12] And oone therto by dewe. [13] And than.

By

By teachyng of Dwyma made byshop thare,
And all his lande, by vertue of his lare.][1]

¶ Kyng Oswy made houses. xii. of religion,
Sixe in Deyry, and sixe in Berū[2] to bee,
With his doughter Elflede[3] for deuocion,
Whom he auowed in clene virginitee
To sacre so and lyue in chastitee,
For his triumphe and for his victorie
Of[4] kyng Penda and his panymerye[5].

¶ The kyng Oswy, of Christes incarnacion
The yere. vi. C.lx. and also three,
Had all the clerkes of his dominacion,
With many other clerkes of farre countree,
For to dispute the Pasche when it should bee,
The whiche afore was held[6] dinersly,
One vse at Yorke, another at Caunterbury.

¶ But this seynt Oswy [then] helde [it] at Whitby,
Where then saynt Hilde in all deuinitee
Was hole instructe amonge all the clergie,
Where Wilfride with Egilbert[7] and she,
Concluded[8] all the clerkes of the[9] countree,
And fro thens forth thei helde it in certeyne[10],
As Caunterbury vsed [and did obeyne.][11]

¶ This kyng Oswyn [then] died [in] the yere[12]
Sixe hundreth hole, sixti and also ten, *Fol. xcii.*
At Whytby [then] wher Hild was [abbas clere,][13]
At[14] Stryneshalgh named was so then,
[Emonge the couente of this holy woman,][15]
And[16] in Hildes schole. vi. byshops wer enfourmed
In holy wryte as she theim had confourmed.

¶ These were the names of the byshoppes right:
Bosa[17], Oskford[18], Etla [and] also Tatfryde[19],

[1] Of Mercia, son of Penda, full ryve,
Who wedded hade Elflede doughter of kynge Oswy,
Vpon couenaunt Cristen feith not to deny.

[2] Perne. [3] Elflede. [4] Agayn. [5] paranry. [6] holdyn. [7] Agilberte. [8] Conchudynge.
[9] that. [10] certaynte. [11] they obeied playnle. [12] the yere I gesse. [13] than abbesse. [14] That.
[15] That tyme a place of worshipe well knowen. [16] Where. [17] Bossa. [18] Oskefore [19] Catfride.

Iohn of Beuerley the fyfte, that then so hight,
The sixte then was the holy man Wilfryde ;
[All in the lawe of Christ enfourmed that tyde,][1]
[With] this virgyne clene of royall[2] discent,
Of kyng Edwyn and Oswalde bloode full gent.

¶ Whiche virgyne [clene] died so in the yere
Of Christ. vi. C. and foure score also[3],
About whiche tyme saynt Awdry ŷ virgyne clere
At Hely[4] died emonge hir floures tho
[Of holy virgyns and wydowes also,][5]
Whiche she had gathered & kept in cloyster clene,
Whyle she there was thabbasse, as was sene.

¶ Who wyfe was twyse, in Westsex first espoused,
The secounde tyme vnto the kyng Egfryde
Of Northūberlande, her maydenhed euer[6] housed,
I dar well saye it was neuer set asyde ;
There might no man hir herte frō Christe deuide,
So hole it was sette vnto[7] chastitee,
Inuiolate she kepte her[8] virginitee.

¶ For good ne gold nor any great rychesse,
With her housebandes to been deuirginate,
Hetherto[9] might neuer eschaunge her sekirnesse,
So sad it was, it[10] was neuer violate
[But euer clene, as in her fyrst estate,][11]
By her housbādes, for ought they could[12] her hight,
But virgyne died through grace of God Almight.

¶ [Thus Awdry then][13] frō Egfride was deuorced,
For[14] cause she would not lese hir maydenhede ;
[To tyme hir soule wer lowsed and vncursed
In Hely abode, where then she made in dede][15]
An house of nunnes, as writtē hath saynt Bede,
To serue the God aboue celestiall,
In prayers good and matens nocturnall.

[1] In vertue lerned withoutyn any pride. [2] royall blode. [3] than also. [4] Ely.
[5] Of vertuouse life, whiche kepte her frome all wo. [6] ay. [7] in. [8] her pure. [9] Hir hight.
[10] she. [11] Ne of vertue neuer repudiate. [12] couth. [13] This Etheldrede. [14] By.

[15] In Ely bode she than maide in dede,
To tyme hir soule were lesed and uncorsede.

¶ Wylfride from Yorke exiled and expelled,
The kyng of Sussex and all his lande
Conuerte all hole, and mawmetrye downe felled;
Wher so three yere afore, I vnderstande,
[Suche vengeaunce reigned in that kynges land,][1]
[That] ther grewe no grasse, nor[2] no maner [of] corne;
The[3] people died for hunger all for lorne.

¶ And that same daye, when they were conuerte,
The grasse and corne, that welked[4] were afore
By three yere passed, waxed grene and gan reuert,
Through prayer of Wylfryde ỳ prayed therfore,
For whiche the kyng made hym bishoppe thore,
That fyue yere hole there so occupyed
The byshopyes cure, and Christes fayth edefied.

¶ And in the yere. vi. hundreth. lxxx. and fyue,
Kyng Egfride rode with hoste into Scotlande,
And warred [on Pightes][5] & Scottes w̃ [mekel] striue,
Whō [then] they slewe, as Bede could[6] vnderstande, *Fol. xviii.*
[With many worthy knightes of Northūberland:
At Nettansmore in an hye mynstre buryed,][7]
A worthy place in Scotlande edified.

¶ Eche kyng of seuen on other warred sore,
[But] kyng Cadwas[8] that then was souerayn lorde.
Accorded theim as myster was ay[9] where;
By his good rule he made [euer good accorde,][10]
Wher any strife or warre was, and discorde:
And all [the realmes][11] in Britayn hole baptized,
And bishoppes in theim sette and autorised.

¶ Kyng Ethelride of Mors[12], and quene Ostride
His wyfe, doughter of Oswy Berdnaye[13],
Buried Oswalde[14], with myracles glorified,
Where many yere[15] full styll [there after] he laye,
Vnto the tyme the suster, as bookes saye,

[1] For theire presomptuouse life lewed and fonde.
[2] ne yet.
[3] So the.
[4] fallowed.
[5] vpon Pictes.
[6] can.
[7] In batell stronge with myght of theire londe,
And at Nectanesmersh in theire mynstre buried.
[8] Cadwall.
[9] euer.
[10] alway concorde.
[11] kingdomes.
[12] Mercia.
[13] at Bardenaye.
[14] Wher Oswalde.
[15] yere after.

Of

Of kyng Edward thelder [hym translate][1]
To Gloucester abbey, to his estate.

¶ Cadwallo. kyng of Britons[2], in the yere
Of Christe goddes sonne. vi. C. sixty and sixtene[3],
So died awaye, who reigned had full clere
Full sixty yere and one, as well was sene,
That souerayne lorde of all Britayn had been,
After the decease of [the] good kyng Edwyn,
And made all[4] seuen kynges to hym enclyne.

¶ He made his ymage of laton full clene[5],
In whiche he put his body balsomate[6]
Vpon an horse of laton fayre [to sene,][7]
With a sweorde in hande, crowned like [his] estate,
Full hye sette [vp] to sight on[8] Ludgate;
His battayles all and his greate victorie
Aboute hym wrought, was made for memorye.

The. xcvi. Chapiter.

¶ Cadwalader, kyng of Brytayn, and lorde of all. vii. kynges in Britayne.

Cadwalader kyng.

CAdwaladrus[9] after hym gan succede,
Both young and fayre in florishyng iuuēt,
That Cadwalader[10] was called, as I rede,
Who of Britayn had all the souerayntee
Of Englyshe and[11] Saxons in eche countree:

Subiecciō of yᵉ Scottes.

Of Pyghtes[12], Iryshe, & Scottes, [his vnder][13] regēce,
As souerayne lorde and moste of excellence.

¶ Kentwyne, the kyng of Westsexe, then died,
The yere of Christ sixe hundreth. lxxx. and sixe,
The mekill[14] warre had made and fortifyed
Vpon Britons and felly did [hym wexe,][15]
[So combrous he was and cruell gan to wexe;]
Whose realme the kyng Cadwalader conquered,
And Sussex also[16], and slewe ẏ kynge ẇ [his] swerde.

[1] ytranslate. [2] Britayne. [3] seuentene. [4] all the. [5] clere. [6] balsamere. [7] infere. [8] vpon. [9] Cadwalladre. [10] Cadwalladrus. [11] als. [12] Pictes. [13] under hᵢs. [14] Full much. [15] theym vexe. [16] eke.

¶ In

¶ In whiche yere then Gatta[1], byshop, died,
Whose sea[2] was [then] at Hexham vpon Tyne,
That byshop was of Yorke notified,
For Wilfryde was hold[3] out with mekyll[4] pyne,
[And exiled from his benefice that tyme,]
From Yorke that tyme, by the kynge Alfride
Of Northumberland, whose cure Gatta[1] occupied.

¶ After whose decease then Iohn of Beuerlay
Was made byshop of Yorke, and had [the sea,][5] *Fol. xcviii.*
[Then the][6] Cathedrall at Hexham so alwaye,
For Wylfryde was in Sussex farre countre;
But then certayne Alfryde of cruelte,
Cōmaunded Iohn to vexe and noye Wylfryde.
But tender loue they helde on eyther syde.

The. xcvii. Chapiter.

¶ How Cadwalader fel in greate impotencye, that he might not gouerne the lande; wherfore, in defaute of lawe and peace, fell barons warre and ciuyle discorde in all the realmes.

THe kyng Cadwaladre [beyng impotent][7]
So euery daye, & helde no gouernaunce,
Nether lawe ne peace win his regiment,
Wherfore Britons dred none ordynaunce,
But eche one [toke on other][8] great vengeaunce;
Fro that time forth, eche countre[9] on other warred,
And euery[10] cytee agaynste other marred[11].

¶ Thus in defaute of lawe and peace conserued,
Cōmon profyte was wasted and deuoured,
Percyall profyte was sped and obserued,
And Venus [also was cōmonly][12] honoured,
For lechery and aduoutry [was] moste adoared;
Amonge them was cōmon as [the] carte waye,
Ryot, robbery[13], oppressyon, nyght and daye.

Of which came then manslaughter & homicide,
And cyuyle stryfe with sore contencyons,

[1] Gata. [2] cee. [3] holdyn. [4] much. [5] his cee. [6] And. [7] fill in impotence.
[8] of ether toke. [9] lorde. [10] ech. [11] wase meved. [12] all comonly wase. [13] bribbury.

Through

Through Britons land euery[1] where on eche side,
With batayles greate and fell discencions,
As Bede wryteth amonge his mencyons.
They dred nother the kyng ne God Almyght,
Wherfore he sent vengeaunce on them [full] ryght,

That through the warre ỹ tylth was all destroied,
Churches all, and husbandrye vnoccupyed,
That with hunger the people[2] were sore anoyed,
That people great in stretes and feldes dyed;
And muche folke[3], as Bede hath specifyed,
The fayth of Chryste for hunger then forsoke,
And drowned thē selues, so sore [ỹ payne thē][4] toke.

¶ Their catell dyed for faute of fode eche daye,
Without[5] meate or any sustenaunce,
In townes and feldes, and [the cōmon waye,][6]
Through which their[7] enfecte was ẅ[8] that chaūce,
That multitude of folke, in[9] greate substaunce,
On hepys laye full lyke vnto the mountaynes,
That horryble was of sight aboue the playns,

Vnburyed hole withoute sacrament.
By pestylence [also many one][10] dyed,
Some woode, some raynage[11] went,
And some were in lytargie[12] implyed,
An other some[13] with batayle[14] mortifyed;
With murther also amonge themselues dispent,
Full many were that none an[15] other lament.

Through which defautes not [a]mēded nor correct,
The bishoppes fled, the prestees & clerkes anoyed,
[To Walys went, there][16] to be protecte,
In cauys hyd accombred and accloyed,
[Full] heuely deseased, and full greatly[17] anoyed,
With saynctes bones and relyques many one
Morning full sore and makyng there their mone.

¶ Then fel a yere of pardone and of grace
At Rome, where[18] the kyng Cadwaladrus

* A great place.

Fol. xcv.

[1] ay. [2] folke. [3] people. [4] they the peyne. [5] Withoutyn. [6] in commons alway. [7] the aier. [8] by. [9] and. [10] full many. [11] ramage so. [12] a letargy. [13] mo. [14] batels. [15] of. [16] Full hevy went to Walys. [17] pituously. [18] wherfore.

All

All desolate and sory for that case,
In pylgrymage thyther purposed thus
With herte deuoute and wyll[1] beneuelous,
With his Brytons together consociate,
Of worthy bloude so borne and generate,

¶ To haue pardone and playne remissyon
Of theyr trespasse, synnes, and neglygence,
That they put nought[2] reddour ne punissyon,
By lawe[3], payne, and discrete prouidence,
[On trespassours that dyd violence,][4]
Through which their land & they were so mischeued,
That ẅ law kept might wel haue bene acheued.

To Rome they came, of whom ŷ bishop[5] was glad,
Sergio[6] that hyght, who them graunt remissyon
Of all their synnes, with herte and wyll glad[7],
Saue onely then of their omissyon
And neglygence of hole punissyon,
That they put nought[8] vpon the trespassoures
Of cōmon people[9] that were destroyours ;

Whiche was not [in] his power to relese
Without amendes made and[9] restitucyon
To [common weale,][10] and theyr[11] due encrease
As they were hurte in faute of due punissyon :
He charged them for theyr playne remissyon,
The cōmonte to supporte and amende,
Of[12] as greate good as they [were so][13] offende.

In ŷ[14] meane whyle whyls they[15] at Rome so were,
The Saxons hole and Englyshe consociate,
Toke all theyr lande, liuelod, and other gere ;
To Saxon they sente ambassyate
To Angulo to be assocyate,
With many mo [of theyr countree men,][16]
For Britons all at Rome were [bidyng then.][17]

¶ And bad them come in haste and tary nought[2],
For theyr owne helpe and for their waryson[18],

[1] full. [2] not. [3] lawfull. [4] No vice punyshte ne noone offence. [5] pope. [6] Sergius. [7] full glad.
[8] wel [9] of. [10] cōmons well. [11] to their. [12] And. [13] hade theym. [14] this.
[15] as they. [16] in that countre levynge. [17] abidynge. [18] merison.

[The whiche they dyd][1] and hither fast they sought;
The Brytons lande they toke in possessyon,
And kepte it forth with [many a][2] garyson:
For Brytons came no more therto[3] agayne,
For [king] Cadwallader thē dyed at Rome certain.

His Brytons also[4] dyed homewarde by the waye
In dyuerse places[5], and some went to Britayne,
Other some to Fraunce there to abyde for aye,
And some also to Normandy[6], and to Spayne,
That to theyr owne they came no more agayne;
But Saxons hole and Englyshe it occupyed,
Euer more after, and strongly edifyed.

¶ Some chroniclers saye he had by visyon,
No more to come into Britayne the more,
But to the [bishop of Rome][7] with great contricion,
Confesse hym and take his penaunce thore,
And absolucyon for his[8] synnes sore:
And howe ŷ bishop of Rome buryed him royally,
And on[9] his tombe set[10] his epitaphye,

Fol. xxvi.

¶ In Laten letters, in marble stone well graue,
Declared hole his conuersacyon,
Forsakyng [all] the worlde heuen to[11] haue;
And howe ŷ [byshop of Rome][12] by his confyrmaciō,
Called hym Peter, whome Bede by relacyon
Calleth a saynt in blysse, hole disposed,
Fro whiche he may in no wyse be deposed.

¶ This Cadwalader of Britons was ŷ kyng
That reygned full as souereygne lorde. xii. yere,
And in the yere. vi. hundreth and nynte beyng,
And dyed so, as sayeth the chronyclere,
That of Westsex then had be kyng two yere,
Of whome Walshemen holden opinyon
Of Englande yet to haue the reuercyon.

¶ When [ŷ] his bones be brought fro Rome again,
Amonge them all haue suche a prophecye,

[1] Which they obeyed. [2] manly. [3] hider. [4] als. [5] place. [6] Naverne. [7] pope.
[8] ablucion of his. [9] in. [10] made. [11] for to. [12] pope.

And

And Englande then, [efte synce][1] called Britayne,
Thus stande they yet, in suche fonde matesye,
In truste of whiche vayne[2] fantasye,
They haue full ofte Englande sore anoyed,
And yet they wyll proue yf it maye be destroyed.

The. xcviii. Chapiter.

¶ The lamentacyon of the maker of this booke, and his counsayle to my Lorde of Yorke, for good rule in the realme of Englande.

O Graeyous lorde, O very heyre in ryght
Of Great Britayne enclosed with a[3] sea,
O very heyre of Logres [ỳ] now England hyght,
Of Wales also[4], of Scotland, which all[5] thre
Britayne so hyght of olde[6] antiquyte;
O very heyre of Portyngale and Spayne,
Whiche Castell is and Lyons[7] soth to sayne.

¶ O very heyre of Fraunce and Normandye,
Of Guyan, Peytowe, Bayen, Man[8], & Angeoy,
Membrys of Fraunce, of olde warre[9] openly;
O very heyre of Ierusalem and Surry:
All this meane I by you that[10] shonld enioye,
Ye or[11] your heyres, my lorde of Yorke certayne,
That wrongefully haue bene [holde out to seyne.][12]

¶ But, O good lorde, take hede of this mischieue,
Howe Cadwaladore not kepyng lawe ne[13] peace,
Sufferyng debates and cōmon warr[ys] acheue,
And fully[14] reygne, and put hym nought in preace,
By lawe nor myght to make it for to cease;
For whiche there fell so great diuisyon,
That he was put vnto deheryteson[15].

¶ Not he alone, but all his nacyon,
Deuolued[16] were, and from theyr ryght[17] expelled,
Full fayne to flee with greate lamentacyon,
From Greate Britayne, [in which they had excelled,][18]
In which their aūcetour afore lōg time had dwelled[19];

[1] Efsonys be. [2] veynly. [3] oone. [4] als. [5] of all. [6] grete. [7] Lyonn. [8] Mayne. [9] very. [10] which. [11] and. [12] holden onte certayne. [13] and. [14] fully. [15] disheritson. [16] Devowred. [17] myght. [18] thus they were exiled. [19] By the doome of God whos lawes they had defiled.

And knew their foes[1] mortal shuld it occupy
For euermore without[2] remedye.

¶ Which is the payne most fell [aboue all][3] payne,
A man [to haue][4] bene in hye felycite,
And [to fall][5] downe by infortune agayne
In myserye and fell aduersyte;
Mat. xii. Howe maye[6] a man haue [a thyng more contraye][7]
Fol. xcvii. [Then to haue been][8] well, and after woo begone,
Incomperable to it bee[9] paynes echone[10].

¶ Wherfore, good lord, the peace euermore mainteine,
And ryottes all chastyce by prouisyon,
And lawe vpholde ryghtfully and sustene,
And ouer all thyng se there bee no deuisyon,
[But reste and peace without discencyon;][11]
For where a realme or [a] cytee is deuyded,
It maye not stand, as late was verified.

¶ In Fraunce as fell full greate diuision,
Through whiche ỹ first[12] Henry kyng of Englāde
Ouer rode their lande by greate prouision,
And conquered theim thei might not hym wstāde;
All their citees were yeld into[13] his hande,
For cause of their cruell descencion,
Emong theim[14] sustened by contencion.

¶ Roome, Carthage, and many other citees,
And many realmes, as clerkes haue specified,
Haue been subuert[15], and also[16] many countrees
By diuision emong theim fortified,
Wher vnite and loue [had been][17] edified,
Might theim haue saued in all prosperite,
Frome all hurt[18] and all aduersite.

¶ Wherfore, good lord, thynke on this lessō nowe[19],
And teache it to my lorde of Marche, your heire,
While he is young, it maye bee for his prowe
To thynke on it, whē that the wether waxeth[20] faire,

[1] foone. [2] withoutyn. [3] of any. [4] hath. [5] fallon. [6] many. [7] more contraryosite. [8] That hath be. [9] been. [10] euerychone. [11] Amonge the lordes but se that they beene oon. [12] fifte. [13] vnto. [14] theym selfe. [15] subuerted. [16] eke. [17] well. [18] maner hurte. [19] newe. [20] wexe.

And

And his people vnto hym dooeth repaire,
And litill hath theim to releue and pease[1],
Then maye it hap with it his people ease[2].

¶ For what sauour a newe shell is taken with,
When it is olde it tasteth of the same,
[Or what kynd of][3] ympe in gardein or in frith
Ymped is, in stocke fro whence it came
It sauourith euer[4], and it[5] nothyng to blame;
For of his rote frome whiche he dooth out spryng,
He must euer tast and sauour in eatyng.

¶ While he is young, in wisedome hym endowe,
Whiche is full hard to gette without labour,
Whiche labour maye not bee[6] with ease nowe,
For of labour came[7] kyng and emperour;
Let hym not [bee] idill [that] shall bee your successor:
For honour and ease together maye not been,
Wherfore writh[8] nowe [the wand while it][9] is grene.

¶ Endowe hym nowe with[10] noble sapience,
By whiche[11] he maye the wolf werre[12] frome the gate,
For wisedome is more worth in all defence,
Then any gold or riches congregate;
For who [wanteth witte][13] is alwaye desolate
Of all good rule and manly[14] gouernaunce,
And euer enfect by his contrariaunce.

¶ Endowe hym [also in][15] humilitee,
And wrath[16] deferre by humble pacience,
Through whiche he shall increace in dignitee,
And catch alway full greate intelligence
Of all good rule and noble regymence;
And to conclude, wrath will euer[17] sette a side
All maner [of] thyng whiche wisedome would prouide.

¶ Behold Bochas what prīces [haue] through pride,
[Be cast][18] downe frome all their dignitee, *Ful. xviii.*
Wher[19] sapience and meekenes had bee guyde
Full suerly[20] might haue saued bee,

[1] please. [2] to ease. [3] And what maner. [4] ay. [5] is. [6] bide. [7] come. [8] graffe.
[9] whiles the ympe. [10] in. [11] The whiche. [12] bete. [13] want it. [14] witty. [15] als in all.
[16] werre. [17] allway. [18] Been caston. [19] Where if. *edit. alt.* [20] sckerly.

And

And [haue] stand alwaye in [might & greate][1] suertee;
If in their hartes meekenes had bee ground,
And wisedome also[2] thei had not be confound.

¶ Nowe foloweth of the Englyshe kynges and Saxon

The. xcix. Chapiter.

[THis Cadwalader,][3] nowe laide in sepulture,
That some tyme [was ŷ][4] kyng of great Brytain,
And of Westsex also therw̃ full sure,
To whome succedid [Iuore his soonne][5] certain,
Reignyng ouer[6] Brytons that did remain
In Wales then, without any socour,
But onely he became their gouernour:

[¶ With whome Iue his cousin was at nede,
That warred sore the Englishe and Saxonye
Many winters, and nought preuayled in deede,
Sauyng thei reigned vpon the vasselry
That wer out castes of all Brytany;
But Ingils and Iue his brother dere
In Westsex reigned, which Cōrede his sonnes were:

¶ Whom Englishe then and all the Saxonye
Theim chose and made to bee their protectours,
Again Iuor and his cousin Iuy,
That were that tyme the Brytons gouernours,
To Wales fled for helpe and greate socours;
But Ingils and Iue, of Englishe bloodde discent,
Then kept Englande full well by one assent

¶ A yere all whole, and then this Ingils dyed:
And Iue was kyng of Westsex fully cround,
That reigned then full greately magnified
Eyght and thyrty wynter full well and sounde,
With his brother, and what alloen that stoūde;
In whose tyme Theodore then dyed,
Of Cauntorbury archebishop signified[7].

[1] mighty. [2] als. [3] Cadwalladre the kynge. [4] founde was. [5] Ine sonne of Kenrede. [6] all ouer. [7] sacrifyed. *MS. Seld.*

¶ Whiche Ingile & Iue did call this lande Englande,
After Inglis, as thei had harde afore:
After Engest it called was Engestes lande,
By corrupt speach Englande it hight therfore,
And afterwarde so that name it hath euer bore:
As Gurmound also afore it had so named,
Whiche sith ý tyme hath been ful hougely famed.]

¶ Kyng [Iue and Ingils in Westsex][1] first began,
The yere sixe hundred foure score & therto nyne,
So did Iuo[2] and Iue[3] in Wales then
Ouer the Walshe that were of Brytons line,
[In muche trouble and woo as fill that tyme;]
Kyng Alfride in all Northumberlande,
Wittred[4] and Welbard[5] in Kent I vnderstande.

¶ In Englande yet were kynges seuen[6]
Vnder kyng Iue[7], that twenty battailes smote
Vpon Iuor and Iue[3], accompted euen[8];
But in the yere, as Bede hath saied and wryte[9],
That euery manne his debte to kynd paye mote:
Kyng Iue[7] dyed at Roome, then was the yere
Seuen hundred and seuen and twenty clere.

¶ And at his death he gaue to Roome eche yere
The Roome[10] pence, through Westsex all about, *Fo'. xcix.* Roome pence.
Perpetually to bee well payed and clere[11];
For vnto Roome he went without[12] doubt,
[And with theim lordes and gentils a greate route]
In pilgrymage, for eld[13] and impotence,
When he[14] might not [the lande well][15] defence.

The. C. Chapiter.

¶ Etheldred, kyng of Westsex, protector of Englande, that reigned thyrty yere.

[ETheldred in Westsex to hym][16] gan succede, Etheldred.
And[17] kyng was then and held the royalte,

[1] Ine in Westsexe to reigne. [2] Iuor [3] Iuy. [4] Withtride. [5] Webbard. [6] alway seuen. [7] Ine. [8] *Here the Hard. M'. addis,* And other kynges that he subdued I wote. [9] wrote [10] Petre. [11] *After this line the Harleian MS. adds,* When yt in Englande of antiquyte be paied. [12] withoutyn. [13] age. [14] that. [15] well the londe. [16] Ethelarde to hym in Westsexe. [17] That.

Protector

Protector was of Englāde their[1] in deede,
And helde his tyme euer[2] furth the souereingtee
In heritage [and perpetualitee;][3]
That thyrten yere reigned in good astate,
[Whiche cherished peace and chastised all debate.][4]

¶ Wher any wrath was growyng in his lande,
Emong prelates or lordes temporall,
In citees or in cuntrees wher he fande,
Accordid theim in euery[5] place ouer all,
[And in][6] his tyme the kynges inspeciall,
Vnder his rule and sure proteccion,
He kept in peace by lawfull direccion.

¶ Who dyed so of Christ his incarnacion,
The yere sixe hundreth & fourty accompted[7] tho,
Entombed at Bathe, with sore[8] lamentacion
Of all Englande, as well of frende as[9] foo;
Which Bathe citee some tyme was called soo
Achamany in Brytain[10] languaye,
By Achaman [that] had it in[11] heritage.

¶ In his tyme was Oswyk[12] in Northumberlād,
And dyed then, to whome Codwolphe did succed,
Edbertpren[13] in Kent I vnderstand,
And Ethelbald in Mers was thē I rede;
In Essex also, was then reignyng Selrede,
And Ethelrede in Estangle[14] that daye,
All these wer kynges and vnder hym alwaye.

¶ [So fro that tyme furth][15], & fro the Scottish sea,
To Sulwath floud and to the water of Tyne,
The Peightes[16] had and kept without[17] lee,
[Wher kyng Edwin their kyng was by right line,
Rulyng that lande in peace and lawe full fine,][18]
That chaunged then mayden castell name
To Edenbrough, a towne of greate fame[19].

[1] then. [2] aye. [3] after his auncestry. [4] And kept the reame in pease withoute debate.
[5] euerich. [6] In all. [7] counted. [8] grete. [9] or. [10] olde Britons. [11] by. [12] Osrike.
[13] Edbarte than. [14] Estenglonde. [15] That tyme fro forth. [16] Pictes. [17] withoutyn.
[18] With grete defence of suerde and armoure fyne,
Wher kynge Eden their kynge was be right lyne.
[19] name.

The.

The. C.j. Chapiter.

¶ Cuthred, kyng of Westsex, protectour of England, and reigned sixtene yere.

CVthred was kyng crouned of al Westsex, Kyng Cuthred.
And protectour of all Englãde that daye,
His[1] kynges vnder hym, ẏ then wer full[2] sixe,
Did hym homage anone without[e] delaye,
Saue Ethelbald of Mers that saied hym naye,
For whiche he warred on hym then full sore,
That bothe their landes troubled were therfore.

¶ Full oft thei mette & faught with great power,
Some that one, some tyme that other had
Victorie in felde[3], with strokes bought full dere;
But when that kyng Ethelbald was moste glad
This kyng Cuthred, that was nothyng a drad,
At Berford[4] with hym mette in strong battaill,
And slewe hym then, as Bede maketh rehersall. *Fol. C.*

¶ Which Ethelbald in Mers one & fourtye yere
Had reigned hole, and diuerse abbeys founded,
In Mers lande, at Crouland one full clere
Of monkes blacke within the fennes groũded,
To whiche Turketyll his chaunceler founded
Gaue sixe maniers[5] to theyr foundacion,
And abbot there was made by installacion.

¶ This battayl was of Christes natiuitee
Seuen hundreth and fyue and fyftye yere,
Wher Ethelbalde of Mers the kyng did dye,
To whom Borrede[6] there was the kyng full clere;
[But this][7] Cuthrede of Westsex layed on bere,
Was in the yere of Christes birth [to weten][8]
Seuen hundreth hole, and syxe and [fyfty written.][9]

¶ To whome Segbert in all regalitee, Segbert kyng.
His cousyn next of bloode, by all recorde,
Was kyng crowned and had the dignitee,

[1] The. [2] fully. [3] the felde. [4] Bedforde. [5] maners. [6] Bernrede. [7] And than. [8] wretyn. [9] fifteene wetyn.

But full he was of malice and discorde,
That with his[1] kynges could[2] no tyme wel accorde,
Wherfore they would no lenger of hym holde,
But droaue hym out of[3] all his lande [full bolde][4].

¶ For lawe ne peace he did not well conserue,
But chaunged lawe euer[5] after his deuise
From good to euell eche[6] other to ouerterue,
To spoyle and robbe, his commons to supprise,
Thus in the lande he made full great partyes;
Wherfore the kynges and lordes did hym expell,
That but one yere he dyd in it excell.

¶ And afterwarde exiled, as he hym hyd
Within a wood, a swynherd made his ende,
Then with his staffe he slewe hym so betyd,
For all his hye estate thus was he spend.
A prouerbe is of olde was[7] wysemen kend,
That wronge lawes [make euer][8] shorte lordes,
Whiche wysemen [yet] remembre, and recordes.

The. C.ii. Chapiter.

¶ Kynulphe, kyng of Westsex, protectoure of Englande, the whiche reigned. xxvi. yere.

Kynulph kyng.

KYnulphe succede[d] & had the gouernaunce
Of Westsex then, with all to it appente,
Protectour was by all thordinaunce
Of kynges all, and[9] the lordes assent,
As his elders afore had regimente,
The yere of Christ. vii. hundreth fyfty and seuen,
As Bede hath written and accompted [full] euen.

¶ Of all the kynges and lordes of Englande,
He tooke feautee and royall hole homage,
As souerayn lorde honoured in all the lande,
And mightly mayntened his heritage,
His kynges all, and all his baronage;
The peace and lawe he kepte by diligence,
Was none that would displease his excellence.

[1] the. [2] couth. [3] from. [4] thikfolde. [5] ay. [6] echone. [7] which. *edit. alt.* as. MS. [8] maketh. [9] whereto.

¶ He

¶ He reigned hole in all kyndes[4] suffisaunce,
Sixe and twentye yere fully accoumpted,
In greate honoure and myghty great[4] puysaunce,
Was none hym like, nor none hym surmounted;
But death alone [to his corps][3] amounted, *Fol. C.i.*
Dryuyng his soule out fro the worldly nest,
To heauens blisse eternally [there] to rest.

¶ At Wynchester he was full fayre buryed,
The yere. vii. hundreth foure score and [also] thre,
Emong the people highly magnifyed,
As to suche [a prince][4] longeth [of] royaltee,
[Right well beloued of his lordes and cōmontee:][5]
In whose tyme Offa, of Mers[6] kyng,
Vnto the [B. of Roome][7] sent his letters prayeng,

¶ To[8] depriue Lambert[9] of Cauntorbury,
Of primacy, and also of the palle,
Whiche [the byshop Adrian anone][10] hastely
Graunted hym then, by bulles written papall,
[Lambert depriuyng of his sea primall;][11]
[By whiche][12] Aldulphe, byshop then of Lychfelde,
Hye primate was, and[13] thestate there helde,

¶ The pall he had and all the dignitee:
Lambert[9] depryued without any delay,
Of primacie and of all soueraintee,
Of all the churche of Englande hole that day,
From Humber South, to Aldulphe did obeye,
And Lychfeld then [for] metropolitan sea[14],
Was set aboue and had the dignitee.

¶ But Egfryde then, the sonne of Offa, kyng
Of Mers, the pall and all[15] the primacie
Did well restore, to Christes hye pleasyng,
To Award[16] then byshop of Caunterburye,
Wher it abode euer[17] after worthyly
Vnto this daye, with all the dignitee,
As of olde right it should haue soueraintee.

[4] maner. [3] high. [3] that his corse. [4] prynces ther. [5] With service devoute the soul to remyde. [6] Merses. [7] pope. [8] Forto. [9] Lambarde. [10] all the pope Adrian. [11] Wherby Lambarde depriued was ouer alle. [12] And. [13] and all. [14] see. [15] als. [16] Athelarde. [17] ay.

¶ This tyme Kynot of Pyghtes[1] was the kyng
Fro Forth to Carleile, and from the Scottishe sea
To Tyne, that tyme his lordshyp was & dwellyng;
The whiche he helde by homage and feautee,
Of the kyng then of Northumberlande in fee,
And was his man also in warre and[2] peace,
As his elders had doen without leace[3].

¶ In whose[4] dayes tharchbyshop Egbert
Of Yorke, brother was, as I can vnderstande,
To the kyng of Northumberlande Edbert,
The primacye and pall brought to Yorkes[5] lande,
[By the B. of Rome][6] graunted without gaynstand,
Whiche from the death of the good kyng Edwyn,
Had ceased [long from the][7] tyme of sayut Paulyn.

¶ About this tyme, as well is[8] expressed,
Vnguste the kyng of Pyghtes[1] rode in Englande
On[9] warre, wher then he was full sore distressed
By the manly kyng of Northumberlande;
Where he auoiwed[10], yf he came to his lande,
A churche to make of full great dignitee,
In worship of saynt Andrewe should it bee.

¶ And at his home commyng one Regalo[11],
Fro Constantyne, by reuelacion,
Brought certayn bones of saynt Andrewe tho,
To kyng Vngust, where, by his relacion,
He founded then a mynster of his fundacion,
Of saynt Andrewe, wher his bones shryned been,
As there in dede I was, and haue it seen.

Ignoraūce in those dayes.

C.ii.

The. C.iii. Chapiter.

¶ Brightryke, kyng of Westsex, protectour of Englande, reigned. xvi. yere, that began to reigne in the yere of our Lorde vii. hundreth. iiii. score and three, and died in the yere. vii.C. foure score and nynetene.

BRightrike, cousyn ẏ was nexte[12] of bloode
To kyng Kenulphe, by hole intelligence,

[1] Pictes. [2] and als. [3] leese. [4] tho. [5] Yorke. [6] And by the pope. [7] and from. [8] it is. [9] In. [10] auowed. [11] Regulo. [12] than nexte.

Of

Of Westsex was kyng full wise & good,
And protectour of Englande in regence,
[Whiche gouerned right well with great sapience,][1]
The yere of Christ. vii. hundreth. iiii. score & three,
When that he tooke on hym the dignitee.

¶ He [wedded Edburge][2], kyng Offa [his] doughter fayre
Of Mers[3], for loue & peace & good accorde
Betwene theyr landes, with all theyr hole repayre:
The kyng Albert also of[4] good accorde[5],
[Only of purpose to make concorde,
Of Eastlande came to Offa for peace]
Betwene theyr lande the warres for to ceasse,

¶ And his doughter to wed vnto[6] his wyfe,
For more suertee of loue and good accorde:
Whom quene Eburge[7], of Mers[3], because of strife,
Afore had be[8] betwene hym and hir lorde,
[And for she would not vnto the mariage accorde,]
Made hym [to] bee slayn in [full priue][9] wise,
Within his bed afore that he myght ryse.

¶ For whiche Offa greatly[10] was agreued,
And buried hym at Harforde his citee;
And Offa then and Humbert, as is breued,
Bishop of Lychefelde wher then was[11] his see[12],
[Whiche kyng and byshop with great royaltee,
Translate that tyme saynt Albone in shryne][13]
Of siluer gylt, with stones fayre and fyne.

¶ Whiche Offa died the yere of Christ full[14] clere,
Seuen hundreth. iiii. score and thereto seuentene,
When he had reigned so. ix. and thyrty yere,
At [Offa aye][15] buried that tyme, as [well is][16] sene,
[With all honoure as to suche a kyng beseme,

[1] Whiche ay loued peace and thoughte it beste defence. [2] wedde Ethelburge. [3] Merse.
[4] for. [5] concorde. [6] hir to. [7] Ethelburge. [8] beene. [9] prive hatefull. [10] full strongely.
[11] was. [12] cee.

[13] Fro Caunterbury chaunged wase the dignyte,
Who translate thañ seynt Albon in a shryne.

[14] was. [15] Offelay. [16] wase.

To

To whom Egfride his sonne then gan succede,][1]
And after hym Kynuphe[2] reigned in dede.

¶ Whiche Offa [gaue] through Mers the Rome peny,
Vnto the churche of Rome full longe afore
Tharchebyshoprych from Cauntorburye
Vnto Lychefeld translate[d] for euermore,
[By his will euer to abyde thore:][3]
[So stode it then][4] for certeyn all his lyue,
As Flores sayth and doeth it so subscriue.

¶ This [Azdulphe,][5] kyng of Northumberlande,
Slew Wade his duke [that] again hym was rebel,
Besyde Mulgreue, where as men vnderstande,
His graue is yet, men saye, vpon the fell,
[For his falshed and treason, as bookes tell,][6]
Betwene Gysburgh and Whitby, sothe to saye,
Where for treason [he] was layd in the hie waye.

¶ In his fourth yere ẏ duke Kylrike[7] he fought,
And droaue hym to his shippes then agayn
Fol. C.iii. In Humbar, so [that] he had [not to][8] his fraught,
But fewe persones [were lefte alyue][9] vnslayne;
And in his yere eleuen, with mykell[10] payne,
With Danes he fought againe Yorkeshyre right,
Where [many thousādes][11] he slewe ẏ were ful wight.

¶ And on a daye as he from huntyng came
All hote chased[12], his men[13] bottelles founde
In his chaumber, in which was wyne of name
[Menne] called ẏ tyme Vernage of straunge land,
[Whiche wine was poysoned, as I vnderstande,]
Of whiche he dranke and poysoned was anon[14]
Vnto the death, and might no ferther gone[15].

¶ He dyed the yere. vii.C.lxxx. and nyntene,
At Tewkisbury[16] buryed[17] in sepulture,

[1] And in his life he crowned Egfride I weene,
His son so than that after gan succede.

[2] Kynulphe. [3] Ther to abide the pope had writte therfore. [4] And so it stode. [5] tyme Alfwolde.
[6] In that cuntreye people yit doone so tell. [7] Kelrike. [8] nought for. [9] that were on lyve.
[10] full great [11] thousandes fele. [12] chaufed. [13] servauntes. [14] that stounde. [15] *The Harleian MS. adds,* For whome his men made sorowe and grete moone. [16] Tokbury. [17] entered.

Of

Of whose death Edburge[1] that was quene,
Was blamed then for that mysauenture;
For she dyd make that drynke, men sayde ful sure,
Certayne persones by venym to haue slayne,
That loued her nought and was[2] her euer agayn.

But what for feare and what for speche she fled,
With great rychesse of[3] passyng great measure,
In Fraunce vnto[4] the kyng full fast she[5] sped;
But of[6] her rule thence forth I set no cure,
It was so lewde to reporte in scrypture,
I wyll not breake my brayne it to reporte,
For wemens wele the which I wolde comforte.

The. C.iiii. Chapiter.

¶ Egbert, kyng of Westsex, protectour of England, that reigned. xxxv. yere, & dyed in the yere of Chryste. viii. hundreth thyrtye and thre, as after shall appere.

EGberte, cosyn to the sayde[7] Segberte, Kyng Egberte.
Kyng of Westsex was royally accepte,
With all honour ŷ [the lordes could][8] aduert,
[And eche man][9] glad, no creature excepte,
So graciously fortune then had hym kepte,
That all people ioyed his coronacyon,
For cause he was of Britons[10] generacyon:

¶ For downe he was from Asserake discent,
Kyng Ebrank sonne of consanguinytee,
Syth Cadwalader dyed and was dispent
Was none ryght heyre of Brytons bloud but he,
[As chronycles tell, lyke as a man maye se;]
For systers sonne he was to kyng Sygbert,
Of Westsex hole, as Flores [coulde aduerte.][11]

¶ Also men sayde he came of Ingils[12] bloude,
And very heyre he was [to hym and][13] Iue,
For whiche Englysh & Saxons with him stode,
And helde with hym [as for theyr bloude natyfe.][14]

[1] Ethelburge. [2] were. [3] fer. [4] to. [5] she her. [6] for. [7] kynge. [8] lordes couth moste. [9] Eche man wase. .. [10] roiall. .- [11] couth auerte. [12] Saxons. [13] unto kynge. [14] in pease and eke in strife.

Protectour

Protectour was he made there so belyue,
Of[1] all Englande and Wales hole[2] conquered,
And Cornewayle [also, as][3] it is chronicled.

¶ Then toke he of all kynges leege[4] homage,
Excepte Bernulphe ẏ kyng of Mers[5] was tho
Woulde do hym none then for his herytage,
Wherfore he brent his lande [& did him][6] mikyl wo;
[And so they gathred great hoost on both sides tho,
Where Bernulphe then at Glenden hym met,
In Mers lande trowyng hym to ouerset.][7]

Fol. C.iii.

¶ But[8] kyng Egberte had then the victory,
[And slewe Bernulphe][9] for all his boste and pryde:
To Ludican[10] he gaue that lande in hye,
To holde of hym as other [dyd on euery][11] syde,
Through [all] Englande, ẏ was both longe & wide:
Then droue he kyng Balrede[12] out from all Kent,
And all his realme destroyed sore[13] and brent.

¶ But Ludican[10] was false, by foule treason,
Whome kyng Egbert then slewe in batayle sore
For his falshode and his rebellyon,
And to Wylaffe[14] he gaue that lande ryght thore,
Was Bernulphs sonne, to haue for euermore,
To holde of hym of ryght and herytage,
By seruyce dewe of [feaute and][15] homage.

¶ Then in his tyme the Danes sore destroyed
The ysles of Shepey and Tenet also,
And to the sea they went [agayne] vnanoyed,
And after sone in Northumberlande tho,
They dyd aryne and wrought full mekell[16] woo,
With whome Egbert there faught ẇ smal meny,
[That oute of the felde they made hym to flye.][17]

¶ Kyng Egbert [drewe South then][18] into the lande,
And helde the felde to tyme his sonnes two,

[1] So. [2] he. [3] als. [4] high. [5] Merse. [6] with.

[7] Wher Bernulph at Elyngdon hym mett soo,
In Merse londes trowynge hym to ouerset,
Notwithstondynge he and his men were bett.

[8] So. [9] Wher Bernulph fled. [10] Ludecyne. [11] on ech. [12] Baldrede. [13] it. [14] Witlafe.
[15] sute and of. [16] grete. [17] But they hym drofe oute of the fekle forthy, [18] then drew South.

Athylwolfe and Ethylbert, I vnderstande,
With hoste full greate came ridyng to hym tho,
Where then he bare the crosse of golde ay so
In his lefte hande, and in his ryght a swerd,
With which he made his [fooes therwith][1] al aferd.

¶ For there he had the felde and victorye,
And slewe Dardan, a knyght full chyualrus,
The kynges sonne of Denmarke sekerly,
And all his hoste that was full malicyous,
By vertue of the crosse patyfe[2] precyous;
For whiche alwaye [after] in hys banner,
Of azuer whole the crosse of golde he bear.

¶ Whiche armes so full [after this][3] daye,
Kyng Kinigyll[4] of Westsex had them bore
Fro his bapteme thenne afterwarde alwaye,
And all the kynges [after] so dyd euermore
Of Westsex, so, in mynde of Christes lore,
His crosse, his death, and his holy passyon,
Whiche Iewes him wrought without compassiō.

When kyng Egbert had fyue and thyrty yere
Reygned in lande, and felt full great syckenesse,
Of whiche he dyed of Chrystes birth full clere,
The yere so then. viii.C. was expresse,
Foure and thyrty, nother more ne lesse,
At Wynchester then royally buryed,
As Flores sayeth and well hath notifyed.

The. C.v. Chapiter.

¶ Athelwolfe, kynge of Westsex, reygned. xix. yere, & dyed the yere. viii. hundreth. liii[5]. after Chrystes byrth.

AThelwolfe was king crowned at his citee
Of Westchester, in [all] royall estate,
To whome the kinges & lordes made feaute,
And homage leege as was preordynate,
That reygned after. xix. yere fortunate,

[a] Tythes firste graũted to the clergy in Englande.

[1] foone ther. [2] patife and. [3] long afore that. [4] Kynrike. [5] lvii. *edit. alt.* [6] which graunte.

[And

Fol. C.v.

[And graunted][1] the churche tythes of corne & haye,
Of bestiall also[2] through[3] Westsex for ay.

¶ In the[4] yere eyght hundred thirty and eyght,
The Danes arriued[5] with shippis fourscore & thre,
Where Athelstane his sonne did with theim feight,
And duke Wolfward, by greate fortunitee,
Theim toke and slewe with all[6] felicitee;
But Athelstane in that battaile was slaine
Of his warres, that was the capitain[7].

¶ And in the yere eight hundred thirty and nyne,
The kyng faught sore with Danes at Mersyngtō,
Wher erle Harbart was slain, a prince full fyne,
But Danes all were take and slain their[8] [a] doune,
Without mercie cracked vpon the croune:
The kyng came home with honour and victorye,
As Flores saieth right in his memorye.

¶ And in the yere eyght hundred fourty and one,
The Danes watched thest sea cost throughout
With diuers hostes, for which ŷ kyng made [great] mone,
Al helples thē; the Danes that[9] wer so stout,
In many places with many diuerse[10] rout,
All harmlesse went, without[11] hurt or pain,
By diuers tyme that yere home[12] again.

In the yere eyght hundred foure and fourty,
At Carham then the kyng full sore did fight
With Danes fell, and had the victorye;
And at Aluewik[13] he faught again furth[14] right
With Danes also, wher kyng Redwolf[15] that hight
Of Northumberlande, and erle Alffride was slain,
And full greate parte[16] of their hoost certain.

¶ Kyng Athilwolf came to the South contree,
Wher Danes then in battaill with hym fought
In Somersetshire, where he made many dye,
And gate the feld and sleugh all that he caught,

[1] Which graunte. [2] als. [3] through all. [4] The. *edit. alt.* [5] arrofe. [6] grete. [7] chief capetayne. [8] there. [9] than. [10] a divers. [11] withoutyn. [12] and home. [13] Alnewik. [14] full. [15] Alfwolde. [16] party.

[Wher

[Wher great people ỳ daie the death hath raught ;][1]
Tharchbishop with his full wise clergie,
Bysyde Sandwiche of Danes had victorye.

¶ And in the yere eyght hundred fifty and one,
The Danishe hoste in Thamis did arriue,
Kent and Southray, Sussex and Hāshire anone
Distroyed sore, and through the South gā dryue,
Wher muche folke thei sleugh bothe mane & wife ;
Whiche host[2] ỳ kyng with battaile slewe doune sore,
That home again retourned thei no more.

¶ And in the yere eight hundred fifty and three,
The kyng Edmond of Estangle[3] began
To reigne after Albert[4], of greate beautee,
That holy was, as his legend tell can.
But Athilwolf[5] the kyng, buryed[6] then
The kyng of Mers[7], that had his doughter wed,
All Wales wan, theim[8] thought thei had well sped.

¶ This Athilwolf to[9] Roome toke his[10] waye,
In pilgremage with hym his soonne Alured,
[Cardinall was][11] of Wynchester that daye,
[Wher then he had the bishoprike in deede ;][12]
A perfecte clerke he was, as saieth sainct Bede,
A philosophier wise and well approued,
And [by the bishop of Rome][13] cōmēdid well & loued.

¶ And there thei were abydyng full twoo[14] yere.
And home thei came vnto the kyng of Fraunce, *Sel. Cod.*
And his doughter Iudith ther weddid clere,
[By assent of hym and all his hole puysaunce.
And so with worship and noble gouernaunce,][15]
Fro thens he came sone into England,
With hir and with his soonne, [as] I vnderstand.

¶ And in the yere eyght hundred fifty and three,
The death his soule [gan frome his body][16] dryue,

[1] And made theym flee vnto the see full straught. [2] eſie. [3] Estenglonde. [4] Egilberte.
[5] Athelwolfe. [6] and Burthrede. [7] Merse. [8] they. [9] vnto. [10] the. [11] With the bishop then
[15] Norished had beone, and deacon made in dede. [13] with the pope. [14] oone.

[12] Doughter to Charles the balde for alliaunce,
By assent of hym and all his hooll puyssaunce.

[16] fro the body gan.

Vnto the blisse eternall, there to bee
In heuen aboue, wher is euerlastyng life.
To Peter and Pole he graunted infenitife,
The Roome pence then of all Englande,
As Flores saieth, as I [can vnderstande[1].

¶ He was thē buryed at Winchester, in royallwise,
As to suche a prince of reason should affère;
And with his wife as did full well suffice,
Foure sonnes he had, worthy without pere,
Sir Athilwold[2], Ethelbert, Elfride the dere,
And Alrude[3] the youngest of echone;
Afore theim all [one bast had,][4] Athelston.

¶ Athelbold was kyng after hym and heire
And protector, with all [the] prerogatife,
His stepdame wed, menne saied it was not faire,
The churche hym gan punishe[5] and chastiue
For cause he wed hir so vnto his wife,
Again the lawe and Christen concience,
Vnaccordant with his magnificence,

¶ That reigned [whole twoo yere and no more][6]
In greate sikenesse and pain inmorderate,
Greately vexed[7] and punished was right[8] sore,
Menne saied he was for siune inordinate
With his stepdame that was so consociate;
But then he had, as God would[9], repentaunce,
For his trespas and[10] misgouernaunce.

¶ Afore he dyed he did full sore repent,
And for his synne stode to[11] correccion
Of holy churche, for his amendement,
Submitted whole without obieccion;
And for to liue in clene perfeccion,
Departed were by lawe and deuorced,
Afore his soule was passed and vncorced.

[1] have vnderstonde. [2] Athilbalde. [3] Alurede. [4] the booste hath. [5] to punysh. [6] than two yere hoole and no more. [7] vesitt. [8] full. [9] woll. [10] and his. [11] in.

¶ The. C. vi. Chapiter.

¶ Ethelbert, kyng of Westsex, protectour of Englande, that reigned fiue yere.

SIr Ethelbert his brother gan succede,
In whose dayes ỹ Danes destroied sore
The East parties of Englād thē in deed,
And home again thei went harmeles therfore,
[Destroyed ỹ people & the lāde right sore;][1]
But sone there after kyng Ethelbert them mette,
And sleugh them doune in battaill [sore and][2] bet.

¶ An other hoost [then newe spoyled all][3] Kent,
And by treaty wyntred within the Isle
Of Tenet, then by Kentishe mennes assent,
But at last[4] thei, with a subtel wyle,
Despoyled all Kent, and falsely did beguyle,
And to their shipis went[5] without delaye,
Into Denmarke with muche[6] riche araye.

¶ This Ethelbert reigned hole[7] fiue yere, *Fol. C.vii.*
And dyed the yere of verey Christ his date,
Eyght hundreth hole and therto sixty clere,
As Flores saieth, and hath it approbate;
But with sickenes he was so alterate,
He dyed then, [and] at Shirborne buried,
With greate worshyp and honour laudified.

The. C. vii. chapiter.

¶ Elfride, kyng of Westsex, protector of Englande, reigned sixe yere, & died in the yere of Christ eyght hundred. lxvi.

ELfride[8] was kyng after his brother then, Elfride kyng.
That reigned so with all the dignitee
In Westsex hole, and mightely began,
Protector was as was necessitee;
For Danes then of great iniquite

[1] And grete riches fro theste parties they bore. [2] and sore theym. [3] all newe than spoyled.
[4] the last. [5] so went. [6] mekell. [7] fully. [8] Ethelrede.

His

His land foule brent, wasted and destroyed,
That al England was combred and anoyed.

¶ In the East cost of Englande, specially
In Eastangle[1], where Edmond then was kyng,
There[2] did great hurt ful cruelly;
[In Northumberland ful felly warryng,
The people destroiyng and the land brennyng,][3]
Wher Danes then sleugh the kyng of that lande,
Byside Yorke, so as Flores [dooeth] vnderstand.

¶ Also thei sleugh in Northfolke all about
The people doune, and in Suffolke also,
The kyng Edmond thei sleugh without doubt,
Of Estangland with arowes sharpe tho[4]
Was shot to death, with [muche other][5] woo;
That[6] is a sainct honored this daye in blisse,
At Edmondes Bury canonyzed I wisse.

¶ Hungar and Vbba sleugh him ful cruelly,
And brent abbeis throut[7] [all] England ẏ tyme,
By North and South, and priestes full cursedly.
[All holy folke fled out of that realme,
Thei sleugh all people that had take bapteme.][8]
At Colyngham[9] sainct Ebbe that was abbesse,
Their[10] nonnes put from theim in sore[11] distresse,

¶ For dred of the tyrauntes. ii. full cruell,
And their people cursed [and] ful of malice,
That rauished nonnes [euer wher thei][12] herd tell,
In her chăptre [ordeined againe their][13] enemies
Should not deffoule their clene virginitees,
She cut hir nose of and her ouer lippe,
To make hir lothe that she might from hym[14] slipe.

[1] Estenglonde. [2] The Danys.

[3] And with an other hooste they were murderynge,
In Northumberlonde full cruelly werrynge.

[4] than so. [5] other mekeyll. [6] Whiche. [7] throughout. *edit. alt.*

[8] They slewe all folke that hade takyn baptyme,
They spared noone so cruell was theyr tyme.

[9] Coldyngham. [10] Hir. [11] grete. [12] ay wher as she. [13] lesse that tho fell. [14] theym.

¶ And

¶ And counseled all hir susters [to] dooe the same,
To make thei[r] fooes to hoge[1] so with the sight;
And so thei did afore thenemies came,
Echon their nose and ouer lipe ful[2] right
Cut of anone, which was an hogly sight:
For whiche tho fooes thabbey and nonnes brent,
For thei them selfe disfigured had[3] shent.

Frō Twede to Thamys abbais[4] then thei brent,
And churches hole and people sleugh right doune,
Wiues[5], maydens, widdowes and nonnes shent,
Through all the lande the[6] Est region,
[People sleyng in euery borough and toune;][7]
The women euer[8] they diuiciate
In euery place, and fouly defflorate. *Fol. C.viii.*

¶ And in the yere. viii. hundreth fyftie[9] and sixe
He died so, and from this worlde expired;
Whome all his tyme the Danes full sore did vexe,
Againe him euer[8] ful sore they had conspired,
[Theyr hertes in malice alway sore affeerd;][10]
Sometyme the worse they had, sometyme the better,
As Flores sayeth, and written hath in letter.

The. C. viii. Chapiter.

¶ Alurede, kyng of Westsex, protectour of Englande, reigned xxi. yere, and died the yere. viii. C. xcv.

ALurede kyng was of this[11] region, *A lurede kyng.*
That brother was to this noble Elfryde;
A perfect clerke, proued in opynyon,
As clerkes could discerne and proued[12];
In knighthode [also] approued and notified
So plenerly, that no man knewe his peer,
So good a knight he was and singuler.

¶ In battayles many[13] in his fathers dayes,
And also in his brethren tyme al thre,
He fought ful ofte, and bare hym wel alwayes,

[1] houge. *edit. alt.* vgge. MS. [2] furth. [3] hade and. [4] all abbaies. [5] Wifes and. [6] of the. [7] And dispoilynge euerich mansioun. [8] ay. [9] sexty. [10] Hym to haue stroied in wagese men they hired. [11] his. [12] preuide. [13] feele so.

That

That for his dedes and singularitee,
He was commended among thenemytee,
Within the lande and out, as wel was knowe,
His fame among the people hye was blowe.

¶ Whyles he was kyng he had aduersitee
With Danes oft, that on him dyd riue[1],
Destroyed his land with great iniquitee,
The whiche ful oft with might he did out driue,
And[2] slewe thousandes that lost theyr lyue,
Through the[3] warres begon of theyr outrage,
That meruayll was to sene of one lynage.

¶ And in the yere. viii. hundreth sixty and eyght,
The Danes came to Yorke and toke the towne,
Hunger and Vbba with many a wyle sleight[4],
Wasted the lande about both vp and downe,
And so came forth to Mars with hostes boune,
And to Westsex, whom then the kyng Alurede
Discomfited[5] there with the host that he did lede.

¶ The[6] Danyshe host to Redyng came againe,
Another host at London was with pride
Of Danes also[7], that wrought him mekyll paine;
But whyles these hoostes were parted and deuide,
[With his power Alurede gan to ryde,][8]
[And at Anglefeld][9] he fought in Barkeshyre right,
Where victorie he had [maugre of theyr][10] might.

¶ At Redyng, [in Barkeshyre, then][11] he mette
An hoste full greate, where he had then agayn
The victorye, and his fooes[12] downe bette.
At Basyng also[7] he slew theim downe certeyne,
At Asshenden [he droue them][13] out all playne,
And gotte the felde with all the victories,
As Flores sayeth right in his memories.

¶ And in the yere. viii. hundreth [syxty] & fourtene,
The Danishe host rode Lyndsey & Mars[14] coūtre,
And home agayn as then was[15] wel sene:

[1] arrive. [2] And many. [3] their. [4] and sleight. [5] Discomfite. [6] This. [7] als.
[8] He sent after his meñ on euery side. [9] At Anglishfelde. [10] with mckyll. [11] than in Wilteshire so.
[12] foes ther. [13] they droue hym. [14] Merse. [15] it was.

[In

[In Northumberlande with great prosperitee,
The Danes rode doyng great aduersitee,][1] *Fol. C. ix.*
Where the bishoppe [then of][2] holy Isselande
And all his monkes were ful fast fleand.

¶ With s. Cuthbert[s] bones bare about. vii yere, *Superstition.*
Nowe here, nowe there, in dyuers places aboute,
For dread of Danes and enemyes that there[3] were
In Northūberland dwellyng that tyme ful stout;
But then the kyng the sea styled throughout,
And shyppes gatte with muche[4] great ryches,
For to defend his land fro great distresse.

¶ In Westsex then with fooes agayn he mette,
Where they fro him to Exeter that night
Fled full faste, where Alurede theim ouer sette,
And slewe theim doune in batayll [and in][5] fyght;
[And then][6] in Mers [anone he fought forth][7] ryght
With Danes tho[8], and also with Norwayes,
That wasted had al Mers in many wayes.

¶ Then fought he also[9] at Chipnā[10] in Wilshire,
[And] Hunger and Vbba, and duke Haldene,
Tyrauntes cruell, hote as any fyre,
The Christen folke did[11] brenne, wast and slene,
[With cruell tourmentes did them care and tene,][12]
Where Alurede had the[13] victorie,
And slewe that daye al the Danyshyre[14].

The. C. ix. chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Alurede fled to Ethelyngay in Hidils, for dreade of Danes, and serued an oxherde of the countree.

GVtron[15] the kinge of Denmarke, ỹ[16] was tho,
In Westsex werred ful sore, & brent ỹ lond;
Wyth[17] whych ỹ kyng so marred was w̃ wo,
He wyst not wel whether to ryde or stond;

[1] By Northumberlonde so to take their nave
With grete riche gote by their robbere.
[2] of the. [3] than. [4] right. [5] sore and. [6] After in. [7] he fought with theym full. [8] so.
[9] alb [10] Chepynham. [11] to. [12] They spared noone, murdre to theym was fayre. [13] all the.
[14] Danysherie. [15] Guthrum. [16] than. [17] [illegible]

But to Ethelyngay anone he toke on honde
To ryde, where then he hyd him in a place,
For drede of Danes, suche was hys hap & grace.

¶ In Denwolfes house thoxherd of the towne
So was he then in [poore and symple][1] aray,
Where Denwolf cladde him in his owne gowne,
And tender was to[2] him there alwaye ;
[But hys wyfe made him to laboure aye][3]
Wyth bakyng and with bruynge wonder sore,
In[4] water beryng she made [him] worke euer more.

Where then hys lordes & knyghtes in good araye
Came to hym then with hooste and greate powre ;
Where than the kynge vpon Gutron[5] that daye
In batayle stronge, with corage freshe and clere,
Foughte sore[6], and tooke Gutron[7] prysonere,
And thyrtye dukes with him in companye,
Vnchrysten were they al of panymrye[8].

¶ And had the feld wyth al the victory,
And of Danes manye thousande slewe.
He baptyzed than, as made is memory,
This kynge Gutron[7] that after was ful trewe,
And named was Athylstan all[9] newe ;
To whome the kynge gaue than al Estenglande,
As Edmonde had, to holde of hym that lande.

And all hys dukes were also there baptyzed,
Fol. C.x. And Chrysten menne bycame for Goddes loue,
The yere of Chryste. [viii.] C. thenne compeysed,
Seuente and. viii. as Flores doth approue,
The kyng was then agayne at his aboue,
Remembred hym of Denwolfe that hym hyd,
And sent for hym to Ethelingay, he dyd.

¶ His wyfe was deed, & somwhat was he letred,
At his desyre the kyng set him to lerne,
To tyme that he was wyse and mekell betred[10],
In holy wryt that he coulde[11] well discerne ;

[1] symple power. [2] vnto. [3] But by his wife he made wase laboure aye. [4] And. [5] Guthum. [6] Full sore. [7] Guthrun. [8] paianry. [9] than so. [10] bettered. [11] couthe.

And

And then the kyng made hym byshop as[1] yerne
Of Winchester, when Dunbert[2] there so dyed,
That bishop was afore him sacrafied.

¶ In the yere. viii. C. and foure score
The Danes in[3] Thamis &[4] wintred at Foulham[5],
The kyng came[6] in somer after thore,
And slewe them all, that they went[7] neuer hame;
The deede, the quycke, the maymed and the lame,
All buryed were where the batayle was smyten,
As Flores sayeth, and clerly hath it wryten.

¶ At Rochester the Danes were [efte] on lond,
With whom the kyng there faught & many slew,
Many drowned and lyeng on the sonde;
As they vnto theyr shyppes agaynwarde flewe,
He droue them there vnto a warmely stowe[8],
After theyr laboure to haue recreacyon
Vpon the sondes to make theyr habitacyon.

The. C. x. Chapiter.

¶ How [Marine bishop of Rome,][9] graũted to kyng Alurede to founde an vniuersytee and study for clerkes, whiche he made at Oxenford, where the clerkes[10] be sworne [they shall not rede for theyr fourme][11] at Stamforde.

ANd in the yere. viii. C. lxxx. and tweyne,
[Marine[12] bishop of Rome][13] graũte[d] to king Alurede
To foũd & make a study thẽ again,
And an vniuersyte for clerkes in to rede,
The whiche he made at Oxenford in dede,
To that entent, that clerkes by sapyence
Agayne heretykes shulde[14] make resystence,

And Chrysten fayth mayntayne by theyr doctrine,
The kyng also to comforte and counsayle
By theyr teachyng and wytty disciplyne,
As phylosophers of olde dyd great auayle

[1] fall. [2] Dunbarde. [3] by. [4] had. [5] Fulham. [6] venquyshed. [7] yede. [8] stewe. [9] pope Mauryne. [10] graduates. [11] that they shuld not teche at Stamforde. [12] Martin *edit. alt.* [13] The pope Mauryne. [14] to.

To kynges, prynces, and cytees gouernayle,
Gaue all theyr wyt in studye and dilygence,
Agayne mischeues to fynde and make defence.

And in the yere. viii. C. lxxx. and eyght,
All his ryches in fyue partes he [ganne] deuyde,
One part to men of warre to kepe his ryght,
An other parte to lande tyllers in that tyde,
The husbandry to mayntayne and to guide,
The thyrde part all' churches wasted to restore,
The fourth vnto the studye of their lore ;

And to the iudges and men of lawe well lerned,
The fyfte part [ful wysely he dispende,][2]
To holde the lawe in[3] peace truely gouerned :
Disposed thus he was the realme tamende.
This was a kyng [ful greatly to cōmende,][4]
That thus could[5] kepe his lande from all vexaciō,
And not to hurte his commons by taxacyon.

Fol. C.xi.

¶ For truste it well, as God is now in heuen,
Who hurte the poore people and the commontee
By taxes sore [and] their goodes fro them reuen
[For any cause but necessytee,][6]
The dysmes to paye compell of royaltee,
Though they speake fast & mūble with the[7] mouth,
Thei praie full euil with hert[8] bothe North & South.

¶ The yere of Chryste. viii. C. lxxx. and thyrtene,
The duke Hastyne of Danes, euer vntrewe,
Destroyed the lande with hostes proude and kene,
By Easte and West, that all the lande did rewe,
Whome the[9] kyng in batayle felly slewe,
After diuerse batayles amonge theim smyten,
In sondry places [there as][10] it was well weten.

¶ In euery shyre the kyng made capitaynes
To kepe the lande with folke[11] of theyr countree,
And shippes many[12], & galaies lōg with chieftains,
And balyngers with bargys in[13] the see,
With whiche he gate ryches greate quantyte ;

[1] als. [2] so of his goode he sende. [3] and. [4] gretly to recommende. [5] couth. [6] Or holy churche for theire sperituallte. [7] their. [8] hertis. [9] Than the. [10] as than. [11] men. [12] feel. [13] on.

And at [a flud][1] was called Vthermare[2],
He slewe an hoste of Danes with batayle sare.

¶ The. C.xi. Chapiter.

¶ How duke Rollo, a panyme, gate Normandye, of whō all the dukes of Normandy be lynally discended.

ANd in the yere. viii. C. lxxx. and seuentene[3],
The duke Rollo of Denmarke nacion,
A painim[4] stout, with mighty hoste & kene,
In Englande brent without any delacyon,
Whome Alurede, by good supportacyon,
Droue then agayne vnto his nauy ryght,
And of his men a thousande [he] slewe in fyght.

¶ Whiche Rollo then landed in Normandye,
Of whome all dukes of that prouynce discent,
And wan that lande with swerde full manfully[5],
And duke there was [made of][6] hole entent,
By processe after and by the kynges assent
Of Fraūce, whose doughter he wed [vn]to his wyfe,
And Christen man became so all his lyfe.

¶ At Charters firste he seged so[7] the towne,
Where thei within our ladies smocke thē shewed
For theyr banner, and[8] theyr saluacyon.
For feare of whiche full sore in hert he rewed
All sodaynly [and vnto Roan][9] remoued,
Where thē his wyfe dame Gille was dede & buried,
Without chylde betwene theim notifyed.

Superstitiousnesse with damnable idolatrie.

¶ But then he wedded Pepam[10] the syster fayre
Of duke Robert of Normandy and Roone,
On whome he gate William his sonne and heire,
That after hym was duke thereof anone,
When yeres many were passed and ouergone.
But now at this to ceasse I will enclyne,
Till afterward I shall tell forth their lyne.

[1] the felde. [2] Vthemnore. [3] nyntene. [4] paian. [5] manlie. [6] so in. [7] sore. [8] and for. [9] to Rone so he. [10] Popa.

¶ Kyng

¶ Kyng Alurede the lawes of Troye and Brute,
Lawes Moluntynes and Marcians congregate,
With Danyshe lawes that were well constytute,
And Grekyshe also[1] well made and approbate,
In Englyshe tongue he[2] them all translate;
Whiche yet bee called the lawes of Alurede,
At Westminster remembred it[3] in dede.

¶ And in the yere. viii. C. lxxx. and eyghtene[4],
Then[5] Alurede this noble kyng so dyed,
When he had reygned. xxix. yere clene;
And with the Danes in batayls multiplyed,
[He faught often][6] as Colman notifyed
In his chronycle and in his cathologe,
Entitled well as[7] in his dyaloge.

¶ That fyftye batayls and syx he[8] smote,
Somtyme the worse, and somtyme[9] had the better;
Somtyme the felde he had [at his][10] note,
[Sometyme he fled awaie, as saieth the letter,
Lyke as fortune his cause lefte vnfeter;][11]
But neuerthelesse as ofte when so thei came,
He contred them, and kepte the lande fro shame[12].

The. C. xii. Chapiter.

¶ Edward, the first kyng of Englande, reigned. xxiii[13]. yere, and died the yere of Christe. ix. C. and. xix.

EDwarde his sōne so crouned was anone
Of Westsex, then by all the parlyamēt
Protectour was made[14] again the fone,

[1] als. [2] he dide. [3] yit. [4] fifteene. [5] Whan. [6] Had foughten ofte. [7] als. [8] he also. [9] ofte tyme. [10] as it is.

[11] Sometyme the Danys it hade, as saith the letter,
Sometyme he fledde awaie for the better.

[12] Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem
Armipotens Alurede dedit probitasque laborem,
Perpetuumque labor nomen cui juxta dolori
Gaudia semper erant spes semper mixta timori:
Si modo victus erat ad crastina bella parabat,
Si modo victor erat ad crastina bella pauebat.
Cristus ei sit vera quies sceptrumque perhenne.

[13] xxiiii. *edit. alt.* [14] was he.

Which

Which warred sore in Englād by assēt
The yere. viii. C. lxxx. and fyftene[1] spent,
Erle Athylwolde[2] he exyled into Fraunce,
For he a nonne had rauyshed to his vsaunce.

¶ But after that this same erle Athylwolde[3]
With Danyshe hoste Mers and Estanglande[4]
Destroyed sore bothe[4]; kyng Edwarde full bolde,
Slewe Ethalwode[5] and his hoost I vnderstande,
Discomfet whole and droue them out of lande;
And made all kynges of Englande his subiectes,
For so he thought it was his very dettes.

¶ He sommoned then at London his parliamēt,
Where he deposed the kynges euerichone
Of all Englande, and made them by assent
Dukes and earles [thence] forwarde so anon;
In euery[6] kyngdome then he ordayned one,
And in some three, he made by ordynaunce,
And all kyngdomes foriuged by gouernaunce.

¶ And he to be[7] the kyng of all Englande,
Proclaymed whole to voyde all varyaunce,
Discorde, and warre, that many yeres had stande
Whyles seuen kynges had the gouernaunce,
There might no lawe ne peace haue perseueraūce;
Wherefore he toke of euery[8] duke homage,
Of erles also, and of the baronage.

¶ Scotland and Wales he warred sore in dede, Homage of y^e Scottes.
Till they became his men, and made homage
For soueraine lorde of Britayne, as I rede.
The kynges then[9] dyd for their herytage,
For all theyr men and for their vasselage,
To ryde with hym where that euer he gooe,
In warre and peace agayne frende[10] and fooe.

¶ Duke Ethelrede of Mers, and also[11] his wyfe
Elfled that hyght, Westchester then repayred,
That wasted was by Danes warre and strife[12], *Ed. C.xiii.*

[1] sextene. [2] Ethelwolde. [3] Englande. *edit. alt.* [4] but. [5] Ethilwolde. [6] eche. [7] been.
[8] euerich. [9] ther. [10] both frende. [11] als. [12] *The Harleian MS. adds,* Whiles they this londe assailed with malice fired.

Whiche

Whiche Roomaynes first builded had and feired,
[In tyme when thei to this lande repeired ;]
Of Roomayne werke, whiles thei here[1] occupied
That citee first, full freshly edified.

¶ Thē faught the kyng w̄ Danes at Wodefeld sore,
In Mers[2], & also at Herford, w̄ greate pain,
Wher victorye he had of theim euermore ;
Again he faught with Danes soth to sain
At Towcester, and laid theim on the plain.
In Yorkeshire also[3] he slewe the Danes downe[4],
And voided[5] theim all out of his region.

The. C.xiii. Chapiter.

¶ This kyng made an vnion of all the realmes, and called it Englande, and after it failed neuer of that name.

THis noble kyng thus made an vnion
Of seuē realmes, ẏ stode three hūdred yere ;
Sixe and thyrty also[3] in greate deuision
And warres many[6], as Colman saieth full clere,
Fro Gurmond had driuen out Carreis[7] here,
Whiche was the yere fiue. C. iiii. score & thirtene[8],
Vnto the yere of Christ nine hundred & nientene.

¶ These[9] erles all, and dukes then held the lawe
As shryues[10] nowe in shires dooen and maintene,
That the commons ouerlaied full sore with awe,
And sore oppressed their states to sustene,
Wherfore he voided[11] theim out of office clene,
And shryues[10] made through all his region,
Whiche haue not forgete[12] extorcion.

¶ This noble kyng Edward thelder hight,
When he had reigned full twenty & foure yere,
Buryed he was at Winchester full right,
As in Flores full clerely dooeth apere,
Who in his tyme surely had[13] no peere

[1] ther. [2] Mersé. [3] als. [4] all. [5] voide. [6] fell. [7] kyng Carcis. [8] threne.
[9] His. [10] shireuys. [11] voide. [12] forgoten. *edit. alt.* yit forgete. MS. [13] had then.

Of

Of wysedome nor[1] manhode as was seen,
The lawe and peace that could[2] so well sustene.

The. C. xiiij. Chapiter.

¶ Athelstane, kyng of England, reigned fiftene yere and dyed in the yere of Christ nine hundred thirty & fiue. How Constantyne, kyng of Scottes, warred again Athelstane; but he recouered his homage by myracle of sainct Iohn of Beuerley as sheweth here afterward.

SIr Athilstane, his eldest soonne of age,
In wisedome euer full sadly [&] well auised,
At Kyngstō was[3] crouned, & toke homage
Of all the lordes right as he had deuised[4],
Agaynste whome all Wales as thei suffised,
[Then he warred,][5] but he made theim obeye,
And made[6] homage, his menne to bee for aye.

¶ [In whose tyme so ý yere of Christ nine hūdred
And thyrty more and fiue full accompted,
Robert Rollo his soule and corps asondred,
His corps to the earth, his soule amounted,
Whiche in knighthod his Danes surmounted;
That reigned had then duke of Normandy,
By thirty yere accompted full clerly.][7]

¶ To whom succedid his soōne Wyllyā Lōgspee,
That after hym was duke of Normandy;
But then the kyng of Scottes by cruelte,
Hight Constantyne, hym warred cruelly;
For whiche kyng Athilstane mightily

Fol. C. xiiij.

Rebellyō of the Scottes.

[1] nor of. [2] couthe. [3] than was. [4] adnised. [5] werred on hym. [6] make.

[7] *Instead of this stanza we have the following in the Harleian MS.*

And in the yere nyne hundreth and als thrittene,
Whan duke Rollo of tharchebishope Franco
Of Rone wase then cristeyned full clene,
Seuen daies after clothed he wase tho
All in white to clennes chaunged so,
And full devoute after in all his life,
And eke pacient he wase and hated strife.

[Stroyed all][1] Scotland, till[2] his people dyed
For[3] cold and hunger [dyed and][4] mortified[5].

¶ [But he was so comforted euen by][6] miracle
[That] he faught a none w̄ this kyng Constātyne,
And had the feld and his[7] habitacle,
Theim[8] droue through all the lād w̄ muche payne[9],
To tyme he was full fain to[10] enclyne
To Athilstane, for to make his homage
For all Scotland that was his heritage.

Homage of the Scottes.

¶ Anlaaf, the kyng of Denmark, full of pride,
Cousyn to kyng Constantyne of Scotland,
With shippis many arriued[11] on Humberside
[At Burnesburgh, and claymed of England
For to haue of the kyng as I vnderstand][12]
The truage whiche his eldres had afore,
And with hym brought Colbrōd to fight therfore.

¶ And Athilstane, at the daye assigned,
Made hym redy the battaill to haue smitten

[1] Destroyed. [2] so long. [3] by. *edit. alt.* [4] and so were. *edit. alt.*

[5] *Here the Harleian MS. has three additional stanzas.*

For which his lordes vnto hym than complayned,
Supposynge that his quarell wase not trewe
To axe homage of Scottis, but mater fayned,
And praied hym faste upon his folke to rewe.
He bade theym cume the morowe to hym newe,
He shulde theym geue an ansuere for to treste,
Which nyght he lay, and praied withoute reste

Vnto seynt Iohn of Beuerlaye full boun,
To latte hym with a verray trewe knowlage,
If he hade right be title of his croun,
To Scottis service and to their liege homage:
And made a vowe his church to privelage.
To whome seynt Iohn appered and to hym seide,
Axe thy service and be nothynge affraiede.

And to the tokyn that all thy folke may trest,
Thou shalte well smyte to morne in stone right doun
An elne deepe with myght of Gode doun threst,
That noone myght doo of all the regioun,
The which at morne by Goddes direccioun,
He perfourmed wele right with his naked suerde
In Dunbarre cragges, that neuer maibe werde.

[6] for gladnesse than of this myghty. [7] fro his. [8] Him. [9] pyne. [10] for to. [11] arroue.

[12] With many a Dane in warre with hym to stonde
At Brennysburgh, and claymed of Englonde.

Again

Again Colbrond, armed with hart benyngned,
But then sir Guy of Warwike, as was weten,
In palmer wyse, as Colman hath it wryten,
The battaill toke on hym for Englandis right
With Colbrond in[1] armes for to fight:

Guy of Warwicke.

¶ Wher then he sleugh this Danyshe champion,
By whiche battaill the truage was relesed,
By couenaunt made and composicion
Betwene the kynges afore[2], and warres cesed:
Thus kyng Anlaaf[3] home to Denmarke presid,
Without more warre or conturbacion,
And sir Guy went to his contemplacion.

¶ Kyng Athelston then fraunchesid Beuerley
In the worship of God and[4] sainct Iohn,
Wher in his life is written for euer and aye,
The miracle of his[5] stroke so in the stone,
That neuer manne might dooe but Athilston,
Through grace of God and his direccion,
[Through][6] prayer of sainct Iohn and affeccion.

¶ This noble kyng was euer [more] iust & trewe
To God his faith, and [to churches][7] deuocion,
To poore menne grace, on subiectes euer did rewe,
To preestes and age reuerence in feld and towne,
In dome sadnes, trouth and discrecion[8];
And in the yere nene hundred thyrty and fiue,
When he had reigned sixtene yere with life.

¶ His brother Edmōd for kyng thē was crouned
Of Englande whole, by concent of all[9] estate;
To whome Dothowe[10], kyng of Scotlāde ỳ stoūde,
And Howell of Walis, the kyng then[11] create,
As was afore vsed and determinate,
Feante to hym made[12] and leege homage,
For Wales and Scotlande [ỳ was][13] their heritage.

Kyng Edmōd reigned vi. yere.

Homage of ye Scottes.

¶ He sette sainct Dunstan then at Glastenbury,
Vnder[14] thabbot of monkes and[15] religion,

[1] than in. [2] forseide. [3] Anlafe. [4] and of. [5] the. [6] And be. [7] the churche.
[8] Superstition. *edit. alt.* [9] eche. [10] Kynalde. [11] so than. [12] made than. [13] which were.
[14] To be. [15] and of.

That abbot was [with hym][1] at Canturbury;
This kyng Edmond was slain by a felone,
Fol. C. xv. [Whiche of malice and his false treason,][2]
That forfet had, and dampned was to dye
For his forfet[3], and for his felonye.

¶ At Cauntorbury, as ỹ kyng hym saw on a da,
For yre on hym he ranne, and sore hym wounde,
For whiche he stroke the kyng[4] for aye,
[So they dyed both two ther in that stounde,
Eche of theim, of his mortall wounde,][5]
Whiche to a prince accorded in no wyse,
[To put hym selfe in drede, wher lawe may chastice.][6]

¶ He reigned but. vi. yere then all out,
And died the yere. ix. hundreth fourtye and one;
At Glastenbury buried without[7] doute,
For whome the people made then ful great mone,
For lawe and peace he kept to euerychone,
And his commons neuer his tyme supprissed,
And oppressours of [hym alwaye were][8] chastised.

Edrede kynge of Englãde.

¶ His brother Edrede after hym had the crowne
At London then, and tooke royall feautee
Of all estates within his region,
Excepte Scotlande, that through theyr vnlewtee,
Crowned Gilryke[9] a Dane of great beautee,
Of royall bloodde borne and generate,
And for theyr kyng hym fully had create.

Rebelliõ of ye Scottes.

¶ Kyng Edrede went to Scotland wh his power,
And all the lande wasted sore[10] and brent;
Wherfore the Scottes, by hole consent for feer,
Put down Gilryke[9] from all the regyment,
And droaue hym[11] to Denmarke or they stent,
And to Edrede came all the baronage,
And to hym made feautee[12] and homage.

Homage of ye Scottes.

[1] whan. [2] That he afore exiled for his regioun. [3] trespasse. [4] the kynge to deth.
[5] With a sharpe knyfe as he laye on the grounde,
So than they die both two ther in that stounde.
[6] Hym to juberde whan his lawe may chastise. [7] withoutyn. [8] theym alway. [9] Eilrike.
[10] full sore. [11] hym oute. [12] theire feaute.

¶ And

¶ And in the yere. ix. hundreth fourty and nyne
He died, buried[1] at Wynchester his cytee,
When that he had his soule made to enclyne[2]
Out of his corps, to passe awaye and flee
Where God of heauen would[3] that it should bee;
But.viii. yere full he reigned and no more,
When death hym toke, with sikenes great & sore.

¶ Edwyn, his brother, resceyued then the crowne, Edwyn kynge.
Folyshe and proude, and of his will maligne,
And in his wytte was full lytle reason;
Whom his barons, for cause he was vndigne,
[Made hym his crowne for to resigne;]
Deposed hym then out fro his regiment
At the parliament, by [theyr commen][4] assent.

¶ Whom saynt Dunstane for aduoutre blamed,
But it amende he would in no kyn wyse,
Of whiche he was full openly defamed
Through all the realme, he was the more vnwise,
For whiche the lordes and commons all did ryse,
And droaue hym out, awaye wher no man knewe:
Thus synnes olde, make shames come full newe.

¶ He reigned had but. iiii. yere and no more,
When he was depriued[5] of his estate,
Without[6] thanke of God or man therfore,
And well worse was of all men moste behate,
[Of his reygne hauyng no lenger date:][7]
Who dyed the yere. ix. hundreth fyfty and thre,
Forluged hole from [all] his magestee. *Fol. C. xvi.*

The. C. xv. Chapiter.

¶ Edgare, kyng of Englande, reigned. xviii. yere & died in ŷ yere of Christ. ix. hundreth three score and eleuen.

HIs brother Edgare, by a[8] commē assente, Edgare.
Was chosen kyng, as chronicles[9] recorde,
With diademe crowned at his parliamēt,

[1] and buried. [2] declyne. [3] wold than. [4] the comons. [5] thus deprived. [6] withoutyn.
[7] As he that loued vice and eke debate. [8] all. [9] chroniclers.

And

And homage toke royall of euery lorde,
So mercyfull and[1] full of misericorde,
[Was he, that][2] saynt Dunstan reconciled,
Whome kyng Edwyn wrongfully had exiled:

¶ Whom archebyshop of Cauntorbury he made,
With all estate and primates[3] dignitee;
Of monkes and nonnes, mynsters fayre & glad,
Fourtye founded of religioustee
Within his realme, of his owne royaltee,
Endewed theim all in lande and tenemente,
Sufficiently with all establyshemente.

¶ He wedded Elfbede[4], ŷ dukes doughter, Ozmere[5],
On whom he gate a sonne both good and fayre,
That after was saynt Edwarde the marter,
Who was his eldest sonne, and[6] his heyre,
[A lykely prince towarde, both comly and fayre;][7]
El ede[8] died, he wedded Elfrith[9] to wyfe,
That doughter was to duke Orgare [be life,][10]

Homage of ye Scottes.

¶ On whom he gate Ethelbert[11], so anone,
The kynges of Wales he had in subieccion;
The Scottes kynge Kynowth[12] withouten moon,
Made hym homage without[13] obieccion:
Thus[14] all were vnder his proteccion,
And rode with hym alwaye in warre and peace,
In all his tyme[15] withouten leas.

¶ So trewe he was, and in his dome[16] wyse,
That for no mede nor[17] fauoure wold [he false][18]
The trewe leuers his [lawe did][19] not despyse,
He socoured euer, and felons hanged by the halse,
[Conspiratours, murtherers, and traytours als:][20]
The cōmon weale aboue all thyng preferred[21],
Which euery prince shuld se wer wel obserued.

¶ He taxed not his commons, ne supprysed
Ne holy churche, nor yet the clergie,

[1] graceouse. [2] he was that he. [3] prymytefe. [4] Egelflede. [5] Ormere. [6] and als.
[7] Who lieth nowe at Shaftesbury right there. [8] Egelflede. [9] Olfrith. [10] full rife. [11] Ethelrede.
[12] Kynalde. [13] withoutyn. [14] the Iles. [15] reigne. [16] doomes so. [17] not. [18] the fals.
[19] lawes that. [20] Thus ech man hade as he deserued als. [21] conserued.

But

But lyued on his owne, as it was assised,
Vpon his rentes and landes morallye.
His officers hym ruled full no tably,
In euery shire he went in priuetee,
To spie and knowe who hurte[s] the commontee.

¶ He[1] was a kyng full worthy and condigne,
That let not, for his ease nor his laboure,
To searche and see defautes that were maligne,
And theim correcte, he was a gouernoure.
God set neuer kyng to be a ryotoure, Theffice of a king.
To trippe on tapettes, and lyue in ydelnesse,
But for to rule [with all kyndes of][2] busynesse.

¶ He died the yere. ix. hundreth sixty and eleuen,
When he had reygned full eyghtene yere:
Buried he[3] was at Glastenbury to neuen
His corps to the earth, his soule to heauen clere. *Fol. C. xvii.*
When he had been dead foure and twenty yere,
Byshop Oswald, of that same diocise,
By counsell of thabbot that was wyse,

¶ Abbot Edwarde, of that place that[4] hight,
Who layde hym in a toumbe made of newe;
For it was shorte, he brake his legges wight,
Of whiche the bloodde, as rede and freshe of hewe
As euer it was, sprent out, all hote and newe
Into his eyen, by whiche he lost his sight,
Men sayd it was for he had so hym dight.

¶ Edwarde his sonne, that eldest was and heire, Edwarde marter kynge of Englande.
Saynt Dunstan then, as made is mencion,
(Tharchbyshop of Cauntorbury fayre,)
So crowned hym kyng of this region,
Whom dame Alfrith[5], of false presumpcion,
His stepmother, to crowne syr[6] Ethelrede
At Cornisgate[7], so cut his throte in dede,

¶ As he with her did drynke of good entent,
And buryed was at Warham then anone;

[1] This. [2] in all maner. [3] that. [4] than. [5] Elfrid. *edit. alt.* [6] hir son.
[7] [*Corf gate?*]

But afterwarde the [B. of Rome][1] to England sent
To take hym vp, and laye hym [hye anone,][2]
[In a toumbe made of siluer, gold, and stone,
As a marter then hym canonized
At Shaftesbury, where he is autorized.][3]

¶ [And dyed in][4] the yere of Christ. ix. hūdreth clere,
Sixty also accoumpted and fyftene,
That reigned had in[5] Englande but. iiii. yere,
His soule to blysse went then, as [is well][6] sene;
Where[7] nowe he muste euer[8] dwell and been,
In ioye eterne emonge the sayntes of[9] heauen,
And there with Christ Goddes sonne beleuen[10].

The. C. xvi. Chapiter.

¶ Kyng Ethelrede, kyng of Englande, reigned. xxxviii. yere, and dyed in the yere of Christ, a thousande and thirtene.

Ethilrede kyng.

THen[11] Ethilrede, withouten tariyng
At Kyngstone, tho[12] by all the baronage
Crowned was fayre & royally as kyng
His brother was, and heyre of heritage;
But saynt Dunstan then, by his trewe language,
Prophecied and sayd, withouten leas
In all his tyme, he should not reigne in peace.

¶ For to this realme he sayd he[13] had no right,
But by murther and cruell homycede
Of your brother, that [for you][14] was dight,
Whiche murther euer[8] asketh[15] vengaūce on euery[16] syde:
Wherfore he said, serue God what so betyde;
And then[17] it is the fayrest chastisement,
To be put out fro that same regyment.

¶ Saynt Dunstan died[18], and went to heauen,
The kyng rode forth to London, his citee,

[1] pope. [2] be hym oone.
[3] As a martire so was he canonyzed allone,
At Shaftesbury wher he is auctorized,
As myracles hath shewed as there is vsed.
[4] He died the. [5] ouer. [6] it is. [7] Where forwarde. [8] ay. [9] in. [10] thus we beleuyn.
[11] Whan. [12] so. [13] ye. [14] foule for you. [15] axe. [16] ech. [17] thynke. [18] than died.

And

And as he rode, he sawe a cloude full euen, A wonderfull token.
As rede as bloodde, as all the people [did] see,
Whiche Englande hole ouerspred in quantitee,
Fro whiche the bloodde reyned vpon the ground,
That men [trouwed to haue ben peryshed][1] ỹ stound.

The next yere after, the Danes at Southhāpton *Fol. Cxxiii.*
Arryued[2], and brent the countre there aboute;
Also they spoyled and sore[3] brente the towne,
And so they dyd all Cornewayle throughout,
And Deuonshire also[4], [and Somerset][5] no doubte,
With Dorsetshire. [and] Wylshyre, & Barkeshrye brent,
And to London came, or euer [ỹ] they stent.

The suburbes there they spoyled sore and brent,
Two dukes then of Denmarke and Norwaye,
Northfolke, Southfolke, & Essex, or they stent,
Brent and spoyled, and so forth helde the waye
To London then, where theyr felowes laye,
So assembled they, [and] passed into Kente,
Where that countre they [spoyled sore][6] and brent.

¶ The lande[7] of Kent to them graunted truage
To lyue in peace, and home agayne they went;
But in Northfolke an other hoste their passage
Made then, and so to Lyncolne or they stent
All Lyncolneshyre throughout [then] they brent,
And Yorkeshyre also[4], and home they went againe
With pylage great, of which they were full faine.

¶ The king might get no helpe w̄ them to fight,
[For which][8] he treated w̄ king Aulaaf[9], of Norway,
And w̄ king Swaan[10] of Denmarke, for his right,
That destroyed had the lande in full araye,
And truage hight them furthwarde[11] to paye,
[For they had no power amongest thē to prayse,][12]
And[13] was full fayne the[14] warres for[15] to cease.

But yet kyng Swayne wold nothīg rest for this,
He came agayne, and crowned was for kyng;

[1] ther trowed haue perished been [2] Arroue. [3] felly. [4] als. [5] Somersett shire.
[6] troubled teare. [7] shire. [8] Wherfore. [9] Anlat. [10] Swayne. [11] forwarde so.
[12] For noun power than ferto sitt in pease. [13] He. [14] theire. [15] so.

Greate tallage of all this lande a mysse,
He toke alwaye, and [specyally all other][1] thyng:
Saynt Edmūdes landes[2] he hurt by great taskīg[3]
And tallage, which of it that he raysed,
[Vnegally he][4] pondred then and peysed.

For whiche warrys quene Emme to Normandy,
To her brother duke Rycharde the thyrde,
With her[5] sonnes [Alurede and Edwarde her by,][6]
[And Edmunde Ironesyde then it so betyde,][7]
[All these she toke, and in a shyppe she dyd;][8]
[And with] kyng Ethelrede by [the] sea led pryuely,
For helpe to haue gotte[9] his lande there by.

¶ In whiche tyme, whyls he in Normandye
Was soiournyng, kyng Swayn full lowde [then] cryed
And sayde vnto his men, & fast gan crye,
I am but deed, saint Edmunde hath me spyed,
And with a speare hath me here mortifyed;
Wo worth ỹ day, I noied S. Edmundes ground,
For with his speare [my hert he hath][10] sore wounde.

¶ He dyed ryght so without confessyon,
And whyther he went I [ne wote][11] ne whare,
But well I wote, in good and true professyon[12],
Saynt Edmonde king dyed, and made his fare
To blysse eterne, withoute[13] any care;
But then the barons and lordes of Englande
Sent worde to Ethylrede with hym [for] to stande.

Fol. C.xiiii.

And wrote to him, how ỹ kyng Swayn was deed,
And bade hym come to[14] his lande agayne;
And so he dyd, by councell and theyr rede:
He exyled [all] the Danes with greate disdayne,
And slewe them downe in batayle w̄ great payne,
For whiche therle Edryk sent to kyng Knowte[15],
To Englande [to] come with hoost great and stout.

[1] speciall ouer all. [2] Edmondesbury. [3] taxynge. [4] Not egally. [5] Ethelrede. [6] Edmonde Irenside forthy. [7] Alurede als and Edwarde so betide, [8] Hir husbonde als theder she helped to gide. [9] to gete. [10] he hath me. [11] I wote nothynge. [12] confession. *edit. alt.* [13] withoutyn. [14] unto. [15] Knute.

¶ This

¶ This ylke kyng Knowte', ý sonne was to kyng Swain,
To England cam w̄ host & great power,
Whome Ethylrede then met, and faught agayne
In batayle stronge, & droue him home full clere,
With whome Edryk then fled, as dyd apere,
Into Denmarke, as [a] false traytoure vntrewe,
Purposyng so to come agayne all newe.

But kyng Ethelred in the meane tyme then dyed,
The yere of Chryste a thousande and thyrtene,
And reygned had, as Colman notifyed,
Thyrtie and eyght, in warre[2] and in tene,
Euer newe and newe vexed, as was sene;
His owne lande fled for drede[3] of enmyte,
Without socoure, fro it [he] was fayne to flee.

¶ Thus was he chastysed for his mothers gylt,
Accordyng well to holy trewe scrypture,
For cause that she his brother had slain & spylt;
And lyke the wordes of saynt Dunstane, full sure
That sayde it was a punishyng full pure,
Oute of the realme [to be][4] dryuen and expelled,
In whiche by syn he had so hye excelled.

The. C. xvii. Chapiter.

EDmond Ironeside gotē & generate,
Of his first wife, a dukes doughter of Englād,
After Ethelrede his father was prorogate
Vnto the crowne of all this royall lande,
Men called hym so, as I can vnderstande?
Where euer he rode, armed was he ay,
Oppressours all to chastyce in his waye.

Edmonde Ironeside reigned kīg of Englād there yere.

¶ Knowt' of Denmarke assayled ofte[5] this lande,
So in this[6] tyme that euer he armed went,
To vse the feate of armes I vnderstande,
As to knyghthode full well it dyd[7] appent;
Thus Colman sayth, and Flores that he ment:

[1] Cnute. [2] werrys. [3] cause. [4] been. [5] so ofte. [6] his. [7] so.

But[1] syxe batayles agayne king Knowt[2] he smote,
With victorye, as Flores hath it note.

¶ But then to voyde[3] the greate effusyon
Of Chrysten bloude, they two together accorde
To fyght them selfe for full conclusyon,
Within an yke[4] of[5] Seuerne, by concorde
Withouten warre, or any more discorde,
And who so then myghte get the victorye,
Reioyse the realme, and all the monarchye.

¶ And at theyr daye and place [so] assygned
They armed met with strokes knyghtly set,
With speare and swerd eyther other so[6] repugned
With axe and dagger, eyther on other bette,
Eyther of them tryste the ouerhande to gette;
But at laste kyng Knowt[7] to hym alayde,
These wordes there, and thus to hym he sayde:

Fol. C.xx.

¶ "Wolde God Edmonde thou were so couetouse
As I am nowe, and as myne herte now wolde,
And in this case as glad and desyrous
We shulde not longe this batayle thus[7] holde,
And to our men great gladnesse manifolde;
Yf thou the halfe of Denmarke had with me,
And I the halfe of Englande had[3] with the."

With whiche they both the wepons fro thē caste,
And eyther other in [armes gan them][9] embrace,
That both theyr hostes amarueled [were] ful faste,
What it dyd meane to ceasse[10] in so lytell space;
But when they knewe betwene them the[11] case,
They kneled all, and Chryste they[12] laudifyed
With herte deuoute, ẏ[eche of them][13] so victoryed.

¶ Their realmes both they parted then in two,
By hole accorde, betwene them [so] concorded,
And loued euer, as brethren after so,
As chronycles[14] haue well hole recorded,
Fro that tyme forth, no more [then] they discorded;

[1] For. [2] Cnute. [3] weye. [4] ile. [5] on. [6] sore. [7] Thusgate. [8] so. [9] armys gan. [10] cessen. [11] stode the. [12] than. [13] either. [14] chronicklers.

This

This ysle where they faught, hyght Clyues[1],
Of cõmon langage, as then it dyd them please.

¶ But Edryk of Lyncolne, euer[2] vntrewe,
Reconsyled home by Edmonde was agayne
By subtyll meane, this [good king Edmond][3] slewe,
In pryde[4] wyse without[5] wounde or mayne[6];
But in what fourme I can not wryte nor[7] sayne:
When he had reygned ỹ tyme fully. iii. yere,
Buryed he was, but where [no man durste][8] spere.

¶ But in the yere of Chryste a thousande so
He dyed awaye accompte[9], and syxtene;
Vnknowen to his people and lordes tho,
For whom they made great dole, as thẽ was seen;
But neuerthelesse, it myght no better bene;
This false Edryk, so falsely it couered,
That openly it was not then discouered.

The. C. xviii. Chapiter.

*Knowt kynge of Englande and of Dẽmarke.

KYng Knowt[10] reigned in Englãd thẽ anon[11],
And wedded had quene Eme[12] of England,
Ethelrede wife, which gate him loue anon
In[13] Englande of all [the] estates of the londe,
Of cõmons also[14] that were both[15] fre and bonde:
On her he gate a sonne, that harde Knowt[16] hight;
[On his fyrste wyfe][17] had Swayne & Herold ryght.

¶ He sent Edmonde and Edwarde, ỹ sonnes two,
Of Edmõd Ironeside, to Swithen to kĩg Knowt[18]
To [slee or lowse,][19] to kepe in pouerte so,
That they should neuer haue power, in nor oute,
To claime England, neyther with hoost ne route,
[Whome he sent forth,][20] then into Hungry,
[To the emperoure, with letters worthely,][21]

[1] Oluees. [2] aye. [3] king Edmonde he. [4] priuy. *edit. alt.* prive. MS. *Harl.* [5] withoutyn. [6] mayme. [7] or. [8] men durste not. [9] accompted. [10] Cnute. [11] allone. [12] Emme. [13] Of all. [14] als. [15] than. [16] Hardeknute. [17] And be Algyue. [18] to sleen or to lowe. [19] Which were conveied. [20] Whome the kynge ther received worthelie.

¶ [Besechyng

¶ [Besechyng hym, to noryshe them and saue,][1]
Declaryng hym whose sonnes that they were
[The whiche he dyd full worthy,][2] and gaue
Vnto Edmonde his owne doughter dere;
Whiche Edmonde then dyed, and she in fere
Without[3] chylde, wherfore Agas[4] his coosyn,
Doughter of Herry[5], he gaue to Edwarde fyne[6].

¶ Of whiche Edwarde, called Edwarde thexyle,
Came Edgare, then called Edgar Athelyng[7];
Fol. Cxxi. But Knowt[8] it let, hym self then crounyng,
That to London to hold his Christmas,
With his houshold went then with greate solas[9].

¶ Wher erle Edrik to kyng Knowt[8] hym cõfessed
That he had slain kyng Edmond Ironeside,
His owne leege lorde, with cruell death impressed,
To gette his loue and with hym dwell and bide,
For vnlikely[10] it was to goo or ride,
Twoo kynges together in[11] Englande,
He saied was not accordyng in the[12] land.

¶ [The kyng][13] his woordes well herd and cõceiued,
And howe he asked a reward for his mede,
There made hym tell howe he his lorde disceiued,
Afore the lordes, as he had dooen in deed,
The whiche boldely he did without[3] dreed,
Hauyng no shame [to aske][14] a greate reward,
For whiche the kyng & lordes gaue whole award,

¶ To hang hym on the toure duryng his liue,
To he were dedde that all folke[15] might hym se,
And his treson there openly to shriue,
And after that to hang [there till][16] he dye;
For whom then was emong the [commons truily][17]
A greate biworde, as many one ỹ woundre & rõne,
As did on therle Edryke of Strettoun.

[1] The messangere hym praied heym to saue. [2] Them he cherisshed full worthely. [3] Withoutyn.
[4] Agath. [5] Henry. [6] syne.
[7] *Here the Harleian MS. adds,*
Margarete also and Cristeyn that while,
Whiche Edwarde than after hym shuld been kynge.
[8] Cnute. [9] gladenes. [10] vngoodely. [11] so in. [12] oone. [13] Kynge Cnute. [14] axed.
[15] the folke. [16] to that. [17] comonte.

¶ [The

¶ [The kyng][1] went to[2] Norway and it conquered,
And droue the kyng Olaaf out of that land,
And held it so by conquest of his swerd.
Full worthily he gouerned euery land,
To[3] peace and lawe, he kept [theim as][4] he faund,
And in his domes was rightwyse and[5] stable,
And to the poore alway merciable.

¶ [Kyng Malcom of Scotland thē][6] did homage
To hym, and furth became for euer his manne;
So did the kynges of Wales of hye parage,
And all the North West[7] occian,
For their kyngdomes and for their landes than:
And in his tyme moste he was redoubted
Of all princes and in all londes loaued[8].

Homage of y^e Scottes.

¶ To Roome he rode in royall goodly wyse,
And there was with the bishop[9] greately commēd
As Christen prince by papall whole aduise,
The cardynalles foure, whiche the bishop[9] had sēd,
At Malburgate[10], foure mile fro Roome extende,
With greate meyne hym mette & greate honour,
As if he had been of Roome themperour.

¶ At his commyng again into England,
He gaue Norway vnto his soonne sir Swayne,
And to Herold his soonne, [as] I vnderstand,
England he gaue, of whiche he was full fain,
And to Harknowt[11], Denmarke he gaue certain,
And so dyed in Christen whole creaunce,
At Shaftisbury [buryed by his][12] ordynaunce.

¶ The yere of Christ a thousand so was than,
And thirty foure also truly written,
When he had reigned, fro the tyme that he began,
Eightene yere whole, as well it was wrytten[13],
[With the darte of death whē that he was smitten][14]:
In whose dayes the land was inquiet[15],
Full of riches and [of] welfare whole replete.

Fol. C.xxii.

[1] He. [2] into. [3] The. [4] wher euer. [5] ay and. [6] Malcolyne than kynge of Scotlonde.
[7] iles of North West. [8] loued. *edit. alt.* louted. MS. [9] pope. [10] Male Burgate. [11] Hardeknute.
[12] entered by. [13] than wetyn. [14] And of his reigne muche more is ther wretyn. [15] in quiet.

The. C.xviij. Chapiter.

¶ Herold, kyng of England, the soonne of kyng Knowt, reigned fiue yere, and dyed in the yere a thousand and. xxxix.

Herold.

HErolde, his soonne, was crouned then in deede,
By Leofrike ŷ duke of Leiscestre,
By Londoners, in[1] Flores as I reede,
By Danyshyr[2] also, as saieth the letter,
That strong werre then, and of power greater
Then other lordes of Englishe nacion:
At London made was this[3] coronacion.

¶ Alurede, the soonne of kyng[4] Ethelrede,
With fifty sailes landed at Southampton[5],
Wher kynge Herold with hoste hym met in deede,
Redy to fight with hym for[6] the croune;
But certain lordes of Englondes region
Betwene theim treated[7], that Alurede went again
To Normandy, to duke Robert full plain.

¶ But afterward, as Alurede so rode
Fro his mother vnto the kyng Herold,
The duke Goodwyn [on Gyldismore][8] hym bode
With people greate, of nombre manyfold,
And slewe his menne downe[9] there as he would,
And led hym furth to Ely and hym slewe,
As traitour false that euer [had bee][10] vntrewe.

¶ Some chronicle saieth he putte out bothe his eyen,
Fro whiche he dyed sone for pain and woo:
Some other sayin[11] he slette his wombe full keen,
The lengest gut to a stacke[12] he nayled tho,
Led hym about the stack [ther with muche][13] wo,
Till all came out that was his wombe within,
Thus sleugh thei hym with [sobteltie and][14] gyn.

¶ His mother, [quene Eme, Edward then][15] sent
To Normandy, to duke Wyllyam anone,

[1] als in. [2] Danyshery. [3] his. [4] the kynge. [5] Northampton. [6] than for. [7] trete. [8] at Gilforde Moore. [9] all doun. [10] wa e. [11] seith. [12] stake. [13] with mekell. [14] suche a sotille. [15] than quene Emme than Edwarde.

[That]

[That] hir cousyn was, to kepe he were not shent
By kyng Herold of his cruelty alone,
[Warnyng hym of the treasō ỳ Herold had dooen,][1]
For whiche cause Herold[2] hir exild
Out of England, and Edward also[3] hir child.

¶ To Flaundres she fled, then full sore amoued,
To erle Badwyn hir cousyn nie of bloodde,
Declaryng [to] hym howe Herold had distroyed
Hir soonne Alurede, that[4] heyre of England stood,
And exiled hir without socour[5] or good,
And Edward also[3] hir soonne, heire of England,
His brother children, [also] awaye in vncouth land.

¶ Wherfore therle to kyng Hardknowt[6] then wrote
All hir compleynt, and of his socour prayed
And he should help with all his might God wote,
[It were amendid][7] of that she was affrayed.
He came anone in warre full well aryed[8]
Into Flaundres, his mother for to please,
Hir for to socour and sette hir hert in ease.

¶ In whiche meane while the kyng Herold dyed
At Westminster, and buried was full feire,
After he had[9] reigned, as it is notified,
[Fiue yere reigned without][10] any heire
Of his body gotten, after hym to repeire *Fol. C.xxiii.*
England [to gouerne, wherfore][11] the lordes, by assēt,
To kyng Hardknowte[6] then into Flaundres sente

¶ To bee their kyng, sith Herold was a[12] gone,
To please hym with [and] his mother to comfort;
Who came to[13] England furth with anone,
And crouned was with all [the] whole disport
That lordes conde[14], as Flores dooeth report:
Thus kyng Hardknowt[6] was kyng of Englande than,
Who worthily [ỳ tyme to reigne tho][15] began.

¶ This kyng began his brothers death to venge *Kyng Hardknowt.*
On [erle Gowyn,][16] that erle[17] was then of Kent,

[1] And fals Godewyne for they two were both oone. [2] Than kynge Haredde. [3] als. [4] which. [5] liveloode. [6] Hardeknute. [7] That it were mende. [8] arrayed. [9] had than. [10] Fyve yere and an halfe withoutyn. [11] his reame, so. [12] so. [13] into. [14] couthe [15] to reigne that tyme. [16] duke Godwyne. [17] lord.

That peased was for he should not reuenge
With riche giftes whiche that[1] he on hym spent,
With meekenesse lowe, &[2] swore that he was sent
To dooe that thyng on pein of high treson
By kyng Herold charged without reason.

¶ Through good and giftes & mighty hie riches,
And of his kyn that meekely hym[3] obeyed,
And by acquaintaūce that thei made then expresse,
[Vpon the holy euangelis][4] sworne vndelayed,
The kyng graūte[d] hym his grace & was well payed,
To make hym of his coūsell & [of] gouernaūce,
Without more wrath or any discordaunce.

¶ He maried then his sister Gunylde to Henry
Themperour, that falsly was accused
Of synne and cryme vsed in auoutry
With [a young manne the][5] whiche hir excused,
After the lawe of [the land that was][6] there vsed;
By battaill of his hand that then their slewe
[His accusour,][7] approuyng hym vntrewe.

¶ For the whiche she would nomore come in his bed,
But lyued sole euer after so hir life,
For good ne gold, for aught that he[8] hir beed,
For loue ne threte, for betyng ne for strife,
With hym dwellyng forthwarde[9] as his wife;
In all thynges els euer at his gouernaunce,
Bothe daye and night in womanly pleasaunce.

¶ Kyng Hardknowt[10] then his[11] doughter maryed
Vnto a duke of[12] the Danishrie,
At Lambirgh[13] dyed, at his feast magnified
Emong his lordes and all[14] his prelacie,
And putte hym whole in God his high mercye,
And charged theim his brother Edward [to] croūe,
To reioyse[15] the land of Englandes region.

¶ This was the yere of Christ then inscriued[16]
A thousand whole fourty also and one,

[1] than. [2] he. [3] theym. [4] On holy euangels. [5] an olde man. [6] that land. [7] Hir accusoure. [8] she. *edit. alt.* [9] ay furthwarde. [10] Hardeknute. [11] his oun. [12] than of. [13] Lambehith. [14] also. [15] joie. [16] inscribed.

When

When that he had reigned, as was subscribed,
The[1] twoo yere whole whē he was [thus wyse][2] gone;
For whom was [made] that tyme full muche[3] mone,
At Wynchester, by side his father buryed,
With lordes all thither [full] well accompaignied.

The. C.xix. Chapiter.

¶ Kyng Edwarde the Confessour, kyng of Englād, reigned twenty and foure yeres, ẏ̄ began the yere of Christ a thousand fourty and one, and dyed the yere a thousand sixty and fiue.

Fol. C.xxiiii. King Edwarde ye cõfessour.

EDward his brother, sōne of kīg Ethelrede,
Was crowned then [kyng of][4] Englande,
The yere of Christ a M. then in dede,
Fourtye & one, as Flores could[5] vnderstande,
To whom the kyng Swayn, of[6] Denmarke lande,
The tribute whiche he had fully relesed,
And warres all betwene theim ceassed[7],

¶ To sende hym then the hole Englyshe nauy
Agayn Magnus, that kynge was of Norwaye,
That helde it so by wrong and tirannie;
Whiche Edwarde sente anone in great araye,
With lordes, knightes[8] and squiers freshe & gaye,
With archers many[9], by whiche he gate his lande
Of Norwaye hole, and seazed [it] in his hande.

¶ Erle Eustace of Boleyn, that had wed
Edwardes suster on his mother syde,
To Edwarde came, at Doner sore bested,
Where then his men a burges slewe that tyde:
Wherfore therle[10] Goodwyn, set full of pryde,
Asked the kyng to haue delyueraunce
Of therls men, to byde his ordynaunce.

Therle Goodwyn.

¶ Notwithstandyng ẏ̄ burges slewe his knight,
For that same cause: wherfore he it denyed,
But made peace then as he[11] therle had hight,
Of Boleyne, so his brother in lawe alied,

[1] By [2] Thusgates. [3] grete. [4] the kynge of all. [5] can. [6] than of. [7] alwaie cesed. [8] and knightes. [9] good. [10] the duke.

For whiche therle[1] Goodwyn sore replied,
And warred sore vpon the kyng eche daye,
With his sonnes fyue in [full great][2] araye.

¶ Not cōsideryng ŷ kyng his doughter had wed,
And his treason perdoned had and hyd
Of his brothers death, when[3] ŷ he murthered had;
Whom then the kyng somond, cōmaunde & bid,
[Vpon his legeaunce whatsoeuer betid][4],
For to aunswer in his[5] courte and amende
Defautes all [betwene theim might be kende.][6]

¶ At whose summons he would not [then] apeare,
But warred sore[7] both he and his sonnes fyue,
For whiche the kyng theim exiled out all clere;
But after [they landed][8] and did aryue
At Sandwiche, so[9] the kyng theim met belyue,
Where lordes then theim treated and accorded,
And afterwarde [nomore they][10] discorded.

The. C. xx. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Sywarde, duke of Northumberlande, slewe in battayle Malcom[11], kyng of Scotlande, and crowned Malclome kyng at Scome, accordyng to saynt Edwarde the Confessoures commaundement, whiche Malclome did homage to saynt Edwarde, as apeareth by his letters patent.

DVke Siwarde then was of Northūberlād
In batayle slewe kyng [Maclom so][12] in dede,
Of Scotlande then ŷ false was of[13] his bād,
Whiche to the kyng he made, who taketh hede;
Wherfore the kyng, in Marian as I reade,
By his letters charged duke Siward take[14] on hād,
To croune Malcolin [ŷ was][15] of Comberland.

¶ The whyche he dyd full myghtely anon
At Skone abbey, wher kynges were all crouned,
Vpon his hed he set the crowne anone[16],
And toke homage of hym vpon the grounde
In Edwardes name, as he of right was bounde

Fol. Cxxv. Homage of y^e^ Scottes.

[1] the duke. [2] in right foule. [3] whome. [4] To his parlement to cume that was sad. [5] that. [6] wheryn he hade offende. [7] foule. [8] soone they londe. [9] where. [10] they two nomore. [11] Malclome. *edit. alt.* [12] Malcolyne. [13] to. *edit. alt.* [14] to take. [15] erle than. [16] allone.

For

For that ylke realme, and as his elders dyd,
Suche fortune then to Englande was betid.

¶ The kyng Gryffyn[1] of Wales then was slayn,
That H rford shire[2] spoyled had and brent,
His hed set vp at Gloucester full playne,
For his vntruthe and falshed that he ment,
And sone therafter his brothers hed was sent
Vnto the kyng for his rebellion,
So wer they both forluged for treason.

¶ And as kyng Edward in his palayce [of pride,][3]
Duke Goodwyne then sittyng at his table,
Sawe the butler on his one fote slyde
And lyke to fall that other fote full stable,
[As he was seruyng the kyng at his table,]
Then held hym vp that he fell not to grounde,
Kyng Edward sayd to [Gudwyn in][4] that stounde,

¶ "As his one fote ye se [helpe that][5] other,
Full well and trewe I fynde it dayly nowe[6],
Had ye ne bene, thus had helpe me my brother;"
Therle then to the kyng on side gan bowe,
And sayd, "if I wer cause, I praye God nowe
This breade passe not my throte, but dead I bee,
And straungled here anone that ye maye see."

¶ At his prayer anone with that he died,
For with that breade straungled was he ȳ stound,
It might not passe his throte, as men espied,
Wh rfore the kyng then bad drawe out ȳ hounde
Vnder the boorde, as he that false was founde,
On whome God shewed an hasty iudgement[7],
Approued well by [good experiment.][8]

¶ Wher Herolde had therle Algare exiled
Fro Leycestre, where erle he was so then,
The kyng Edward agayn hym reconsiled,
And perdoned hym and toke hym for his man;
Of Countr , as Flores tell it can,

[1] Griffith. [2] Herefordshire than. [3] so wide. [4] Godewyne thus. [5] hath helpe. [6] newe.
[7] sore vengeaunce. [8] gode and trewe experiaunce.

The

The lord he was, and there thabbey founde,
And buried there [is] with his wyfe that[1] stound.

¶ This Algare was the sonne of [erle] Leofryke,
Whiche Leofrike was the duke Lofwynes[2] sonne,
That erle[s] had been there, none afore theim[3] like;
But duke Siwarde, [as he][4] did wonne,
Syckenesse hym tooke and sore vpon hym ronne,
[In whiche he dyd hym arme][5] in all degree,
[And had][6] his axe in hand, full lyke to dye.

¶ He sayd vnto the lordes then hym about,
" Thus semeth well in armes a knight to dye,
And not in bed to [lye, loure,][7] and loute,
Tyll death hym kyll with paynes cruelly,
[As would God][8] here were my moste enemye,
That I myght dye vpon hym nowe in right,
In armes thus arayed like a knight."

¶ With that he died for paynes that he felt,
Vpon his fete standynge in that araye,
And shoke [his] axe, [while ý][9] his hert gan swelt,
And to the ground he fell in that afraye,
Who buried was at saynt Marie abbeye,
Fol. C.xxvi. At Yorke citee, with worshyp and honoure,
As likely[10] was for suche a gouernoure.

¶ The kyng Edward, the duke[11] of Northūberlād
To Tosty[12] gaue, the sonne of duke Goodwyn,
Vnder the name of erle, as Flores [doth] vnderstād:
After whiche tyme all haue[13] been erles syne,
[With landes and rentes both fayre and fyne;][14]
Whiche estate suffice for princes ben both two,
In euery lande accompte[d] where they go.

¶ He disherite[d] erle Waldyue his [owne] sonne,
Who erle was then create of Huntyngdon,
Of Northampton also[15], as chronicles [tell can,][16]
A worthy prince of all this region,

[1] this. [2] Leofwyne. [3] hym. [4] at Yorke than. [5] The whiche so dide hym harme.
[6] He toke. [7] he lowe. [8] That wolde goode Gode. [9] unto. [10] Like so. [11] the duchie.
[12] Tostyue. [13] hath. [14] Unto this day discendynge doun be lyne. [15] als. [16] conne.

That

That rule a realme coulde[1] well then by reason;
Another prince [was Loufrike][2] that daye,
Erle of Leycestre and Couentry no naye:

¶ Whiche Loefrike had a wyfe ỳ Godiue hight,
That naked[3] throughout all Couentree,
The tolles sore and seruage agayn right
To redeme[4] hole [of her][5] femynitee,
She in her heare hangyng beneth[6] her knee,
Vpon a daye, rode so through all the towne,
To bye it free by her redempcion:

¶ For otherwise therle would not it free,
But yf that she rode naked through [all] the towne,
Vpon the daye that all men might her see,
Trustyng she would not for no waryson
Haue doen it so, by suche redempcion;
But thus by witte she kept her selfe vnshamed,
And freed the towne, worthy was he blamed[7].

¶ Kyng Edwarde sente then into Hungary
For his cousyn, the sonne of Emond Ironesyde.
Themperoure sent hym Edwarde gladly,
His brother sonne, and folke with hym to ryde,
His sonne Edwarde[8] Athelyng by his syde,
Margarete and eke Christine his doughter[9] dere,
Whiche kyng Edward receyued with good chere.

¶ He maried Margarete, [mighty ẇ][10] great riches,
To [kyng] Malcolyne of Scotland was[11] that daye,
That[12] on her gatte fine sonnes of great noblinesse[13],
Edwarde, Dunkan, Edgare, Alixander the gaye,
And Dauid also[14], that kynges were all no naye
Eche after other, of[15] Scotlande throughout,
Whose mother is now S. Margrete wout doute.

¶ At Dumfermlyn shryned and canonized,
On whom Malcolyne a doughter gate also,
Kyng Henryes wife, the first full wel auised,
Quene Mawd ỳ hight ỳ well loued Englãde tho;

[1] couth. [2] erle Leoffrike. [3] naked rode. [4] remedie. [5] ayenste. [6] unto. [7] be blamed.
[8] Edgare. [9] doughters. [10] with mighty. [11] kyng. [12] Which. [13] noblesse. [14] als.
[15] of all.

These

These[1] crosses fayre and roiall as menne goo,
Through all Englande she made at hir expense,
[And dyuerse good orders throwe his prouidence.][2]

¶ Another sustre this same saint Margarete had,
That[3] Christine hight, kyng Edwarde thē professed
In religion to lyue, she was full glad
To holy lyfe disposed and adressed,
[An holy woman of lyfe and of God blessed ;][4]
Who at hir death hir soule then vncouered[5],
[And to][6] our lorde full mekely so it offred.

Fol. C.xxvii.

¶ In his forest, as he pursued a dere,
In Essex, a palmer with hym met,
Askyng hym good, whome gladly he dyd here,
He claue his ryng and in sonder it bette,
The halfe of whiche he gaue without[7] lette
To the palmer that went awaye anone,
That other good to geue [hym] there had [he] none.

Ignoraūce and supersticyon.

¶ But after that full longe and many [a] daye,
Two pylgrames came vnto that[8] noble kynge,
And sayde, saint Iohn thappostell in pore araye
Vs prayed, and bad straytly aboue all thyng,
To you present and take this halfe golde rynge,
Whiche ye gaue hym of almesse and charyte,
And bade vs say that ryght sone ye should[9] him se :

¶ Whiche ryng he set together there anone,
And that ylke place he called ay after Hauerynge,
And that same place where they it braste[10] alone
He called ay after that tyme Clauerynge,
In Essex be bothe[11] fayre standynge,
Where that[12] he made two churches[13] of saint Iohn
Theuangelyst, and[14] halowed were anon.

¶ Sone after that he dyed and went to blysse ;
But fyrste he made duke Herold protectoure
Of his cousyne, to gouerne and to wysse,
Edgar Athelyng, full yonge a gouernoure,

[1] The. [2] And to theym gote pardoune and indulgence. [3] Which. [4] All holynes in hir soule wase impressed. [5] vncoffred. [6] vnto. [7] withoutyn. [8] this. [9] shull. [10] broke. [11] both two. [12] than. [13] chapels. [14] whiche.

Whome he ordeyned to be his successoure,
As very heyre to Edmonde Ironesyde;
But thus[1] Herolde then set all that asyde.

When he had be kyng. xxiiii. yere,
He dyed the yere a thousande syxtye and fyue,
At Westminster canonyzed [is] full clere;
All newe he made the churche there in his lyue,
All were he not ryght heyre as men in[2] stryue:
A confessoure he is full hye in heuen,
With God to dwell euermore and beleuen[3].

*Herolde, kynge of Englande, duke Goodwins sūne.

Herolde by strength then crowned [was] for kynge,
Forsworne that was vpon the euangelystes
For to crowne Edgar Athelynge,
And hym proteete and defende in all wyse
Vnto his age, that none the realme suppryse.
This was his othe of whiche he was forswore,
All yf he made Edgar an earle therfore.

¶ The earle Tosty[4] then of Northumberlande,
That brother was vnto the[5] kyng Herolde,
By kyng[6] exyled out of the lande,
To Englande came with kyng Herold full bold
Of Norwaye then, in chronycle as is tolde;
But kyng Herolde of Englande with them met,
At Staūford brydge to death they both wer bet.

¶ Besyde Yorke was this batayl ful sore smyten,
Where kyng Herolde of Englande had the felde,
And slewe Herolde Harngrey, as was wryten[7],
Kyng of Norwaye, and earle Tosty[4] vnder shelde,
That neuer after myght armes[8] welde,
And thousandes fell[9] of Danes and Norwayes,
He kylled there that daye, as Flores sayes.

[1] this. [2] doo. [3] *Here the Harleian MS. adds,*

A blisfull kynge he wase and fortunate,
The tribute whiche his fader hade paied,
The Danyshyelde called, he quyte and exonerate,
That Englonde wase no more for it affraied,
Nor neuer after to Denmarke ought obeied:
But full of welth and all prosperite,
He lefte Englonde the tyme whan he dide dee.

[4] Tostyue. [5] this. [6] kyng Edwarde. [7] wetyn. [8] none armes. [9] many.

[A yere he reygned, whom][1] Willyam Conquerour,
That[2] duke was then of all fayre Normandye,
Hym slewe in batayle for his ymagyned[3] erroure
Agayne hym that he dyd [so] cruelly,
And not[4] wolde mende [ne yet][5] satisfye;
The duke Willyam so the felde then conquered
With strokes sore, for whiche the lande was ferd.

Fol. C.xxviii.

This kyng Herolde at Waltam, whiche he found
Of foure score chanons, full fayer was buryed
At [the] hye aulter, & as a kyng was crownde,
All yf he were intrusor notifyed,
And in batayl slayne and victoryed,
Of gentylnesse the Conquerour bad so,
All yf he were afore his mortall fo[6].

¶ Willyam Conquerour, kyng of Englande and duke of Normandye, beganne to reygne the yere of Chryste a thousande. lxvi., and reygned. xxiiii. yere, and dyed the yere a thousande. lxxxx., and the sayde Conqueroure founded the abbaye of Batayle, for the soules of the people slaine there the fouretene daye of October, in the yere of Chryste a thousande thre score and syxe.

The. C.xxi. Chapiter.

Duke Willyā of Normandye.

THe. xiiii. daye of October accompted,
The duke Wyllyam ẏ was of Normandye,
At London was crowned and annoynted
In trone royall to haue the monarchye,
By his conquest and[7] his victorye,
Withoute tytle of ryght to hym discente,
But onely of his tryumphall entente.

¶ The yere of Chryste was when Alurede hym crowned,
Tharchbyshop of Yorke & hye primate,
A thousande hole. lxvi. well founde,

[1] Nyne moneths he reigned whan. [2] Whiche. [3] vntrewe. [4] nought. [5] nor yit him.
[6] *Here the Harl. MS. adds,* Nota hic quod linea regum Saxonum extincta est, et Normanni regnare incipiunt. Tamen remansit per muliebrem sexum, scilicet per Margaretam Scottorum reginam, uxorem Malcolini regis Scocie, et filiam Edwardi filii Edmundi Irenside regis Anglie, et Agathe filie Henrici Imperatoris, et sic de linea ejus moderni reges, ut de Saxonibus, liniahter discendunt.
[7] be his.

Quene

Quene Mawde his wyfe to hym assocyate,
He crowned also[1] that tyme in her estate,
The abbay of Batayle [that] then he bounded,
And for the soules there slayne he founded[2].

¶ He called it so then for a memorye
Of his batayle by whiche Englande he gate,
In token of his myghty victorye, *Fol. Cxxix.*
That Englande there he had so well ouerset,
[To praye for the soules slayne as was his det ;][3]
Whiche abbaye is in Sussex, in that stede
Where the batayle was and the people dede.

¶ The South part[4] of England then he rode,
And dalt it largely vnto his menne,
The North again hym rebelled then abode[5]
With help of Danes in that countre were then,
And Scottes also[1] that false wer when and whē ;
But kyng Wyllyam, that worthy conquerour,
Discomfite theim with long and sore labour.

¶ To Normandy he went then right anone,
And with hym had Edgar[6] called Athelyng
Edwyn and Morkar afore that[7] were his tooen,
For cause they should not then make more risyng
In his absence while he were ther abidyng,
But at his home commyng with hym again,
He brough[8] theim all, of whiche the folke were fain.

¶ Gospatrik that then was erle of Cumberland,
That [not again stode][9] king Malcolm[10] in his werre,
When he distroyed therldome[11] and his land,
But hym withdrewe out of waye[12] full ferre ;
Wherfore the kyng, as saieth the chronicler,
Hym disherite[d], and gaue to Ranf Mesthyne
His erldome[11], to whom menne did enclyne.

The. C. xxii. Chapiter.

¶ Homage of Scotlande dooen to kynge Willyam conquerour at Birmith

[1] als. [2] it founded. [3] Ther kynge ther slayne and his hoote ther bette. [4] partie.
[5] and bode. [6] Edwarde. [7] which. [8] brought. [9] nought gaynstode. [10] Malcolyne.
[11] his erledome. [12] his waye. [13] erledome hoole.

in Scotland; and also howe the kyng of Fraunce scorned the kyng Wyllyam, & he quit it hym after.

THen rode the kyng into Scotlād anone[1],
And brent the land vnto Abirnythy,
Where kynge Malcolyne submitt[ed] hym with great mone,
And homage leege hym did full humbly,
And amended there all his iniury.
Then went he furth to Duram wher he offred,
And to the churche he gaue great good vncoffred.

Homage of the Scottes.

¶ He thē his lawe and peace alwaye proclaymed,
Officers made in euery shire about,
And so held on to London vnreclaymed,
Wher his iustice he sett ẏ land throughout,
The kyng of Fraunce thus scorned hym out of doubt;
That kyng Wyllyam in Gesine[4] had lyen long,
And tyme hym[3] wer been kyrked[4] with good songe.

¶ When he this hard, to Fraunce he went anone,
There to bee kirked[4] he offrid his candill bright,
A thousand townes he brent as he did gone.
At theim he prayed the kyng of Fraunce to light
His candill then, if that he goodly might;
Whiche at his kirkehale[5] and puryficacion
To Mars he thought ẏ tyme [to] make his oblaciō.

¶ Edwyn [therle proclamed of Leicester,][6]
After decesse of Algary[7] his father dere,
And erle Morcare[8] his brother that after[9]
Dyed bothe twoo, Lucy their suster clere
Of Leicester then and Lyncolne bothe in fere
The coūtesse was, whome[10] kyng William maried
To lue Tailboys erle of Angeou magnified.

Fol. C. xxx.

¶ To[11] kyng Wylliam then came full glad again,
At Wynchester he held his parliament,
Wher he then slewe for wrath and greate disdain
The duke Waldiue, that no harme to hym ment,
But only for he counselled and consent

[1] so anoone. [2] Ceylian. [3] it. [4] churched. [5] churchale. [6] the erle of Leicestre proclaymed. [7] Algare. [8] Morgare. [9] after claymed. [10] whame. [11] The.

To

To erle Edgar to gette his heritage
Of England whole, and made to hym homage,

¶ Who duke was then of Northumberland.
And erle create was also[1] of Huntyngton,
By chronicles olde as menne can vnderstand.
Entitled whole [as of all][2] Northampton,
Beheded [was at Wynchester towne,][3]
Whose hedde together grewe to the necke again,
Buried at Crowland for sainct the soth to sain.

¶ The kyng then made, as I vnderstand[4],
The bishop then of Duresme that Walter hight
Erle proclamed of Northumberland,
Whom at Catteshede[5] ŷ countre[6] slewe doune right.
The kyng then made a lord that Awbryke hight
Erle of ŷ countre[7], ŷ durst not Scottes withstande,
Wherfore he gaue Robert Mowbray that lande,

¶ And made hym erle of[8] Northumberland.
The kyng then sent vnto euery shire
Iustices[9] to sitte throughout all the land,
Of all lordshipis and knightes fees enquere,
What temporales [he] had to knowe he had desire,
And what perteined vnto his royall croune,
And what the churche had of deuocion.

¶ Vnto his soonne, eldest then generate,
All Normandy he gaue in heritage,
And England whole to Wyllyam nominate,
His second soonne gaue with all [th]auauntage;
And to Henry his third soonne young [of age,][10]
Therldome gaue then of Gloucester sea,
With [the] honour of slede[11] for euer in certente.

¶ He dyed the yere a thousand four score and ten,
And of his reigne twenty yere and four tho,
At Cane[12] buried, in thabbey that hight then
Sainct Stephēs abbey by Cane[12] that stādeth so.
His doughter Ade[13] afore had maried tho

[1] eke. [2] als and of. [3] he wase be fals ymagynacion. [4] can vnderstonde. [5] Gateshede.
[6] people. [7] londe. [8] than of. [9] Iustice. [10] and sage, *edit. alt.* In yonge age. MS. [11] Shelde.
[12] Caen [13] Edi.

Vnto

Vnto therle Stephē of Bloyes, a prince of might,
Of warres wyse and a full manly knight.

The. C. xxiij. Chapiter.

¶ Wyllyam Rufus, kyng of England, reigned thirtene yere, and began to reigne in the yere of our Lorde a thousand four score and ten, & dyed ẏ yere a thousand one hundred & three.

Kyng William Rufus.

HIs soōne Wyl̃iam Rufus, as he deuised,
Was crouned then ẅ great solempnitee,
But after soone duke Robert was auised
To clayme England by his priorite,
And Normandy also [as for his][1] proprete;
As he that was his eldest soone and heire,
With hoste full greate in England game[2] repeire.

¶ And made greate warre vpon his brother so
Three yere all out betwene theim [so] continued.
Till at last thei bothe betwene theim twoo
Did condiscende as well to theim perteined,
[With whole herte and will nothyng feined,][3]
The iudgement of kyng Philip of Fraunce
To vndergo and bide his ordinaunce.

Fol. C. Recto.

¶ In whiche meane while his brother erle Hēry.
The castels all belongyng to the croune,
As high[4] constable of England properly
Then seazed had in his possession,
As his office, by good dereccion,
Asked of right and of [good] consuetude,
To kepe theim sure to the crounes excelsitude.

¶ The kyng Philip, by his auised parliament,
Gaue iudgement betwene the[5] brethren twoo,
As kyng Wyllyam their father full[6] ment:
All Normandy Robert should haue euer moo,
And Wyllyam England, & frendes should bee so,
And liue in peace without[7] any clayme,
And either other releace and whole disclayme.

[1] in. [2] ganne. [3] They to abide be theire othis certeyned. [4] his. [5] tho. [6] fully. [7] withoutyn.

¶ Therle

¶ Therle Henry, of England then constable,
Delinered all the castels and citees right
To kyng Wyllyam his brother enheritable,
As he was bound and fully so had hight.
Duke Robert then, his brother, a worthy knight,
To England came to sport hym with his brother,
At whiche tyme either was glad of other.

The. C. xxiiij. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Malcolyn of Scotland warred in England for his wifes right, pretendyng ẏ she was right heire of England; and afterward he did homage to kyng Wyllyam Rufus for the realme of Scotland.

THis[1] Malcolin of Scotlād greatly claimed
To haue England then by his wifes right,
Margarete, suster of Edgar, heire proclamed
Of England whole, that expelled was by might,
Of kyng Wyllyam conquerour by vnright;
So for his right the Northland he destroyed,
And home he went again nothyng annoyed.

¶ But then the kyng and his brethren twoo
To Scotland rode and wasted sore the land,
Till Malcolyne came and did his homage[2],
By letter wrytten and sealed I vnderstand,
Whiche Hardyng gaue in to kyng Henryes hād,
Without reward or any recompence,
[Of mayne][3] labour, his costagis[4] and expence.

Homage of the Scottes.

¶ The duke Robert went home to Normandy,
And kyng Malcolyne & his soonne then, Edward,
Warred again[5] Northumberland in hie;
But erle Robert that kepyng had and ward
Of Northūberland, ẅ hym then faught full hard:
Byside [Alnwike at Malcolyne well][6] were slain
There[7] Malcolyne and Edward [his soōne][8] certain.

¶ Whē quene Margret so of ẏ[9] tidynges knewe,
She eate neuer meate, for sorowe dyed anone,
At Dunfermelyn buryed as then was dewe;

[1] The kyng. [2] homage tho. *edit. alt.* MS. [3] For his. [4] costage. [5] agayne in. [6] Alnewike at Malcome wher. [7] The kynge. [8] als. [9] tho.

But

But nowe she is there shryned in fleshe and bone,
[Workyng miracles, as sayeth many one,][1]
Entombed faire, and in [the firetree][2] translate,
Of whiche abbey nowe is she aduocate.

Fol. C.xxxii.

¶ The Scottes then made Dunwalde so their kyng,
Malcolynes brother that to it had no right:
But Dunkā, sonne of Malcolyne, that knowyng,
Homage of ye Scottes. With helpe of kyng Wyllyam and royall might
Of Scotlande[3], so droaue hym awaye to flight,
And crouned was, as chronicles[4] understande,
[And homage made to Wyllyam][5] for his lande.

¶ Sone after kyng Dunkan of Scotland slayn
By treason was, and Dunwall[6] restitute
Vnto the croune of Scotlande then agayne,
Whome Edgare then by succoure and refute
Of kyng Wyllyam droue out all destitute
Homage of ye Scottes. Of any helpe, and crouned was in Scotlande,
[To kyng Willyam did homage][7] for his lande.

¶ Of whose homage Iohn Hardyng gaue ŷ letter.
Full clerely made, written well and sealed;
The whiche also, with other letters better,
That by reason maye not be repeled[8],
The whiche yf he would haue enbeseled,
The kyng Iames vnto his waryson
A M. marke hym hight of his discrecion.

¶ And in his tyme Roes[9] that Richarde hight,
The kyng of Wales, in battayl strong[10] was slayn
Besyde the castell of Brekenham [then] full right,
Fro whiche tyme forthe theyr kynges seazed full playn.
And princes called they were soth[11] to sayn.
The kyng with hoste on Robert Monbraye rode,
Who with the kyng faught of[12] his traytourhode,

¶ And discomfite helde Bamburgh castell then,
And[13] the kyng enduryng full. vii. yere,

[1] And miracles hath shewed many oone. [2] a shryne. [3] Engelond. [4] chroniclers. [5] To kynge William dide homage. [6] Dunwalde. [7] And homage made to William. [8] reueled. *edit. alt.* [9] Rees. [10] sore. [11] the soth. [12] for. *edit. alt.* [13] Agayne.

Consentyng

Consentyng with the lordes that so began
For to depose the kyng of his croune clere;
And duke Robert his brother, with great power
To croune and make the kyng of all Englande,
With Normandy to ioyse[1] I vnderstande.

¶ The kynge exiled Anselme of Cauntorbury
Tharchebyshop, that withstode his wronges
Doen to the churche and to the prelacie;
To the commons also[2] that theim belonges,
[Seuētene tounes, w̄ also many churches amōges][3]
And abbeys foure he wasted and confounde,
The newe forest in Hamshire for to founde[4].

¶ He buylded the[5] Newcastell [vp]on Tyne,
The Scottes to[6] gaynstande and to defende,
And dwell[7] therin; the people to enclyne
The towne to builde and walle as did append,
He gaue theim ground & golde ful great to spend,
To buylde it well and wall it all abcute,
And fraunchised theim to paye a free rent out.

¶ The rentes & frutes to tharchbishop perteinyng,
And to the byshoppes of Wynchester & Sarum,
And also. ix[8]. abbeys lyuelod conteynyng,
In his handes seazed and held all and some,
But for his workes & buyldynges held eche crome[9],
With whiche he made then Westmynster hall,
And the castel of Newecastell[10] withall,

¶ That stādeth[11] on Tyne, therin to dwel in warre,
Agayne the Scottes the countree to defende,
Whiche, as[12] men sayd, was to hym mekill[13] deer,

[1] joie. [2] als. [3] Plough and tilthe he wasted and furlonges. [4] *Opposite to this stanza in the Margin of the Harleian* MS. *is the following rubric:*

Nota quod Rex Wilhelmus Rufus statuit sanctum Anselmum Cantuar' Archiepiscopum, postea vero enormiter eum prosequens usque ad exilium, et sic, eo exulante, in quadam Visione nocturna videbat quod omnes sancti Anglie conquererent Altissimo super tirannide Regis Wilhelmi ecclesias suas destruentis. Et ait Deus accedat Anglorum prothomartir Albanus, et tradidit ei vnam sagittam ignitam, dicens, "Ecce mors illius de quo querimoniam coram me composuisti;" et beatus Albanus accipiens, dixit, "Et Ego trado eam spiritui nequam ultori peccatorum," et proiecit in terram volantem per aerem ad instar cometi. Rex autem in crastino post eandem visionem, in noua foresta dum venaretur, Walterus Tirell cum sagitta Ceruo intendens Regem percussit, inscius Rex corde ictus corruit nec verbum edidit.

[5] than the. [6] for to. [7] duelte. [8] of nyne. [9] crum. [10] the newe Castell. [11] stonte. [12] that. [13] muche.

Fol. C. xxxiii.

And more pleasyng then otherwyse dispende,
And muche people for it did hym cōmende;
For cause he dyd the commen wealthe sustene,
Of marchers[1] vnnumerable to mayntene.

The. C. xxv. Chapiter.

¶ This kyng Willyam Rufus taxed so sore the commons, ẏ they might not mayntene tilthe; for whiche fell great derth and great myschiefe, and moren of catel for defaute of food: for whiche the commons wer glad of his death.

GReat tallage of England then was[2] raysed,
In so ferforth that[3] tilthe of land was leyd;
Of which sued mischiefe nothyng praysed,
For faute[4] of food, morayn of bestiall frayed,
And death of people for hunger sore arayed:
A kyng woteth[5] not what harmeth housbandrye,
Housbande[6] to pill and taxe outragiously.

¶ To [Godis dome haue no][7] consyderacion,
Howe that this kyng on huntyng as he stoode
Vnder a tree, [and as writynges][8] maketh mencion,
Walter Tyrel at his game[9] in that wood
[Shotyng at][10] a dere, of whiche he drewe no bloode,
But stroke the kyng vnto the dethes wounde,
That there anone he died vpon the ground.

¶ At Wynchester then buried anone,
The date was then of his reygne. xiii. yere,
For whome the folke no sorowe made nor moone,
He hurte theim so with taxe and tallage here[11],
Of Christ a thousande an. C. and three [yere] clere,
Whose death the folke in no wise did complayn,
Were[12] they all therof bothe glad and fayn.

The. C. xxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Henry the first kyng of Englande, and duke of Normandye, reigned. xxxvi. yere, and died in the yere of Christe a thousande. C. and. xxxix.

[1] His marches. [2] he. [3] the. [4] wante. [5] wote. [6] Husbondes. [7] the doome of Gode haue. [8] as writynge. [9] triste. [10] Shotte to. [11] sere. [12] So were.

HEnry

Kyng Henry the first.

HEnry his brother ỹ first was of that name,
Was crouned thē ẅ al [ỹ] honour might be,
He recōsiled saynt Anselne that cam hame,
Who crouned Maude his wyfe full fayre & free,
That doughter was, full of benignitee,
To kyng Malcolyne, & saint Margarete ỹ quene
Of Scotlande whiche afore that tyme had been;

¶ On whom he gate Willyam, Richard, & Mold
Whose goodnesse is yet spoken of full wide,
If she were fayre hir vertuous[1] manyfolde
Exceaded farre and vices[2] she set aside,
Debates[3] all, that [en]gendred were of pride,
She staunched hole with all beneuolence,
And visited[4] sycke and poore with diligence:

¶ The [presoners also][5] & wemen eke[6] with childe,
And in gesene[7] lyuyng ay where aboute,
Clothes and meate and beddyng newe[8] vnfiled,
Wyne also[9] and ale she gaue without[10] doubte,
Where she sawe[11] nede in countrees al throughout;
These crosses all that yet bee moste royall,
In the hye wayes with gold she made theim all.

¶ Kyng Edgare [thē] hir brother was of Scotlād,
That to kynge[12] Henry then made homage,
The byshop of Duresme then toke on hande,
The[13] duke Robert to gone in[14] message,
To make[15] hym clayme Englande his[16] herytage;
The[11] whiche he dyd anon withoute delaye,
As they accorded[17] vpon a certayne daye.

Homage of y^e Scottes.

Fol. C.xxxiiii.

¶ But Anselne[18] byshop of Caunturbury,
And also[9] quene Maude then made them well accorde,
The kyng to paye thre. M. marke yerely
To duke Robert withoute[10] more discorde,
And counsayled then the kyng, as was recorde,
To loue the lordes that made the discencyon
Betwyxte his brother and hym by conuencyon.

[1] vertues. [2] vice. [3] And debates. [4] ve te. [5] prisons als. [6] all. [7] Gisean. [8] clene. [9] als. [10] w ho yn. [11] se. [12] the kynge. [13] To. [14] so in. [15] cause. [16] as his. *edit. alt.* [17] accorde. [18] seynt Anselme.

¶ The[1] kyng Henry warred Robert Estenuyle[2]
The eldest sonne of Roger Mountgomery,
And his brother that was so called that whyle
And create earle of[3] Shrewysbury,
Who his castell[4] of Arundell helde for thy,
And Shrewysbury also and the cytee,
With other mo castels in his countre[5]:

¶ Whiche to the kyng he yelde[6] by conuencyon,
He and his brother to passe to Normandye,
With all theyr men without[7] discencyon,
To theyr father Roger Mountgomerye,
That earle was there of Bolesmo[8] manly.
The kyng went then to Caue[9] and to Barhous[10],
Helde them with force[11] and herte full couetous:

Whiche towres[12] Robert, the duke of Normandy,
Asked of hym to haue delyueraunce,
And his money of thre thousand marke yerely,
Whiche he ought hym by the[13] hole concordaunce,
Whiche he [agayne sayde][14] and stode at variaunce;
Wherfore they fell on warre and toke the felde,
With hostes greate full sore faught vnder shelde,

¶ At Tenarthbray, that is in Normandye,
Where Nigell then, of Albany that hyght,
Toke duke Robert in batayll manfully,
And brought him bound vnto the kyng w̃ might;
For which ỹ kyng anone there made him knight,
And gaue hym landes that were forfet afore,
By Robert Stutuyle[15] in Englande for euermore.

¶ He gate also a castell besyeged[16] longe,
Whiche he scalyd with noble polycie,
And to the kyng it gaue, though it were wronge;
For whiche the kyng gaue hym anon in hye
The landes all that forfet were only,
By Robert Monbray[17], earle of Northumberland,
In his brothers tyme as I[18] vnderstande.

[1] Then *edit. alt.* [2] Estoutvile. [3] then of. [4] castells. [5] counte. [6] helde. *edit. alt.* [7] withoutyn. [8] Bolesme. [9] Caen. [10] Bayhouse. [11] strenght. [12] townys. [13] their. [14] geynseide. [15] Stutevile. [16] seged. [17] Moubray. [18] I can.

¶ The

¶ The[1] same Nygell, that hyght Albanye,
A sonne had then, whome[2] the kyng Henry
Roger Monbray[3] dyd call [euer after][4] ay,
Thus Albany was chaunged morally
Vnto Monbray[3] for the lyuelod onely;
Whiche Monbray[3] had afore of herytage
These [Monbrayes nowe][5] rose fyrst of hye corage.

¶ This kynge Henry then seazed Normandye,
And made his sonne Willyam duke of ỹ lande,
And home came[6] to Englande then in hye;
And in the yere of Chryste to vnderstande
A thousande hole, an. C. and ten on hande,
His doughter Maude he maryed to Henry,
That emperour was then of Romanye[7]. *Fol. Cxxxv.*

He put his brother duke Robert in straite warde,
And many other that were of his cognisaunce[8],
Where he released conenauntes and forwarde,
Afore wryten of his enherytaunce
That betwene them myght make any dystaunce,
And founde hym euer[9] in all[10] royall estate,
By good auyse and councell ordynate.

¶ Whiche duke ordred[11] was so for he forsoke
The realme of al the lande of Ierusalem,
When he was chose therto, and nought it toke,
For couetyse to haue this Englyshe realme,
[For he forsoke that fortune as men dyd deme,][12]
Agayne Goddes wyll and his hye ordynaunce,
For chosen he was by all Chrysten creaunce.

¶ For at wynnynge of[13] Ierusalem,
Where prynces many, kynges and dukes were,
He was the worthyest of any realme,
And bare hym beste in knyghtly dede of warre,
At all assautes moste knyghtly dyd[14] hym beare,
The honoure all and fame he had euermore,
And chosen was there to be kynge therfore.

[1] This. [2] whome so. [3] Moubray. [4] for ay. [5] Moubrays newe. [6] come so. [7] high Romany. [8] inheraunce. [9] longe. [10] full. [11] men seide. [12] After the deth of his fader kynge Williame. [13] of this. [14] aye.

¶ Men

¶ Men saide ỹ God gaue hym suche punyshmẽt,
His brother to put hym in greate[1] myserye
Vnto his death agayne his owne entente,
For he forsake Chrystes owne monarchye,
[In whiche he was borne & for man lyste to dye,][2]
The Chrysten fayth to mayntayne and encrease,
For couetyse his brother to discreace[3].

¶ The yere of Chryste a thousande was ful clere,
[And] an hundreth also[4] and therwithall eyghtene,
When good quene Maude was deed & laide on here,
At Westminster buryed as well was sene;
For heuynesse of whiche the kyng, I wene,
To Normandy then went vnto his sonne,
The duke William, & there with hym dyd wonne.

¶ The third yere after to England came agayn
The duke his sonne, Willyam of Normandye;
His brother Rycharde also, the sothe to sayne,
And earle Rycharde of Chester in company,
With many other lordes in shyppes them bye,
Vpon the sea were dreynt in greate distresse,
Of [the] whiche the kyng had then great heuinesse.

¶ Which duke Williã had wed ỹ doughter then
Of Fowke Tailboys, earle of Angeou had bene,
With whome a. C. lx. knyghtes with many men,
And[5] ladyes many were drowned as was sene;
And then the kyng wed Hadelyse[6] the quene,
[The] duke Godfrey daughter ỹ was of Loreyne,
Of his mournyng to comforte him agayne.

¶ And in the yere a thousande fully accompte,
And an. C. twenty and also fyue,
Themperour Henry the death surmounte,
And passed to God fro Maude that was his wife,
Who to her father king Henry came belyfe,
Abode[7] with hym in Englande then two yere,
Maude empryce was called then full clere.

[1] suche. [2] Of Icrusalem and all the regallie. [3] disencrese. [4] als. [5] With. [6] Adelise. [7] And bode.

¶ And

¶ And in the yere of Chrystes incarnacyon, *Fol. Cxxxvi.*
A thousande was an. C. twenty and seuen,
When kyng Henry, in greate prosperacyon,
His doughter Maude thempryce to neuen,
The[1] earle Geffrey Plantagenet euen
Earle of Angeou, the sone of Fowke Tailboys,
So maryed had of fame that had the voyce,

¶ On whome he gate a sonne ỹ Henry hyght,
By surname called Henry Fitz Empryce.
Then dyed his[2] eme Alexaunder forth ryghte, * Homage of ỹ* Scottes.
The kyng of Scottes, a prīce of great enterpryce[3],
That homage dyd for Scotlande as suffyce,
So dyed, then to whome Dauyd succede,
His brother was, saint Margarete sonne in dede,

¶ That to kyng Henry made his homage,
And then to Maude the foresayde empryce, * Homage of ỹ* Scottes.
By hole assent of all his baronage,
By letter wryten and sealed as maye suffyce,
Which Iohn Hardīg in Scotland brought[4] of price,
With many mo, for foure. C. marke and fyftye,
At biddīg & cōmaundement of the ỹ[5] king Henry.

¶ Cadwalan prynce of Wales, at Wadeyet
In batayle faught, where kyng Henry him slewe,
And greate people of Wales that there forset
Were slayne that daye, to hym ỹ were vntrewe,
Of whiche batayl Wales maye alway rewe,
The yere a thousande an. C. and thyrtye,
And [there tyll][6] two, as made is memorye[7].

¶ Then went the kyng to Normandye agayne,
And there abode, and kepte all Normandy
To tyme he dyed, of whome that lande was fayne,
But Englande then of it was full heuy ;
When he had[8] reygned so full worthy[9],
He dyed in the syxe and thyrtye yere,
At Boys Leon, of his reygne then full clere.

[1] To. [2] hir. [3] emprice. [4] bought. [5] fifte. [6] therto. [7] *In the Harleian MS. this stanza immediately follows the last of* fol. cxxxv. [8] had so. [9] worthely. *edit. alt.* royally MS.

¶ Of Chrystes date was then a thousande yere,
An hundreth also[1] and. ix. and thyrtye moo,
Buryed at Redynge as well it doth appere,
In the abbaye whiche there he founded[2] so
Of monkes blake, where euer they ryde or goo
That pray for hym, & [for] quene Maude his wyfe,
Who eyther other loued withouten stryfe.

The. C.xxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Stephan of Bloys, kynge of Englande, reygned. xix. yere, & beganne the yere of Chryst a thousande. C. and. xxxix. and dyed in the yere a thousande. C. lviii.

Kyng Stephan.

STephā of Blois his sister sōne was croūd,
A manly mā was thē of great power,
And king was made of England ẏ[3] stound,
Withoute stryfe or any maner warre.
To Normandy he went and seazed all there,
And gaue it to his sonne syr Eustace,
And made hym duke therof with great solace.

¶ Thus[4] Eustace then, duke of Normandy,
To Parys went to kyng Lewys of Fraunce,
His homage made for his lande so in hye,
And put oute then, with greate contraryaunce,
The offycers that dyd to Maude pleasaunce,
And wed the suster of kyng Lewes to wife,
For supowaill[5] of it without[6] strife.

Fol. C.xxxvii.

¶ The kyng Stephā to Englād thē home came,
And tidynges had howe kyng Dauid had dĭstroied
The North parties, & dooen [full muche harme;][7]
[Wherfore he brent Edenburgh then and noyed,
And the countree aboute he sore accloyed:][8]
For wiche Dauid his soonne to Henry then sent
To bee his manne thens furth at his entent.

¶ To whome kyng Stephan therldō of Hūtyngton
Then gaue, and erle therof hym [so] create;

[1] als. [2] founde. [3] in that. [4] This. [5] suppowell. [6] withoutyn. [7] grete hurte and grame.
[8] Wherfore kynge Steuyn with hooste not adoned,
Scotlonde entred Edenburgh, brente and noied.

Who

Who then for it by verey due reason
His homage did as it was ordinate,
Whiche Hēry dyed, and neuer had kynges estate;
For whiche the Scottes seyn thei owe no seruice
To Englishe kynges, but onely of[1] this wise.

Homage of the Scottes.

¶ Kyng Stephan then bet the castell[2] doune
In England so that stode hym to defence,
His menne thei[3] gaue to their enheritesoun,
And all foon[4] for cause of their offence
He disherite with[5] might[6] violence:
Diuers erles and lordes he disherite,
And many other of his frendes enherite.

¶ The yere of Christ a thousand was then gone,
An hundred thirty[7] and eight also,
Kyng Stephan brake[8] all his othe[s] a none
That he had made vnto the barons tho;
For whiche thei rose full sore again hym so,
[And warred hym felly on euery side,][9]
And he on them also [with mikyl][10] pryde.

¶ [The yere] a thousande an. C. thyrty and nyne,
Maude Empryce in England claymed her right
With[11] earle Robert of Gloucestre her brother fine,
And earle Randolf of Chester with all his might,
Syr Bygot[12] earle of Northfolke then hyght,
Awbrey Ver then earle of Oxenforde,
And Willyam Bawne[13] [ỹ] then was earle of Herforde.

¶ Willyam Legroos earle of Almarle tho,
Robert Louell, & Willyam lorde Percy,
Kyng Dauyd her[14] eme, [and many other][15] mo
Of earls and barons [that] were full hardy,
The castell then Lyncolne[16] gate on hye;
The cytee helde of Lyncolne with[17] also
With hoste full greate lyggyng with them so[18].

¶ Where then the kyng ỹ castell seged longe,
Tyll he had by treaty and conuencyon,

[1] in. [2] castels. [3] them. [4] his foone. [5] be. [6] mighty. *edit. alt.* [7] als thritty. [8] than brake. [9] And made hym werre felly on eche side. [10] with full grete. [11] The. [12] Hugh Bigott. [13] Boune. [14] als hir. [15] with many. [16] of Lyncolne. [17] with them. [18] tho.

And bode therin with power greate and stronge,
Tyll Maude and he, as made is mencyon,
With stronge batayles and great[1] discencyon,
Besyde Lyncolne, where then she had the felde,
And Stephā tąken & hurt sore through his sheld.

To Brystowe then earle Roberte Clare hym led,
And in the towre there kepte in stronge pryson
The empryce Mawde with power that she had[2],
To Wynchester then she rode segyng the towne,
Where the quene Maude, as made is mencyon,
Kyng Stephā his wyfe it rescowed ẇ batayl sore,
And toke the earle Clare [his eme][3] thore.

Fol. C.xxxviii.

The. C.xxviij. Chapiter.

¶ Thenterchaunge of kyng Stephan and of the duke Robert Clare duke of Glocester.

FOr [which] cause thē to haue [hir eme][3] again
Themperesse and quene Maude accordid
To enterchaunge ẏ kyng so then full fain
For erle Robert, without[4] more concordid.
This enterchaunge thus made and[5] recordid,
The kyng hir sued vnto Oxenford,
Fro whens she went by night to Walyngford,

¶ Vpon the [frost in the][6] wynter season,
In her smocke alone with hir vncle dere,
That none hir knewe of theim without the towne,
So like hir smocke and the snowe was[7] in feer:
The kyng knewe not in what place that[8] she wer,
For Oxenford he gate and Awbray slewe,
Of Oxenford that was an[9] erle full trewe.

¶ The kyng Stephan a castell then began
At Wilton, where kyng Dauid with power
And erle Robert of Glocester that was then,
Hym drove awaye out of [10] that place full clere,
And bet it downe to the ground full nere.

[1] soore. [2] hedde. [3] hir vncle. [4] withoutyn [5] as is. [6] ies in snowe in. [7] were. [8] than. [9] the. [10] fro.

To

To Walyngford the[1] kyng with power went,
Themperesse to seeh[2] was his entent.

¶ Hir partie then droue hym then[3] awaye
With greate slaughter of menne and occision;
And euery lorde on other made greate affraye,
And spoyled other through al this region,
By greate impression[4] and cruell sore raunson.
The kyng treated with erle Randolf full trewe,
But false then was his treaty, as menne knewe;

¶ For when he came vnto his presence,
Anone he putte hym in[5] sore prisone,
To tyme he had by his magnificence
The cast ll of Lyncolne vnto his croune,
And putte hym then to fyne and greate raunsom,
So variaunt he was alwaye of hight,
Fro euē to morowe, that no man trust hym might.

The fiftene yere of the[6] same kyng Stephen,
Therle Geffrey of Angeou decessid[7],
A noble prince as all menne did beleuen.
H nry his soonne of p rsone well encressed,
Of childishe wit also full relesed,
And of age he was then fiftene yere;
To Scotland came kyng Dauid to require

¶ Of his socour and of his supportacion
England to gette that was his heritage,
Who made hym then full greate consolacion,
And with hym came without[8] fee or wage,
With full assent of all his baronage.
Vnder baners kyng Dauid made hym knight
Vpon the felde, again kyng Stephen to fight.

¶ But suche treaty was made and good accorde,
That kyng Stephen to Henry shoulde retourne[9],
As very heire without[8] more discorde;
At his decesse to Henry whole retourne,
[The croune of England without more soiourne,]

[1] for the. [2] sege. [3] thens. [4] mysprision. [5] into. [6] this. [7] so diseased. [8] withoutyn. [9] attourne.

Fol. C.xxxix.

Who died then after in his. xix. yere,
At Feuersham buried he was full clere.

¶ Of Christes date was then a thousande yere,
And an hundreth fyftye[1] and eyght also,
His wyfe and he there buried both in feer;
The whiche he found whyles he was lyuyng so,
[And reigned here in muche trouble and wo,][2]
And[3] had this realme without[4] any ryght,
For themprise Maude that [fayre lady][5] bright.

The. C.xxix. Chapiter.

¶ Henry Fitz Emprice kyng of Englande, and erle of Angeou, duke of Normandye and Guyen, by. xxxvi. yere, and beganne to reygne the yere of oure Lorde a thousande a hundreth. lviii. and dyed the yere a thousande an hundreth and. xciiii.

Kyng Hērye the Seconde.

HEnry therle of Angeou was tho[6]
In this meane tyme had bē in Normādy,
And set his rule therin for frende or foo,
And crouned was at London worthely,
With all the lordes of his hye monarchie,
And made hym then theyr feautee and homage,
The prince of Wales also[7] for his heritage.

¶ He wedded then a lady fayre and bright,
Dame Alianor the dukes doughter of Guyen,
And heyre therof and lady by all right,
Possession had with all the profytes then,
And welbeloued was she with her men,
Deuorced fro the kyng Lewes of Fraunce,
That hyr had wed to wyfe of his puysaunce,

¶ And on her gatte two doughters fayre & gente,
But[t] for sibrede[8] and consanguinitee
They were departed by papall iudgement.
On whome kyng Henry, by Christes decree,
Gatte sonnes foure of great humanitee,
Henry, Richarde, Geffrey, and Iohn also,
Elianor and Ihone[9], his doughters two.

[1] als fiftye. [2] As kynge of Engelonde reignynge in drede and wo. [3] He. [4] withoutyn. [5] ladie feire and. [6] so. [7] als. [8] kynred. [9] Iohan.

The.

The. C.xxx. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Malcolyne the seconde kyng of Scottes made homage for Scotlande, & for therldome of Huntyngdon.

IN this meane whyle kyng Danid then so dyed,
To whō Malcolyn Hēryes sōne was heire,
Whiche Henry was erle notified
Of Huntyngdon without any dispayre,
[Of that erldome bothe good and fayre,][1]
And sonne was[2] to this noble kyng Dany,
That wedded had erle Waldens[3] doughter onely.

¶ To enioye[4] therldome by her enheritaunce,
That gat on her this Malcolyne that was kyng
Of Scotlande nowe, of mighty hye puysaunce;
That homage made for his enherityng, Homage of y^e Scottes.
[Vnto Henry that then was of Englande kyng,][5]
For all Scotlande, and also[6] for Huntyngdon;
Whiche seruices[7] both were due vnto the croune.

The. C. xxxi. Chapiter.

¶ This kyng Henrye exiled Thomas Becket, byshop of Cauntorburye. *Fol. C.xl.*

HE maried [then] his sonne the young Henry
To the doughter of the kyng of Fraunce.
He exiled then Thomas of Cauntorbury
Out of Englande, and many of his aliaunce,
For cause of [his rebellious][8] gouernaunce:
And as he came fro Rome by Fraunce awaye,
With language fel he prayed[9] the kyng that daye

¶ The poyntes to mende, [and so][10] to Englād went,
For which the kyng was with hym sore[11] displeased,
That then he sayd, had I [had] men that ment
Myne honeste, I were not thus diseased,
With suche a clerke thus greued and vneased.

[1] In Engelonde an erledome of goode leire. [2] he wase. [3] Waldeue. [4] ioye.
[5] To Henry Courtemantell Fitz Emperesse no leynge. [6] als. [7] seruyce. [8] the churches. [9] paied.
[10] so he. [11] so.

Therfore

Raynold Fitz Vrsy, Hughe Maruile, Robert Tracy.

Therfore[1] three knightes, Raynold le Fitz Vrsy,
Hughe Moruyle [hym slewe with][2] Robert Tracy[3].

¶ But kyng Malcolyne died that was full true
Of his homage at Westchester ensealed,
To kyng Henry dooen so as it was due;
For it should not be gaynsayd ne counselled[4],
Nor afterwarde of Scottes be repeled:
To whiche Malcolyne Willyā his sonne & heyre
Was crouned kyng of Scotlande then full fayre.

Homage of y^e Scottes.

The. C.xxxii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kynge Wyllyam of Scotlande wente into Normandye, with kyng Henry of Englande the seconde, as his liegeman.

Subieccion of y^e Scottes.

THis kyng Wyllyam then rode with hoste full stronge,
The Northrē lād he brent & sore distroyed,
[By East and West of both merches of Englande,][5]
The lorde Vesty with it was anoyed,
The lorde Vnfreuyle[6] with syckenesse so[7] accloyed,
With power great at Aluwike[8] with hym faught,
Wher he was takē in batayll sore and caught.

¶ Whō to the kyng to Londō then thei brought
Vnto kyng Henry with great honoure.
Then had the kyng tydynges he liked nought:
His sonne Henry by kyng Lewys socoure

[1] For whiche. [2] and also. [3] *Here the Harleian and Selden* MSS. *add,*

Pursued hym sore ancone into Engelonde
Vnknowen to the kynge withoute hidynge,
In his oun churche as men can vnderstonde,
With violence hym slewe withonte lettynge;
For whiche the kynge with teres full sore wepynge,
Remordyng than his wordes of occasion,
Repented sore and axed absolucion.

Kynge Henry than vnto the pope furth sent
Ambassiatours with his supplicacion,
Beechynge hym with verry humble entent
For to admytte his trewe declaracion,
Touchynge the deth and the desolacion
Of Thomas of Caunterbury his clerke,
For it wase neuer his will in worde ne werke.

[4] concealed. *edit. alt.* MS. [5] By Weste and Este of both marches endelonge. [6] Vmfrevile. [7] sore. [8] Alnewik.

Besieged

Besieged Roan with hoste [great and][1] rygoure;
For when[2] the kyng to Normandy then went,
The kyng Wyllyam with hym his labour spent.

¶ And Dauid also[3] his brother with[4] al his might,
That erle was then create of Huntyngdon,
And Robert Ferers erle of Leycester so hight,
And Roger Clare, with theim of great renoume,
Of Gloucester [that] erle was in possession,
With other lordes, and the siege sone remeued,
And his cytee of Roan full well rescued.

¶ The siege and saute perdoned and forgeuen,
At the prayer of kyng Lewys of Fraunce,
Within fewe yeres in peace and rest to liuen,
He crowned his sonne without[5] distaunce
Kyng of Englande, and gaue hym gouernaunce;
And at the feast of his coronacion
He sewed afore hym for his consolacion.

The. C.xxxiii. Chapiter.

¶ This yonger Henry reigned but. iiii. yeres, and died before his father; wherfore he is not accompted as kynge, because his father outlyued hym, and reigned after his death. *Fol. Cxli.*

ANd to hī said, "Sōne thinke I do you honour,
A kynge to serue you thus nowe at youre meate;"
He answered hym full vnthankefully that houre,
And sayd it was no reproue ne forfete,
An erls sonne to serue the[6] kynges sonne at meate[7];
For whiche the father Henry to Irelande went,
[Tyll young Henry the kyng][8] was dead and spent[9].

Then came Henry and had the gouernement,
The father and kyng was then admytte agayn,
And reigned then and had the regiment,
And but. iiii. yere his sonne reygned soth to sayen;
Wherfore he is among kynges certeyne

[1] and grete. [2] whiche. [3] als. [4] at. [5] withoutyn. [6] a. [7] sete. [8] And ther abode to yonge Henry. [9] *In the margin of the Harleian* MS. *is this rubrick.* Nota iste juuenis Henricus Rex regnavit nisi quatuor annis, et obiit ante patrem. Ideo non numeratur pro Rege quia pater ejus Henricus Rex senior supervixit et regnavit ad mortem.

Not accoumpted by no chronicler,
For his father was kynge afore and after clere.

The. C.xxxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Wyllyam of Scotlande made his homage to kyng Henry the seconde.

Homage of yᵉ Scottes.

THe kyng Wyllyam at his daye assigned
To Yorke came to do there his homage,
That made it then & nothyng it repugned,
But [for his][1] due dette then for his heritage
Of Scotlande whole, by veraye due[2] knowlage
Of his barons and by his euydence,
Agayne it founde he then no trewe defense.

¶ The kynge Henry then[3] cōquered all Irelande
By papall dome there of his[4] royaltee,
The profytes and reuenues of the lande,
The dominacion and the soueraryntee,
For errour whiche agayn the spiritualtee
They helde full longe, & would not been correcte
Of heresyes, with which they were infecte.

¶ He founded then the priory of Newstede
Within Shirwod, and Waltham founded newe
Afore were secular without hede,
Whiche regular he made in order due ;
And other two houses[5] of order trewe,
[He founded there for his soule to praye,
Where was holy seruyce kepte euery daye.][6]

¶ Geffreye his sonne the thyrde gotten and bore,
That duke of Britayne was hole create,
By his wyues right to enioye for euermore,
[Whiche was a prince of royall great estate,]
At Parys [dyed that Arthure create][7]
To sonne and heyre, and Isabell the fayre
His doughter was without any dispayre.

[1] as. [2] trewe. [3] tho. [4] the. [5] places.

[6] He founded faier for Thomas deth adjoynte
Of Caunterburye the archbishope anoynte.

[7] he died who Arthure generate.

¶ In

¶ In[1] the yere of Christ a thousande clere,
An hundreth and sixty also and one,
Baudewyn the thyrde died taken priesoner
By the Sarysens, that were his mortall foone,
Of his body that yssue then had none;
To whome his brother Almarike did succede
To Ierusalem, and there was kyng in dede.

¶ By treason of therle Triples[2] then,
The Christen hoste that had foule betrayed,
When Bawdewyn was so taken through ý false man, *Fol. C.xlii.*
That great people of Christē had thē reised,
And on the felde nothyng to be praysed,
To the Sarysyns went with all his power,
And discomfyt the Chrysten hoost full clere.

The. C.xxxv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Geffrey Plantagenet, otherwyse called Plantageneth earle of Angeou, elder brother of Bawdewyne and Almaryk, shoulde haue ben king of Ierusalem afore, and so by consequens thys kynge Henrye shoulde haue be kynge of it.

BVt yf ryght had lynally procede,
Geffray Plantagenet earle[3] of Angeou,
The elder brother of Bawdwyn so in dede,
And of Almaryk with [mykell blysse][4] and ioye,
[Whiche Geffray so earle of Angeou]
Shulde haue be kyng afore of all that realme,
Both of Surry and also[5] Ierusalem.

¶ When duke Robert Ierusalem forsoke,
For couetyse to haue and ioyse[6] Englande,
Godfray Boleyne[7] the realme of Surry toke,
And of Ierusalem eke[8] I vnderstande,
And crowned was to be kynge of that lande,
That duke had bene afore of all Loueyne[9],
A noble prynce and a worthy chyefteyne.

¶ A thousande was an hundreth sixty & syxtene,
Withoute yssue of his body cōmynge

[1] And in. [2] of Triples. [3] the erle. [4] muche myrth. [5] of. [6] ioue. [7] De Boleyñ. [8] as. [9] Lorreyne.

Dyed,

Dyed, to whome his brother as was sene
Bawdwin succeded, and of that realme was king,
That ruled the lande as was full well semyng,
Full worthy[1] accompted amonge [all] estates,
That Chrysten fayth susteyned without debates.

To whom his sonne king Bawdewin did succede,
The seconde was that had so borne that name,
A noble prynce [of all][2] marcyall dede,
And in that lande greate honoure had and fame,
[Whiche on his wyfe gate without blame]
A doughter then had[3] vnto his heyre,
That lande to haue enheryte and repayre:

Whom then earle Fowke of Angeou wed to wife,
And kyng was of that lande then by her ryght,
On whome he gate thre sonnes in his lyfe,
[Worthy knyghtes and men of greate myght,]
The eldest Geffray Plantagenet hyght[4]
That gate this same Henry Fytz Empryse,
Kyng of Englande, of noble [and] hye enterpryse[5]:

The. ii. sonne of Fowke was Bawdewin [ŷ] thirde,
Dyed prysoner as [it] is expressed afore,
Without yssue of his body betyd:
The third sonne then of Fowke & laste was bore,
Hyght Almaryk, whiche two were kynges thore,
Where erle Geffrey their elder brother had ryght,
That suffred them to ioye that lande by myght.

¶ Which Almaryk dyed kyng so of that realme:
After whome then reygned his sonne Bawdwyn,
That fourth was of that name of Yerlam[6],
That impotent was without medecyn,
To mayntayne warre he myght no more enclyne,
Fol. Cxliii. Who called was Bawdewyn Paraliticus,
For with the palsye stryken was he full hydeous.

[1] worthely. [2] in euery. [3] he hade. [4] so hight. [5] emprice. [6] Ierusaleme.

The.

The. C.xxxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe that kyng Henry the seconde was very heyre of Ierusalem, and by consequens Rycharde of Yorke shoulde be the same.

WHerfore he sent to kynge Henry his crowne,
His banner also of his armes full fayre
Of Ierusalem that were of great renowne,
As to hym that was then the very heyre,
Of earle Geffray eldest sonne full fayre
Was to kyng Fowke and to his wyfe the quene
Doughter and heyre to Baudewin [the. ii.][1] clene.

¶ This fourth Bawdewyn, called Paraliticus,
This message sent the yere of Christe a thousand
An hundreth ful foure score and thre, ryght thus,
When Henry was requyred to haue that lande,
Whiche he proroged and sent agayne his sounde[2],
He shulde be there yf that the kyng of Fraunce
And he myght well accorde of gouernaunce.

¶ He went so forth anon to Normandye,
With hoost full great with kyng Philyp to treat
Of that voyage and warre accorded[3] on hye,
But then the death hym felly ganne reherte[4];
Wherfore anon he satte vp in his seate,
And to his sonne Rycharde greate sōme[5] he gaue,
Thether to go that holy lande to saue.

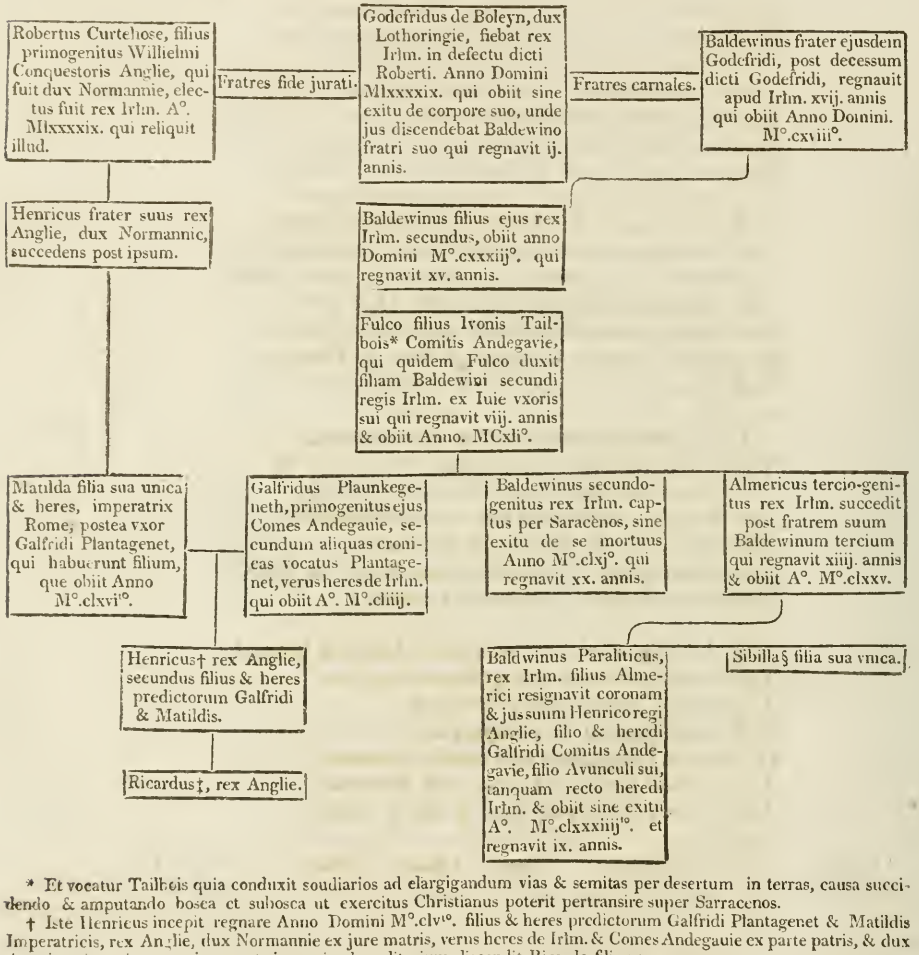
¶ And then he dyed at Pount[6] Euerard buryed
The[7] sorowe of herte and great contricyon,
A[8] prynce Chrysten fully notifyed,
Withouten pere in all comparyson,
Of worthy knygthode and manly renowne,
A thousande yere an. C.lxxx. and fourtene,
And of his reygne was syxe & thirty clene.

[1] seconde. [2] sonde. [3] accorde. [4] rehete. [5] goode. [6] Founte. [7] With. [8] As.

The. C.xxxvii. Chapiter[1].

¶ Howe Richard king of England, duke of Normãdy & earle of Angeou, reygned. x. yere, and beganne the yere of Chryst a. M. an. C.lxxxxiiii. & dyed the yere. M. CC. and. iiii.

[1] *Here the Harleian MS. gives,* "The Title of Irlm. and the londe of Behest.


Robertus Curtehose, filius primogenitus Willielmi Conquestoris Anglie, qui fuit dux Normannie, electus fuit rex Irlm. A°. Mlxxxxix. qui reliquit illud.
Fratres fide jurati.
Godefridus de Boleyn, dux Lothoringie, fiebat rex Irlm. in defectu dicti Roberti. Anno Domini Mlxxxxix. qui obiit sine exitu de corpore suo, unde jus discendebat Baldewino fratri suo qui regnavit ij. annis.
Fratres carnales.
Baldewinus frater ejusdem Godefridi, post decessum dicti Godefridi, regnauit apud Irlm. xvij. annis qui obiit Anno Domini. M°.cxviii°.
Henricus frater suus rex Anglie, dux Normannie, succedens post ipsum.
Baldewinus filius ejus rex Irlm. secundus, obiit anno Domini M°.cxxxiij°. qui regnavit xv. annis.
Fulco filius Ivonis Tailbois* Comitis Andegavie, qui quidem Fulco duxit filiam Baldewini secundi regis Irlm. ex Iuie vxoris sui qui regnavit viij. annis & obiit Anno. MCxli°.
Matilda filia sua unica & heres, imperatrix Rome, postea vxor Galfridi Plantagenet, qui habuerunt filium, que obiit Anno M°.clxvi°.
Galfridus Plaunkegeneth, primogenitus ejus Comes Andegauie, secundum aliquas cronicas vocatus Plantagenet, verus heres de Irlm. qui obiit A°. M°.cliij.
Baldewinus secundogenitus rex Irlm. captus per Saracènos, sine exitu de se mortuus Anno M°.clxj°. qui regnavit xx. annis.
Almericus tercio-genitus rex Irlm. succedit post fratrem suum Baldewinum tercium qui regnavit xiiij. annis & obiit A°. M°.clxxv.
Henricus† rex Anglie, secundus filius & heres predictorum Galfridi & Matildis.
Ricardus‡, rex Anglie.
Baldwinus Paraliticus, rex Irlm. filius Almerici resignavit coronam & jus suum Henrico regi Anglie, filio & heredi Galfridi Comitis Andegavie, filio Avunculi sui, tanquam recto heredi Irlm. & obiit sine exitu A°. M°.clxxxiiij°. et regnavit ix. annis.
Sibilla§ filia sua vnica.

* Et vocatur Tailbois quia conduxit soudiarios ad elargigandum vias & semitas per desertum in terras, causa succidendo & amputando bosca et subosca ut exercitus Christianus poterit pertransire super Sarracenos.

† Iste Henricus incepit regnare Anno Domini M°.clvi°. filius & heres predictorum Galfridi Plantagenet & Matildis Imperatricis, rex Anglie, dux Normannie ex jure matris, verus heres de Irlm. & Comes Andegauie ex parte patris, & dux Acquietanie ex jure uxoris sue, et sic per jus hereditarium discendit Ricardo filio suo.

‡ Iste Ricardus, jus habens & titulum ad Irlm. transfretavit illuc Anno M°.clxxxx°. et cepit Irlm. & omnes civitates & castra illius Regni & terras & dedit illud Regnum A°. M°.clxxxxij°. Henrico Comiti Saxonie & Campanie nepoti suo & A°. M°.clxxxxiij°. captus fuit Ricardus Rex per Syngualdum ducem de Ostriche & liberat' Henrico Imperatore qui redemptus fuit A°. M°.clxxxxiiij°.

§ Ista Sibilla, filia Almerici regis Irlm. nupta fuit Marchiso de Monte serrato Willielmo, qui, per illam, rex fuit, occisus in Tiro civitate tempore Ricardi Regis in terra sancta existent' qui habuerunt filium Baldewinum regem quintum mortuum duorum; norum quam Sibillam Rex Ricardus dedit Henrico Comiti Campanie & Saxonie nepoti suo cum Regno Irlm. A°. M°.clxxxxj. post decessum Marchesi predicti."

RY-

Kyng Rychardc the fyrst, called Cure de Lion.

RYchard his sōne to kīg thē was crowned
By Bawdewyn archbyshop & primate
Of Cauntorbury, & of England ỳ stound
That ruled the churche then by lawe ordynate,
His brother Geffray of baste so procreate
Archbyshop was of Yorke then newe electe
The northren churche vnder him to be protecte.

¶ The lorde Lucye, that Godfray Lucye hight,
Afore hym bare a royall pyllyon,
And Iohn Marshal his spores of gold ful' bright,
Willyam Maundeuile his mighty hye crowne,
That earle was then of Almarle vp and downe
Of his wyues ryght, & Willyam Marshal bolde,
Earle of Strigeyll, the scepter bare of golde.

¶ Willyam Patryk that was[1] then Longspee,
That earle was then create of Salysbury,
A staffe of golde, for constable then was he
Of Englande hole to haue the regeny[1],
By ryght of his offyce of constablery;
For yf the lande were voyde & none heire knowe, *Fol. Cxliiii.*
To kepe the realme by his offyce hym owe.

¶ This ylke Willyam was earle also create
Of Gloucestre, by whiche that offyce grewe
To hym of ryght, for he was generate
Of Roberte Clare earle of Gloucestre trewe:
Foure barons bare by theyr seruyce full dewe
Aboue his hed then in processyon
A cloth of golde by good direccyon.

¶ Earle Danyd then that tyme of Huntyngdon,
Brother of the kyng Willyam of Scotlande,
And Iohn the earle of Morten[4] of renowne,
Kyng Rychardes brother as I vnderstonde,
[Ryght worthy lordes that tyme of this lande,]
And Robert Ferrers earle of Leycester tho
Thre swordes bare afore the kyng there so[5].

Syxe earls then and barons of estate
A cheker bare with iueles full royall,

[1] so. [2] called was. [3] regency. [4] Morteyne. [5] tho.

And clothes ryche that were well ordynate,
For that ylke feste and state imperyall
Fro South vnto the Septentrionall,
Where then none suche accompted of rychesse
As there were then as wryten is expresse.

The. C.xxxviii. Chapiter.

¶ How kyng William of Scotland made homage for Scotlande, and then after his coronacyon at Westmynster, he went to Fraunce, and so to Ierusalem, by the assent of the kynge Phylippe.

Homage of the Scottes.

THe bishop of Duresme on his right hande,
The bishop also[1] of Bathe on his left syde,
The kīg of Scottes, Willyā, for Scotlād
Made hym homage and feaute leege that tyde;
Kyng Rychard then to Fraūce with muche pride
Anone so yode: tharchebishop Bawdewyne,
With hym then went [worthy clerkes][2] and fyne.

¶ Sir Rauf Fulgence[3] erle of Perche then also,
Robert Ferrers earle of Lecester then,
With erles fell and barons many moo,
[Of all this land went many a worthy then]
Of England and Scotland many a manne,
Of Ireland, Wales, Guyan and Normandy,
Then with hym went in that voyage on hie.

¶ The[4] kyng Philip shippid his hoste at Iene,
The kyng Rychard tooke the sea at Marsile
With all his hoste without[5] other meene
Within short tyme arriued vp in Cisile,
Wher he full faire receiued was that while
By kyng Tancred soonne[6] of Wyllyam,
Whiche Wyllyā wed his suster Iohan by name.

¶ The kyng Rychard twoo Isles ther cōquered,
Byside Cisile to his suster theim gaue
To hir lyuyng, and bade hir not bee fered,
For he should se hir dower she should haue,
[Longyng to the right that she should craue,][7]

[1] als. [2] a worthy clerke. [3] Fulgers. [4] Then. *edit. alt.* [5] withoutyn. [6] the sonne.
[7] And furth he went and praied Gode hym saue.

And at Meschyne, kyng Rychard then did make
A bastell strong, the Sarsyns for to wake.

¶ And sailed furth, to Cipres then by sea,
Wher his mother hym mete with dame Barnage, *Fol. C.xlv.*
The kyng his doughter of Nauerne faire & free,
Whom ther he wed in lawfull mariage,
At Lymosyn, in his pilgremage ;
A citee great, full of all habundaunce,
[Whiche by assaute he gate of his puysaunce.][1]

¶ The kyng Rychard rode then to Nichosie,
And gate the citee with[2] force and might ;
The citee also of Cheryn mightely,
Wher his[3] doughter and heire he toke full right,
To Buffenet and Baffe, that were full wight ;
To Dendamour and Candor[4], [his citees,][5]
He went anone with greate felicitee[s].

¶ He gate theim all, & all the realme throughout,
And toke the kyng Isaak and hym[6] slewe,
And wed his doughter vnto the kyng full stout
Of Ierusalem, whose wife was dedde then newe,
That Sibill hight, ŷ doughter was [mēne knewe][7]
Of Almarike, kyng of Ierusalem,
The brother of Geffrey, of Angeou hir eme.

¶ This kyng Rychard ŷ realme of Cipris wāne,
[To whome the lordes, echeone did their homage,
And anone by sea, with many a manne,
To Acres wher in that ilke voyage,
He toke a ship of high and greate auantage;
Of ablementes for warre, and ordinaunce,
The whiche he had, with hym in gouernaunce.]

¶ But fiftene[8] Sarsyns there he dreyncte[9],
[And twoo hundred he kept, that ship to gnie,
To Acres then, wher kyng Philip full feynt,
Had sieged long without remedie;
But kyng Rychard, of Acres toke in hie

[1] Where than wase ioye and myrth with grete plesaunce. [2] ther with. [3] the kynges.
[4] Candare. [5] the cite. [6] than hym. [7] full trewe. [8] fiftene hundreth. *So in MS. Sold.* [9] dreynte.

The

The stronger syde, and gaue it greate affraies,
Late and erly, bothe by nightes and dayes.

¶ He gate it sone, with his greate ordinaunce,
And on the walles his baners full hie he sette,
The kynges armes he sette vp also of Fraunce,
And kyng Guyes armes of Ierusalem well bette:
The duke of Oistrich, Lympold, without lette,
Set vp his armes after aboue theim all,
Whiche kyng Rychard did cast doūe ouer ŷ wall.

¶ With wages greate and riches manifold
He ryched his mēne, & rode throughoute all Surry,
The citees all and castelles that he would,
He gate with force, and came again in hie
To castell Pilgrym, whiche kyng Philip pleinly
Beseged had full long, and went his waye,
Whiche Rychard beseged in greate araye.

¶ To the whiche there was no waye but one full straite,
On a cawsey with dikes depe and wyde,
Strongly walled, with towres on to wayte,
With many drawe bridges, wher none might go ne ryde,
Strongly cheined, ẇ barris on eche side,
Whiche castell then he gate in dayes ten,
With battaill sore, wher he sleugh many menne.

¶ The cheynes of yrone, he stroke vp ẇ his axe,
Bothe at Acres and at castell Pilgrym,
And brent theim all, as thei had been of waxe,
Fol. C.xlvi. Cheynes & barres, with muche might that tyme;
The Sarasyns also he slewe with muche gryme:
The kyng Philip fell sicke and home would gone
To Fraunce anone, and toke his menne echeone,

¶ Vnto the duke of Burgoyn theim to lede,
To bide for hym, vpon the warres there,
And home so went to Fraunce without drede,
Wher then he made greate warre and muche dere;
In Normandy and Guyan fouly hym bere,

Against

Against his othe and his greate assuraūce,
At their passage, by couenaunt and concordaunce.[1]

The. C. xxxix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Rychard sold the realme of Cipres to Statyn once, & an other tyme to the kyng Guye Lezinaunt, to resorte to hym & to his heires, in defaute of issue of theim.

HE sold Cipresse to kyng Statyn of might,
An other tyme to Guy Lizenaūt full bold,
For great riches, the resort again[2] of right,
And for greate sommes of innumerable [of] gold,
His prisoners he raunsomed sore and sold;
But with his hoste full well he distribute
All that he gate, vnto their greate refute.

¶ Ioppen he gate, and it repaired newe,
He and the duke of Burgoyn full sore sought
On the Soudan and felly did pursue
To castell Assure, fro whens he fled vnfought[3];
But kyng Rychard, that of no perill rought,
Was hurt right ther, with dartes venemous,
Fiue woundes sore, mortall and perelous.

¶ They droue hym then into Ierusalem,
And layed a sege about the citee rounde,
And kyng Rychard hard howe fro Egipt realme
Came strong vitail[4], and ryches in that stounde,
With full greate hoste, the Christen to confounde:
By night he came, and there theim discomfete
With worship greate, and farpassyng profite.

¶ Gase he buylded full faire, and Ascaloyn[5].
To the Templers, to whome afore thei longid,
He deliuered, and made hym redy boun
For to assayle the citee, and haue[6] fongid.
With might of menne, & laddirs full well hongid:
Engynes and gonnes greate stones for to cast,
Whiche to haue wonne, thei were [full] like at[7] last.

[1] *A blank space is left in the Harleian MS. as for the future insertion of the six stanzas here placed in brackets.* [2] to him ayen. [3] vnsought. [4] bataile. [5] Ascaloūn. [6] haue it. [7] at the.

¶ The Soudan out by night then stale awaye,
And Christen menne the citee gate anone,
And kyng Rychard, with all the[1] hoste, his waye
Toke [to the Flum of Cedar,][2] on his foon
He folowed fast with hoste as he might goon;
With the Soudan faught, & putte hym fro ŷ feld,
And mightely fro hym he rest his sheeld.

The. C. xl. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the Soudā toke a trewce w̄ kyng Rychard, after he had putte hym to flight & wonne his citee and castels in Surry. Kyng Rychard gaue Ierusalem and ŷ realme of Surry to his susters soonne Henry erle of Campanya with the heire Sibill to his wife, and homeward was takē prisoner in Oistrich; but in his gift of Surry & Ierusalem he reserued the resort to hym & to his heires.

Fol. Cxlvii.

THe Soudā toke a trewce w̄ kyng Richard
For thre yere whole to bye all marchandise,
And sell and passe saufly thitherward
To the sepulcre, in all maner wyse,
With entercomen, as then it did suffice;
And home he went, for cause his brother Iohn
Then purposed had for to bee crouned anon.

¶ He sent his mother and wife[3] to Cisile,
And of Acres he made then capitain
The baron bold sir Rychard Vmfreuile,
Ierusalem to Henry erle of Champein,
With all Surry, to haue and to demain,
And made hym kyng therof without delay,
For his susters soonne he was without[4] nay.

¶ For the marquis Wyllyam Mountferrate
That kyng therof was, by his wife enherite,
Was slain in Tire his citee, by debate
All sodeinly for cause of greate dispite;
Vetulo de Mount[5], his brothers death to quite,
His bretherne twoo to Tire, with power hath[6] sent,
That slewe hym there, by Vetulo [his] assent.

[1] his. [2] the flum of Cesar. [3] his wife. [4] withoutyn. [5] Monte. [6] had.

¶ Whose

¶ Whose wife he gaue to Henry his cousyn,
For she was heire of Ierusalem.
He made kepers, in euery place full fyne,
And homeward came then by the sea stream,
[Coostyng by diuerse countres and realme,]
To Romany, Tuskan, and Lumberdy,
In to Oistrich, [and there][1] was take in hye.

¶ Thēperour[2] led home, thē to Mē[ske he brought,]
In strong ward brought[3], to tyme that his finaūce
Was fully payed emong his commons, [&] sought
Of holy churche, vnto ful greate greuaunce,
The marchaūtes also[4] thē made great cheuisaūce;
Of all the shryues was take full greate riches,
Through all England, to raūsom w̄ his highnes.

¶ And home he came & Iohn his brother chastised,
And his fautours emprisoned all full sore,
To Normandy then went, and there supprised
The kyng Philip, and werred hym euer[5] thore,
That stroyed his land of Normandy afore
Against his othe and his lue assuraunce,
Whilest he labored vpon the miscreaunce.

¶ He then appeled the kyng Philip to fight,
Thei twoo alone hand for hand in feld,
That he was false of his promise and hight,
Whiche kyng Philip graunted, but not it held;
But cowardly with royall hoste hym beld,
Vpon hym came all sodeinly to fight,
Within three dayes then for their brothers right.

¶ Beside Gysours thei faught with hostes sore,
Wher kyng Rychard had the victorie,
Kyng Philip fled fro his baner thore,
With muche[6] shame reproffe and vilanie;
Kyng Rychard segid a castell then in hie,
That Caluce hight, not ferre fro Lymosyne,
Wher hurt he was full sore and dyed fyne.

[1] ther he. [2] To themperoure. [3] kepte. [4] als. [5] ay. [6] mekell.

Fol. C.xlviii.

¶ An arblaster with a quarell hym smot,
As he about the castell went to spie ;
But then he made therto a saute[1] full hote,
On euery syde, about full cruelly,
And gatte the place so then full myghtely,
And slewe theim all, without[2] any grace,
Agayn hym so [that] holden had that strong place.

¶ He shroue hym then vnto abbots three,
With great sobbyng and hye contricion,
And wepyng teares, that pitee was to see,
Mekely askyng penaunce and absolucion,
That it might please God, at his peticion,
[To forgeue his offences tyll domysday][3],
So afterwarde[4] in blysse he might been ay.

¶ He quethed his corps then to bee buried
At Fount Euerard, there at his fathers feete,
To whom he graunte[d] and made it notifyed
Traytour he was, and false of his behete :
His herte inuyncyble to Roan he sent full mete,
For their greate truth & stedfast great constaunce,
His bowelles lose to [Poytou][5] for deceyuaunce.

¶ [Whose soule, from the body dyd departe,
And into heauen went where is eternall ioye,
Because from synne he did conuerte,
Longyng for that blessed daye
To see Christ, that for his synne dyd paye;
That crucyfied was vpon the roode,
Redemyng his synne by the shedyng of his blode.][6]

¶ And of his reigne he died the. x. yere,
And in the yere of Christes incarnacion,
A thousande hole, two hundreth and. iiii. clere,

[1] assaute. [2] withoutyn. [3] The purgatorye to have to domesdaye. [4] That after that.
[5] *Omitted in the previous edition.*

[6] Whos soule after full longe and many daye,
To blisse so wente assoiled full clene of synne,
As seynte Edmonde it sawe at Pountenaye,
With opyn eyen withoutyn any dynne,
Thrugh Cristes mercy that neuer may faile ne blynne,
With Steuyns soule tharchebishope and prymate
Of Caunterbury to gedir consociate.

As

As written is by clere computacion,
Who in his life had hole dominacion
In Normandy, Guyen, Cypers[1] and Surry,
Whose honoure shone, aboue all other clerely.

The. C. xli. Chapiter.

¶ Iohn kyng of Englande, duke of Normandy and Guyan, & erle of Angeou, began to reygne the yere. M. CC. and. iiii. and reigned. xvii. yere, and died the yere. M. CC. xxi.

HIs brother Iohn, was kyng then of Englande, Ihō kyng of Englande.
And crouned was at Westminster ful faire
By all estates and lordes of his[2] lande,
And sone therafter deuorced, full vnfayre,
From his wife wed[ded] that there afore was heyre
Vnto therle of Gloucestre full wyse,
That sonnes had that tyme of great enterprise.

¶ For cause of whiche and of consanguinitye
Deuorce was made, and toke another wyfe,
Dame Isabell, therles doughter fayre and free,
[Of Englande, and his heyre knowen ryfe,]
Whiche after made hym ful great warre & stryfe,
For she was wyfe, of Hugh Brune of [Toreyn]
The viscount then, toke[3] fro hym [a virgyne.][4]

¶ Wherfore Hugh Brune nomore of hym wolde hold,
But warred hym[5] on euery side aboute,
Tyll he hym toke, with other manyfolde,
And slewe theim all, were thei neuer so stoute.
In his first yere a taxe he tooke full[6] out, *Fol. C.xlix.*
Of eche plough land thre shyllynges fully payed,
For whiche the people[7] bitterly for hym prayed.

The. C.xlii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Wyllyam of Scotlande did homage leege to kyng Iohn at Lyncolne: the duke Arthure of Britayne & all the lordes of Irelande did thesame.

[1] Cipresse. [2] this. [3] taken. [4] vng. . . [5] on hym. [6] thrugh. [7] folke.

IN his first yere kyng Wylliā of Scotlād
Made hys[1] homage in Lyncolne his citee,
And Arthure duke of Britayne, I vnderstande,
Sone after made hys[1] homage & feantee,
At London then, with great humilitee;
The prince of Wales, there made his[2] homage,
For Wales then that was his heritage.

¶ The great [a Neele,][3] and Makmurre also[4],
And al the lordes and kynges of Irelande,
Therles also[5] of Vlster did right so,
Of Ormond and[6] Desmond, for there lande,
And all estates there, as I vnderstande,
Wer sworne to hym, and to hym did homage
For theyr lyuelodes, and theyr[7] heritage.

¶ The kyng Philip confedered with Arthure
To rebell sore agayne his eme kyng Iohn,
And graunte hym men & power stronge and sure
To gette Guyan, Poytou, and Angeou anon:
Wherfore kyng Iohn to Normandy gan gone,
And there he tooke Arthure duke of Britayn,
In [castell Mirable dyed,][8] in mykell payne.

¶ Dame Isabell, the suster also[5] of Arthure,
In the castell of Bristowe was then holde,
And died there in pryson then full sure,
As kyng Iohn hir vncle so it wolde,
[A lady of greate beautee she was hold,
Beshet in pryson in paynes strong,
So endeth her life, for sorowe liued not long.][9]

¶ Thus slewe he both Arthure and Isabell,
The chyldren of his brother, duke Geffrey,
To ioye the croune of Englande, as men[10] tell;
Wherfore moste parte of all his landes that daye
Beyonde the sea forsoke hym then for ay,
Retournyng to the kyng of Fraunce in hye,
To holde of hym and his perpetually.

[1] hym. [2] than his. [3] Onele. *edit. alt.* Aneele. MS. [4] than also. [5] als. [6] als and. [7] for their. [8] the castell Mirable he died.

[9] For the deth of Arthure and of his suster soo,
Many astates were to kynge Iohn a foo.

[10] bokes.

¶ Bishop

¶ Bishop Hubert of Cauntorbury tho' died,
Wherfore kyng Iohn vnto the couent sente
To chose his clarke, whiche they refused & denied:
Wherfore the kyng was wroth in his entente,
[For they disobeyed the lettre, whiche he sent,][1]
For they had chosen mayster Stephan Langton,
An worthy clarke of all disposicion[3].

The piteous & lamētable storye of king Ihō, who by the Romyshe byshop and his adherētes was most shamfully & vylanously abused, as by this hystory doeth appear.

¶ Whom kyng Iohn then wold not admytte[4]
For Romayn[5] bull, ne for the prelates prayer;
But prisoned some, and some to death commytte,
Some he exiled, and[6] theyr eyen clere,
And all personnes and prelates in fere
He then put out and seazed theyr benefice,
Through all the lande, as his mortall enemyes.

[The Romyshe byshoppe curssed hym openly,][7]
And all the realme fully did enterdite,
That sacramentes none therin should occupie,
And to the kyng of Fraunce, without respite,
He wrote his letters so full fayre endite
To take Englande hole in[8] gouernaunce,
[For kyng Iohn his great][9] misgouernaunce.

Fol. C.i.

¶ Many erles also, and many great barons,
Vnto the kyng of Fraunce wrote openly,
To sende his sonne Lewes the rebellions
To helpe, to whome they promysed sikerly
To croune hym kyng of England worthely[10],
If that kyng Iohn would not his trespasse amēd[11],
Vnto the churche in whiche he had offend.

¶ Wherfore ý kyng of Fraūce to England sente
His sonne Lewes, with hoste and power strong,
With whom many lordes susteyned his entent,
And other some maynteyned kyng Iohn in wrōg:
Thus stode this lande, Englande & Wales longe
Hole enterdite frō all holy sacramentes,
That none was done, without priuelegementes[12].

[1] than. [2] And manaished theym full sore they shuld repent. [3] goode disposicion. [4] to it. [5] papall. [6] and some. The Pope hym cursed in Engelonde opynly. [8] in his. [9] for cause of kynge Iohn. [10] roially. [11] mend. [12] pryuylagents.

¶ Lewes

¶ Lewes the sonne of kyng Philip of Fraunce,
Had castelles, fees[1], and citees many one
At his good[2] rule and full wyse gouernaunce,
In Englande then, well mo, then had kyng Iohn,
Tyll, on a daye, to lordes he made his moone;
By whose coũcel vnto ŷ [Romishe bishop][3] he wrote
His letter[s] meke, as best [he could theim][4] note.

¶ Besekyng hym of mercy and of grace
Of forgeuenesse and absolucion[5],
His defautes all to mend, and his trespasse,
And vndirguage[6] all his punysion
For to release thenterdiccion,
For whiche the Romishe bishop, as he ŷ letters see,
Wepte[7] sore, hauyng full greate pitee.

¶ Thenterdiccion fully he releassed,
And to the kyng of Fraunce anone sent[8]
To ceasse the warre, the peace to be encreassed
Betwene hym and kyng Iohn bayssent[9],
To whiche he would put so all his entent;
To Lewes then he sent thesame message,
And of Englande to haue his hole costage.

¶ And for Lewes with lordes of Englande
Obeyde not the byshops[10] commaundement,
He sent Gwalo his legate I vnderstande,
To cursse Lewes, and all [of] his assent.
Then died kyng Iohn, in Christen hole entent
At Croxton abbey, and buried was full fayre
At Worcester, with lordes and great repayre.

¶ Some bookes sayen he poysoned was [to dead,][11]
Of plummes so syttyng at his meate,
In thabbey of Cistews at Swynsheade,
With whiche a monke there hym did rehete,
Wenyng of God greate thanke to gette,
At Newerke died, at Worcester sepultured[12],
In chronicles, as is playnly scriptured.

[1] many. [2] oune. [3] Pope. [4] it couth be. [5] playne absolucion. [6] to obeye.
[7] Weped full. [8] he sent. [9] be assent. [10] Popes. [11] and died. [12] buried.

¶ He gate a sōne that Hēry of Wynchester hight,
And other after, and Richarde was his name,
That erle was of Cornwayle of great might,
A worthy knight and of right noble fame:
[These sonnes on his wyfe, that noble dame,] *Fol. C. II.*
And [gate] Isabell, the wyfe of Frederyk,
Emperoure of Rome, [a lorde full][1] poletyk.

¶ In his tyme[s] were these earles in[2] Englande,
Geffry Maundeuile, earle of Essex than,
[Syr Quincy, as I can vnderstande,]
Earle of Winchester, that was a manly man,
[And the earle of Cornewayle that was than,]
Roger of Clare, then earle of Gloucester,
That in Englande was none[3] his better.

¶ Roger Bygot, earle of Northfolke then,
That marshall was, that tyme, of Englande,
Henry Bowne[4] then earle of Herforde, as I can
Conceyue, was then constable of the lande,
[A ryght worthy knyght of his hande;]
And Dauyd then was of Huntyngdon,
Willyam Marshall earle of Penbroke full boon.

¶ Randolfe of Chester the earle of good estate,
Robert Veer of Oxenforde full wyse,
Willyam Groos [of Almaryk generate,][5]
Willyam Lōg[spee earle then, of great enterpryse,
In actes marcyall a man knyghtly and wyse,]
Of Salysbury, a mighty lorde that daye,
Through all Englande [knowen of][6] greate araye.

¶ Willyam, the earle of Arundell that hyght,
Awbeny by his surname full well then knowe,
At Wimondham[7], in Northfolke, buryed ryght,
Father was of Philyp full yonge vnknowe,
[That full curteous was both to hye and lowe,]
That after hym was earle of Arundell,
As chronycles wryten can[8] clerely tell.

[1] full wise. [2] of. *edit. alt.* [3] noone than. [4] Boun. [5] erle of Almarle generate. [6] of full. [7] Wyndeham. [8] and

¶ This kyng Iohn dyed in hole creaunce,
The yere of Chryste a. M was then knawe,
Two hundreth. xxi. by remembraunce
In chronycles, as I haue red [and sawe,][1]
[And full cumbreous bothe to hye and lawe;]
At Worcester buryed in good araye,
As [a] prynce royall of reason ought that daye.

The. C.xliii. Chapiter.

¶ Henry the thyrde, kynge of Englande, duke of Normandye and Guyen, and earle of Angeou, that beganne to reygne the yere of Chryste a thousande. CC. xxi, and dyed in the yere a thousande. CC. lxxiii. and of his reygne the. lvi. yere.

¶ In his tyme was a batayl at Lincolne, where earle Randolfe of Chester discomfyted Lewys ỹ sonne of kyng Philyppe of Fraunce.

Kyng Henry ye thirde.

HEnry his sonne then was of. ix. yere age,
At Gloucester crowned with [the] dyademe
By the legate Gwalo & the baronage,
Stephan of Langton helpyng as did [well] seme,
Archbyshop then, as [the byshop coulde][2] deme:
The[3] same yere then[4] the kyng w̃ Lewys faught,
Besyde Lincolne, where Lewys was nere caught.

¶ Foure. C. knyghtes of Lewis there was slaine,
Therle of Perche was slayne on Lewis syde,
And many fled with Lewys soth agayne;
Therle Randolf, of Chester knowen wyde,
The felde there gate ỹ daye with mikell[5] pryde,
Fol. C.lii. And Lewys then all his ryght relesed,
And home he went with mony well appesed.

¶ In the seconde yere he wed[ded] Alyanor,
Therls doughter of Prouynce, good and fayre,
Whose elder syster kyng Lewys wed afore:
This earle was then famed amonge repayre
The noblest prynce, without any dispeyre,
That tyme alyue through all Chrystente,
Of all honoure and great nobilyte.

[1] in rowe. [2] tho the Pope did. [3] That. [4] so. [5] ioie and.

And Iohn, the sonne of Dauyd [of] Huntingdon,
That of Huntyngdon & Chester earle had bene,
Without chylde dyed; his erldome to the crowne
Then sezed were, to tyme ẏ it was[1] sene
Howe his systers myght them departe betwene:
The parliament graunte[d], ẏ wardes to the kyng,
That helde of hym by knyghtes seruyce doyng.

¶ To make statutes at Oxenforde & ordynaūce,
By whiche there shulde none alyence[2] enheryte,
And put the kyng vnder the[3] gouernaunce
Of certayne lordes, wysest & moste parfyte,
Whiche after made amonge them great dispyte,
And batayles stronge, & greate contrariaunce,
Through all the lande, by longe continuaunce.

The. C.xliiii. Chapiter.

¶ Of the byrthe of Edwarde his eldest sonne and heyre, was in the. xxix. yere of his father, and in the yere of Chryste a thousande. CC. xxxix. Howe Symonde Mountforte earle of Leycester was create.

HIs eldest sonne and heyre, ẏ Edward hyght,
At Westmynster, of Chrystes incarnacyon,
The yere a thousand. CC. ix. and. xxx. ryght,
Whome the legate Otho, by informacyon,
[Baptyzed in funt saynt Edmondes, confirmacyō]
To hym then made, as the churche deuysed,
In his baptime holy, then autoryzed.

¶ Symond ẏ sōne of earle Symond Moūtfort,
Came oute of Fraunce for ferdnesse of ẏ quene,
To kyng Henry, whome he gaue great comforte;
He gaue hym then his man[4] for ay to bene
Of Leycester the earldome fayre and clene,
With the stewarde of Englande in herytage,
Whiche is an offyce of greate priuelage.

¶ And wed his doughter, dame Elyanore,
To Willyam Marshall, earle of Penbroke,
After whose deathe she auowed chast[yte for] euermore;

[1] were. [2] alicns. [3] in. *edit. alt.* [4] name. *edit. alt.*

But he her maryed and her betoke,
[For all her vowe, as sayeth the booke,
To earle Symond Mountfort to be his wyfe,
Notwithstandyng ŷ she vowed chastyte her lyfe.][1]

¶ [Tho dyed Lewelyn the prynce of Wales then,
Betwene his sonnes Gryffyth and Dauid grewe
Greate discencyon and stryfe ay, when and when;
And dame Beatryce the kynges doughter trewe,
To earle Symonde, of Britayne, wedded newe,
The yere of Chryste a thousand was accompted,
Two hundreth moo fourty and one amounted.]

The C.xlv. Chapiter.

Fol. CJiii. ¶ The birth of Edmond erle of Lancaster, and of Leicester, long after in the yere of his father one and thirty, and in the yere of Christ. M.iiC.xli.

THe[2] same yere then Edmond his soōne was bore
At Lācastre, ŷ yere of Christ thē writē,
A thousand whole, twoo. C. and fourty mo[3],
And one therto, in Flores as is wryten[4],
And in the yere next after then ouersetten[5];
The kyng his doughter Margaret [then] maryed,
To Alexaunder kyng of Scotland notified,

Homage of Scottes.

¶ At Yorke citee, wher he then did homage
For Scotland whole and isles apperteinyng.
Then dyed themperour full sage,
Wherfore the lordes of Almaignie[6] variyng,
Some chose Rychard kyng Henryes brother beyng,
And some ŷ kyng of Castile would haue algate,
But erle Rychard of Menske[7] had all the state.

Battaile of Lewes.

¶ Then rose discorde betwene the kyng Henry
And certain lordes of mighty greate power,
Symond Mountfort vpon hym toke boldly
To bee chieftein, to hold the feld full clere;
At Lewis faught, of Christ then was the yere

[1] To erle Symonde, of Britayne, wedded newe,
The yere of Criste a thousande wase accounted,
Two hundreth moo fourty and oone amounted.

[2] That. [3] more. [4] wetyn. [5] vnsetyn. [6] Almayne. [7] Meuske.

A thousand

A thousand twoo hundred [and] sixty accompted,
And foure also, so muche more amounted.

¶ This erle Symond had then the kyng Henry
And his brother Rychard themperour
In his kepyng and ward [wer hold][1] strongly;
But prince Edward was sette in Herford toure,
And erle Henry of [Herford that was][2] floure,
Themperours soonne at Herford with hym laye,
A myle about disport[ed] theim euery daye.

¶ Fro whens at last with horse thei brake awaye, The battaill of Euesham.
And to Wigmour castell thei came in hie
To sir Roger Mortymer, [wher he][3] laye,
That[4] theim receiued then full gladly;
And so thei assembled with greate hoste manfully[5],
And held the feld, the lordes [fast] to theim drewe,
And at Euesham thei stroke a battaill newe.

¶ In the yere of Christ a thousand was tho,
Twoo hundred mo, sixty also and fiue,
When prince Edward faught with[6] his foo
Symond Moũtfort, [and raught hym][7] fro his liue,
[The feld discomfited there anone as bliue,]
With help of erle Gilbert, then called Clare,
And other lordes with hym that were thare.

¶ He slewe many, and some awaye exiled,
And some he held in prisone and distres;
He toke out then his father, as is compiled,
His eme Rychard holden in greate dures,
And all his frendes of his lie worthynes,
He socoured euer and with his gold supported,
And wher it want with his woord theim cõforted.

The. C.xlvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Robert Ferrers erle of Darby was disherite, and many other of their compaignie.

RObert Ferrers, that erle was of Darby, *Fol. CLIIII.*
Disherite then for his insurreccion,

[1] holdyn. [2] Cornewaile was the *So MS. Seld.* [3] that theryn. [4] Who. [5] full manfully. [6] ther with. [7] wase reste ther.

With

With many other at Chesterfeld [in hie,][1]
Faught with Edward of [their] presumpcion,
And fled awaye with greate confusion
Vnto the Isle of Axholme, and fro thens[2]
Vnto Lyncolne and spoyled the citezens[3]:

¶ Fro thens to Ely thei went anone,
Wher prince Edward thisle proudely assailed;
Thei fled fro it soone, to Yorkeshire gan gone
In freres clothis that were full long tailed,
Robbyng their fooes when thei of good failed;
And other some to Kilyngworth then fled,
To[4] Henry Hastynges, who then the[5] castell had.

¶ Wher then ŷ kyng great siege laied all about,
But nought auailed, so strongly thei defende.
And for ther was in euery shire throughout
So greate robbery and nothyng amende[6],
The kyng was fain for lordes then to send,
By whose aduise he ordeined for that case,
That all disherite and exiled should haue grace:

¶ All disherite should buye their landes again,
To paye for theim gold, as thei might accorde
With the owners, so that no man should payen
More then the land were worth, by greate recorde,
In seuen yere whole; and if thei might concorde
For lesse money, so it exceade a yere
The value of the yerly rent full clere.

¶ Robert Ferrers, erle of Derby then,
The soonnes also[7] of erle Symond exclude,
That perpetuall iudgement fully then[8],
Neuer to redeme their landes, but been exclude,
[So that the owners be not with theim delude,]
Vnto a daye that fifty thousand pound
Be[9] paide of nobles whole and round.

¶ Edmond, the soonne of the same kyng Henry
Was weddid first vnto dame Auelyn,

[1] foollysshly. [2] thyne. [3] cite fyne. [4] With. [5] that. [6] wase amende. [7] als.
[8] han. [9] They.

Erle

Erle Willyam his doughter of Almarle womāly,
None issue had neither male ne[1] feminine:
Then was he wed to Blaunche ỹ quene [full] fyne
Of Nauerne, [and] so of Lancaster create[2],
With Leicestre also therle denominate.

The. C.xlvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Edward theldest soōne & heire of kyng Henry the third, and his brother erle Edmond of Lancaster and of Leicestre, went to Ierusalē with greate power, whiche twoo princes were coūted the semeliest of all the hoste of Christendome.

HIs brother Edward and he associate
To Ierusalem their voiage thē auowed,
Two semely princes together adioynate[3],
In all the world was none theim like alowed,
So large & faire thei were, eche manne he[4] bowed;
Edward aboue[5] his menne was largely seen,
By his shulders more hie and made full clene.

¶ Edmond next hym the comeliest prince aliue,
Not croke backed ne in no wyse disfigured,
As some menne wrote the right lyne to depryue,
Through great falsehed made it to[6] bee scriptured, *Fol. C.lv.*
For cause it should alwaye bee refigured,
And mencioned well his yssue to preuaile,
Vnto the croune by suche a gouernaile.

¶ But prince Edward and he held fourth[6] their waye
To Ierusalem, so did themperour
Rychard his eme[7], and Henry his soonne full gay,
To Cisile came by sea through many a shoure;
Edward with hym then had his wife that houre,
Elianour doughter of[8] the kyng of Aragon,
A princesse faire at his eleccion.

¶ The kyng Lewes also then thither went,
And in his waye dyed and[9] expired,
Sainct Lewes nowe is named by all assent

[1] neither. [2] he wase create. [3] adunate. [4] theym. [5] abouyn. [6] so. [7] uncle. [8] to. [9] and so.

Of

Of holy churche, as it is well enquired,
Approued trewe, as reason well[1] required:
But Edward prince and Edmōd abode two yere,
With werres greate and mighty strong power.

¶ For nacions all vnto prince Edward drewe
And to Edmond his brother, for [their] semelines
And greate māhode, whiche in theim ỹ thei knewe.
Sir Charles [ỹ] brother of[2] king Lewes doubteles,
Kyng of Cisile, of noble worthynes,
By the Soudan was chasid without[3] beld,
Whome prince Edward socoured & had the feld,

¶ And with the Soudan faught in bataill sore,
Discomfit hym and putte hym to the flight,
Wher Edward then was hurt and woūded thore,
Of[4] woundes fiue, that mortall werre to sight,
His brother Edmond also[5] wounded in that fight:
But as Edward in his bedde sicke then laye,
A Sarasyne came to hym vpon[6] a daye,

¶ To leche his hurtes with salues many one;
But false he was, for with a knife full sore
He strake hym foule, as thei were then alone,
But yet that prince the knife fro hym gate thore,
And slewe hym then with it for euermore.
At Acres laye he then with[7] woundes fele,
With medicyns to lech[8] and to hele.

¶ The lech[9] so false was by the Soudan sent
Hym to haue slain in any maner wyse,
For cause he had discomfite hym and shent:
And when he was all whole that he might ryse,
Message he had fro all the lordes wyse
Of England then [of his father][10] dedde,
[That praied][11] hym home to come & been their hede.

¶ Kyng Henry had then made the minster faire
Of Westminster, as it is nowe [at] this daye,
The remnaunt he left vnto his heire,

[1] it. [2] to. [3] withoutyn. [4] With. [5] als. [6] come on. [7] his. [8] lechen. [9] leche.
[10] that his fader wase. [11] Praymge.

To

To edifie and make in[1] like araye,
Or els a some of money for to paye,
The whiche he graunted to the edificacion,
At his death then bequeth and assignacion.

¶ Edward then toke a trewce for tenne yere
With the Soudan, and to Cisile saylid,
And landed at Rome wher thē he had good chere,
Bothe of the bishop[2] and cardinalles not failed,
[That sore had mourned and greately bewailed,]
That cursssed sore syr Guy Mountforte eche daye, *Fol. CJvi.*
For the slaughter of Henry his cousyn gaye.

¶ The sonne that was of Richarde themperoure,
Erle of Cornwayle, whome at Veterbe[3] he slewe,
Right in the churche for[4] olde wrath and rancoure
In Englande dooen, his fathers death to renewe,
At masse knelyng horrybly hym [all] to hewe,
Fro Acres as he came as Goddes knight,
Without[5] cause of reason or of right.

¶ But prīce Edward & Edmoūd his brother dere,
To Sauoye cā where iustes wer [made & tournamēt]
And ther desired thei & their knightes in fere,
With the duke of Sauoye and his there presente,
To iuste and proue eche other in good entente,
Theyr knightes younge to learne as dyd suffice,
In marcyall fete knighthode to exercyse.

¶ Wher he foriust[6] the duke full manly,
His brother also[7] the dukes neuewe,
And bare hym downe both horse and man egerly;
And euery knight with other euer iusted newe,
Daye by daye whyles echeone other knewe,
By. xiiii. dayes endurynge and conteyned
With feast solempne by the duke susteyned.

¶ An hundreth ladyes of worthy good estate,
Were set on hye aboue within a tente,
By the duke of Sauoye well ordinate,
To geue the gree and thanke by iudgement;

[1] of. [2] pope. [3] Viterbe. [4] of. [5] Withoutyn. [6] iusted [7] als ranne to.

Whiche[1] then awarde playnely, by hole assent,
To prince Edwarde & erle Edmound his brother,
That had foriust the duke and many other.

¶ The duke hym gaue gyftes of great honoure,
And to his brother gyftes of hye pleasaunce,
And to his knightes giftes[2] of great valoure,
And conueyed hym into the lande of Fraunce;
Where[of] the kyng with worthy[3] gouernaunce
Receaued [he was][4] as prince full excellente,
And homage made[5] to hym in good entente,

¶ For his landes lyeng beyonde the sea;
The whiche was true, as chronicles witnesse,
And home he came with great felicitee;
Of whose cōmyng the people had[6] great gladnesse,
Hym to receaue in all [kynde of][7] worthynesse,
And of his brother Edmound also in feer,
They were full glad at all theyr hole power.

¶ But kyng Henry was gone to God afore,
The yere of Christ a thousande hole accompted,
Two hundreth hole, syxty and thirtene more,
On saynt Edmondes daye, when he amounted,
[This worlde leuyng full of trouble accompted,]
Vnto the blysse of heauen for euer to reste
Emong good soules where Christe so liked best.

The. C.xlviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Edwarde of Englande, the first after the conqueste, called Edwarde with the longe shankes, beganne to reigne on the morowe after saynt Edmondes daye ỹ kyng, in the yere a. M.CC. and. lxxiii. & died the yere. M.CCC. and. vii. the eyght daye of Iulye, and the. xxxiiii. yere of his reygne.

Fol. C.xlvii.
Kyng Edwarde the fyrst after ye conquest.

EDwarde his sonne & heire first generate,
With all honour by all the baronage
Crouned was in all royall estate,
And of thestates receyued hole homage.
Kyng Alexander for his heritage

The homage of y kynge of Scotlande to kyng Edwarde.

[1] Whose. [2] als giftes. [3] royall. [4] hym. [5] dide. [6] made. [7] maner.

Of

Of Scotlande hole and ysles apperteynyng,
His homage did right then vnto the kyng;

¶ The duke also of Britayne made[1] homage
For Britayn hole, and there became his man:
Whiche princes two had wed in mariage
His susters two, Margarete and Beatrice then,
Margarete to Scotland & Beatrice to Britayne,
Both two maried and wed in hye estate,
By their father full wysely ordinate.

¶ A marchaunt toke the wife of prince Lewlyn,
Erle Symonds doughter of Leycester ỳ had ben,
And to the kyng hir brought full femenyn;
Wherfore the prince [by heste][2] as then was seen,
To be his man and homage did full clere,
And led his wyfe to Wales in good entent,
By the kynges grace and by[3] hole assent.

¶ The kyng then did great right[4] and iustice
Vpon clippers and peirers of the coyne,
And newe money made that then might suffice,
Of syluer plate made out of Boloyne,
The grote, half grote, all [in newe coyne,][5]
He coyned fast, peny, halfpeny and ferthyng,
For[6] porayll to bye with theyr leuyng.

¶ That same tyme he made a newe statute
That no man should graunt lande ne tenement
To the churche, ne geue nor[7] constitute
No maner grounde [nor no maner][8] rente
Without licence of the lorde and his assent
Of whome it is holden aboue in chiefe,
And els ỳ church this realme [had put in][9] mischiefe.

A restraint of lades to be geuen to the clergye.

¶ The prince Lewlyn and of[10] Dauid his brother
Made warre vpon the kyng in greate araye,
The Marche brent[11] and many harmes other
In Englande did, wherfore the kyng his waye
To Wales held in all the haste he maye;

[1] dede. [2] promytte. [3] be his. [4] reddoure. [5] siluer plate vnkoyne. [6] For the. [7] ne. [8] ne noone annwell. [9] doone foule. [10] sir. [11] they brent.

The lorde Mortimer toke then the prince Lewlyn[1],
And to the kyng hym brought for to enclyne.

¶ The kyng hym headed[2] and to the toure it sent,
The Walshemen made Dauid his brother then
Prince of Wales by theyr commen assent;
Wherfore the kyng to[3] warre on theim began,
[And of the Walshemen slewe full many a man,]
And had Dauid vnto his presence brought,
Hanged and drawen as then he had it sought.

¶ [Then seazed he][4] Wales for euer[5] into his hande,
And ordeyned [that] no prince therin should be,
But he or els his heyre I vnderstande:
And that no man of Wales hole countre,
One night shulde lye in castell nor cytee,
But voyde out fro sunne to sunne thē euery night,
Thus kept he Wales his tyme by royall might.

The. C.xlix. Chapiter.

Fol. CLxiii. ¶ Howe Gladowys Dewy, the doughter of Dauyd prynce of Wales, was wedded to syr Raufe Mortymer, of whom came the earles of Marche.

GWenlyan[6] ŷ doughter was of Lewlyne',
Without[7] chylde dyed a vyrgyne aye,
In a nonnery of the order [of] Gylbertyne,
And Gladowys[8] Dewy, Dauyds doughter gaye,
[Yonge, freshe, and lusty as the rose in Maye,]
To Raufe was wed that was lorde Mortymer,
Of whome ŷ earles of Marche [become full][9] clere.

¶ Then went the kyng and quene to[10] Gascoyne
And Gwyan, to[11] set [that lande][12] in pees,
And so forth then he went to Aragon,
To sporte them with theyr father there no lees.
To Gwyan then agayne, for his encrees,
He came anone and set in peace that lande,
And so [came agayne to][13] Englande.

[1] Lewellyne. [2] bihede. [3] the. [4] he seased. [5] aie. [6] Wensilian. [7] Withoutyn.
[8] Gladouse. [9] been comyn. [10] into. [11] als to. [12] these londes. [13] ayen come home into.

The.

The. C.l. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng dyd atteynt his iustices, and sette enquery of peace breakers, ryouters, oppressours, extorcyoners, and of the vsurye of Iewes.

HIs iustyces[1] all by lawe he dyd attaynt,
For wrong domes & false iudgement,
For couetyse ỹ false were then & faynt
To helpe the poore cōmons to theyr entent;
He set iustyces [in heyre][2] by all assent,
That called was that tyme Troilebaston,
For to enquere of all extorcyon.

¶ Of ryouters, fyghters and baratours,
Of market beters that raysed greate debates,
Of peace breakers and all the[3] susteynours,
That were with theim of preuy assocyates[4],
Of oppressours of all the pore estates[5];
And all that were then founde[6] culpable,
Emprysoned were or by theyr pursse excusable[7].

¶ Of Iewes within this lande [ỹ was][8] abidyng,
Great plaintes were made [of okoure and][9] vsury,
Howe they dyd waste the folke by suche winning,
And preuy bondes made without[10] measure,
In payne of double or elles forfeture;
The king thē voided for whiche ỹ church[11] a disme
Hym graunt[ed,] so dyd the cōmons a quindecyme.

¶ Rys [Ap Madoke][12] a warre in Wales [gan] take
Agayne the kyng, that great warres had sustened,
And prynce hym called of Wales without[10] make,
Who then at Yorke by lawe full wel mainteyned,
On galous hye as [to hym well][13] apperteyned,
Was draw[en] and hanged, his hed vpon ỹ towre
Was set anon as rebell and traytoure[14].

The. C.li. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Edmonde, earle of Lancaster and of Leycester, kept Gwyan, and wed quene Blaunche of Nauerne, the kynges syster of Fraunce, and ther-

[1] iustise. [2] en eire. [3] their. [4] associate. [5] astate. [6] foundyn. [7] vexable. [8] were. [9] oere and fals usure. [10] withoutyn. [11] clergie. [12] Amaraduke. [13] well it. [14] high traitoure.

fore

fore he bare the labell in his armes for dyfference fro the kynges of Englonde euer after.

KYng Edward sent his brother thē ful dere,
To kepe Guyā and ẏ̄ him strōg chiualry,
Who gouerned there ẏ̄ land without pere,
Fol. C.lii. To hye honoure, as made is memorye;
In Fraunce sore dred amonge the aduersarye,
And other landes lyeng[1] there all aboute,
Aboue all men he was there moste bedoute.

For euer he put them to the worse in[2] felde,
In armes ay he had the victorye,
And in Parys at[3] iustes vnder shelde,
Far passyng was and dyd ay notably,
[That for his manhode and famous chyualrye]
In so ferforth [that] all landes hym commende[4],
For his manhode whiche so in hym they kende.

¶ He wed dame Blaunche of Nauerne ẏ̄ was quene,
King Philip sister ẏ̄ was ful good & faire,
Of whome he gate Thomas [of] Lācaster I wene,
And Henry his brother ẏ̄ afterwarde was heire,
And earles both they were without dispayre,
Of Lancaster and also of Leycestre,
As Flores hath expressed well by lettre.

¶ For whiche weddyng and noble alyance,
He and his heyres bare for a difference
Englande armes with labell[5] hole of Fraunce,
By whiche all men maye haue intellygence,
That Edmonde was yonger in existence
Then kyng Edward, though some say ẏ̄ cōtrary,
And from the truth yet haue they[6] wyll to vary.

The. C.lii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the fyue portes toke the nauy of Fraunce on the sea in batell.

THe kyng of Fraūce a nauy great then sēt
Vpon Englande to warre in great[7] aray,

[1] lonynge. [2] oñ. [3] in. [4] commended. [5] labels. [6] grete. [7] full.

Which ỹ. v. portes toke on the sea & shent,
And people greate there slewe & dreynt ỹ daye ;
Theyr shyppes [all] by batayl and affraye[1],
Were take and brought then[2] into Englande,
With capitaynes many and lordes of ỹ lande.

¶ Kyng Philyp then at Parys, in parlyament,
Somonde Edwarde afore hym to appere,
Surmittyng hym of robbery felonoment[3],
Vpon his flete so done by tymes sere ;
For faute of aunswere foreiuged hym there[4],
Destroyed his land in eche place where he might :
But kyng Edwarde then went to Fraunce ryght,

¶ And gate agayne his landes euerychone,
And sought ay where vpon the kyng of Frāuce,
But he fled euer and batayle wolde geue none :
Sone after so [Philyp by ordynaunce,][5]
A trewce toke by good ordynaunce[6],
For all his landes beyonde[7] the sea,
To set[8] in peace with all tranquilyte.

The. C.liii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Morgan and Madoke his brother were sette in the towre for rebellyon in Wales, made by comforte of kynge Phylip of Fraunce.

IN Wales Morgan made war & great distaunce,
And Madoke also[9], his brother ful vntrew,
For whiche the kyng w all his ordenaūce,
To Wales went & faught with them all newe
At straytes greate, whiche tho traytours knewe, *Fol. CJx.*
Yet were they take and put in sore pryson
Within the towre for theyr rebellyon.

¶ The kyng Philyp had sent then[10] golde to war
On England then, with sir Thomas Turbiruile[11],
Who was espyed by sotell meanes afferre,
And heded was anon for all his guyle,
His wyt not[12] holpe hym then ne yet his wyle:

[1] werly affraie. [2] ther. [3] soulement. [4] clere. [5] kynge Philippe be gouernaunce.
[6] concordaunce. [7] that were beyonde. [8] be. [9] als. [10] theym. [11] Trubuyle. [12] nought.

He

He dyed with shame, repreef, and vilany,
Engendred all of mede[1] and surquedrye.

The. C.liiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe earle Edmonde was leuetenaunt of Guyan, and warred vpon the kyng of Fraunce, and defyed hym by letter, for he brake the promyse made to Edwarde his brother, kynge of Englande.

Sir Edmōd erle of Lancaster thē ful trewe,
Leuetenaūt then of Guian all throughout,
On whom ŷ king Philip then rode al new,
And brake the trewce w̄ hostes great and stout;
Wherfore he went to hym without[2] doubte,
To se howe that it myght be[3] well defende,
[He bade hym thus set to his knee and amende.][4]

¶ Wherfore in ire he gaue hym vp homage,
The whiche he ought for his[5] lande that he helde,
And aunswered hym agayne of great corage,
From hens forwarde I shall you[6] holde the felde,
And at my power eche daye vnder shelde[7]
Proue howe ye do vnto my lorde greate wronge,
The whiche I shall amende or[8] it be longe.

And so depart[ed] withoute[2] more langage,
And into Guyan came with[9] an host of myght,
And to his brother wrote & made him knowlage,
And bade hym come w̄ power for to fyght,
With spere and bowe, for other writ of ryght
Maye not be got within the courte of Fraunce,
For to recouer his hye enherytaunce.

¶ Eche day thēce forth w̄ bāners hole displeyed,
He helde the felde and[11] kyng Philyp warred,
And letters sent hym[12], defyals and vnbrayde[13],
Of hys suraunce and othe that he had erred,
And castelles gate full many & not[14] differred;
Kyng Edward sent his brother then suppowaile,
The Frenche partye to warre[15] and assayle.

[1] nede. [2] withoutyn. [3] beene. [4] He ansuerd thus I set to thy kne and mende. [5] the. [6] nowe. [7] my shelde. [8] er. [9] at. [10] dide. [11] and on. [12] of. [13] vnbraied. [14] nought. [15] warraie.

The.

The. C.lv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe syr Roger Mortymer was made earle of Marche at Kyllyngworthe, and set the rounde table of a thousande knyghtes and as many ladyes.

ANd in the yere a. M. was full then,
Two hundreth, [also syxty][1] and nyntene,
When syr Roger Mortymer so began
At Kelyngworth the rounde table as was sene.
Of a thousande knyghtes, for disciplyne
Of yonge men, after he coulde[2] deuyse
Of turnementes and iustes to exercyse.

¶ A thousande ladyes excellynge in beaute.
He had there also[3] in tentes hye aboue,
The iustes that they myght well & clerely se,
Who iusted best there for theyr lady loue;
For whose beautie it should the knyghtes mo u
In armes so etch[one] other to reuie,
To geate a fame in playe of chiualrie.

¶ This Mortimer was then lord Mortimer,
But in these iustes he held great feast[es] eche daye,
By fourty dayes conteined whole and clere,
At whiche one part[4] of ladyes faire and gaye
Gaue hym the [price of fame][5] of all that playe;
Wherfore the kyng to encrese his estate,
Proclamed hym erle of Marche there create.

The. C.lvj. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Edmond erle of Lancaster and of Leicester faught at Bayon with the power of Fraunce, and was slain there; & sir Wyllyam Valence erle of Pēbroke was dedde ther, and many other lordes, in the yere a thousand twoo hundred four score & sixtene[6].

BVt erle Edmond the kynges brother dere,
With twenty & sixe baners proud & stout,

[1] als sexty therto. [2] couthe. [3] als. [4] partie. [5] price and fame.
[6] M.CClxxxvi. *edit. alt.*

The fifth daye of Iune was accompted clere,
Of Christ [his] date a thousand yere all out,
Four score[1] and sixtene with out doubt,
[At Bayon faught with the Frēchemenne certain,
Wher he in ỹ feld ỹ daye like a knight was slaine.][2]

¶ Sir Williā Valence, erle of Pēbroke was thē,
Sir Iohn Rychmond and many other baron,
Sir Iohn Saynct Iohn right a full manly māne,
Thenglishe hoste felly ther was bore doune,
By a busshement laied by colucion,
That brake on theim sore fighting in the feld,
Out of a wode, in whiche that daye[3] were beld[4].

The. C.lvii. Chapiter.

Howe a chronicle was feygned to make Edmond the elder brother.

WHen[5] Iohn of Gaunt, ỹ sone of king Edwarde,
For cause his brother ỹ duke was of Clarēce
None yssue male had then that menne of herd,
But female[6] by all intelligence,
When kyng Rychard, in his greate excellence,
None yssue had, he would haue been his heire
Apparaunt then, by act in perlyament feire.

¶ The whiche Thomas Wodstok, duke of Gloucester,
And all nobles[7] of England ther present
Proclaymed then, by wrytyng and by letter,
Howe that therle of Marche, then in perlyament,
Vnto the kyng was then heire apparaunt;
Wher duke Iohn in diuers places made
Feined chronicles, that shewed were full brade,

¶ Howe this Edmond thelder soonne of kyng Henry,
Broke backed and[8] bowbacked bore,

[1] Two hundreth foure skore, &c.

[2] At Baion foughte ayenst the Frensh partie,
Where he wase slayn and moo of his meynye. [3] the ỹ.

[4] But these pryncese Edmonde and William Valence,
At Westmynstre prynsely beene buried,
Beside the high autere with reuerence,
Remembred well be writynge notified,
And with honoure gretely laudified,
For grete manhode approued vnto theire end,
The kynges right to maynteyn and defende. *So MS. Seld.*

[5] Wher. [6] a female. [7] roials. [8] or els.

Was

Was vnabled [to haue][1] the monarche,
And[2] Edward so the younger kyng[3] therfore.
Suche chronicles then he feined full sore,
And putte in place of diuers religion,
To make his soonne right heire of this region.

¶ But when kyng Henry this chronicle shewed,
It was defect and clerely sette at nought,
And vnderfoote cast[4] doune and [eke] stroyed[5];
The contrarie by chronicles truly wrought
Was proued trewe, and then his title he sought
By resignement[6] and renunciacion,
By depoisale and playne coronacion.

¶ [It is not true that croke backed he hight,
For valyaunt he was in all his doynges,
And personable with all to euery mannes sight, *Pol. Chron.*
Although false chronicles haue other saiynges.
Kyng Alexander of Scotland then dyed,
That wedded had the kynges suster Margarete,
And Alexander his sonne beyng in thesame stede,
Who with Margarete his wife on ỹ sea perished.][7]

The. C.lviii. Chapiter.

¶ How Florēce, erle of Holād, & his persuers, boūd hym to bide the indgement of the kyng Edward, if he should be kyng of Scotlād.

FLorence, therle of Holand, & his compeers,
That claimed then the croune of Scotlād,

[1] wherfore. [2] To. [3] was. [4] castyn. [5] strewed. [6] resignynge.

[7] *Instead of this stanza, the Harleian and Selden Manuscripts have the two following:*

Men may well se that Cronycle is vntrewe,
Where he in Walis, and in the Holy Londe,
In Guyen, Paitowe, and Naverne as men knewe,
In Arragoyne in Spayne I vnderstonde,
Be all his life grete manhode toke on honde,
In batell dide as welle as any knyght,
It is not true that croukebacked shuld he hight.

Kynge Alisaundre of Scotlonde than so died,
That wedded hade the kynges suster Margrete,
That dede wase als as well wase notified,
And Alisaunde theire sonne and heire that hete,
And Margarete als theire doughter als full mete
Of Scotlonde theire died upon the see,
Fro Norwee home the quene therof to be.

After the death of Margaret as pursuers[1],
Came to kyng[2] Edward, then of England,
Requeryng hym in God his name all weldand,
As he that was of Scotland souereigne lord,
To trye the right and sette theim in accorde[3].

¶ For whiche he sette at Norham a parliament,
After Easter then next folowyng,
In the kirke of Norham to that entent
That all Scottes, and other that were pursuyng,
Might ther appere, their titles claymyng;
At whiche parliament the pursuantes theim bond,
At his decree and iudgement to[4] stond.

¶ By one letter with all their seales enscaled,
Whiche doublid was, thei gaue vnto the kyng:
The other part, for it should not be repeled,
Thei kept with[5] theim selfes alwaye [a]bydyng,
This was to Henry the fyfth. [Which lettre Iohn Hardyng, maker of this boke,
To kyng Hēry delyuered, ẏ gaue hym, in recōpēce,
The manoure of Gedyngtō ẇ all ẏ appurtenēce.][6]

¶ For[7] whiche manoure then the cardinall
Of Wynchester vnto the quene disposid
In hir dower, and fro hym toke it all,
When that the kyng by death was deposid;
Hym recompence he promised and composid,
But nought he had; but might ẏ prīce haue lyued,
He durst full eiuill his excellence haue greued.

¶ An other letter, duble[8] in like wyse,
The saied heires deliuered to the kyng,

[1] copesouers. [2] the kynge. [3] concorde. [4] for to. [5] anenst. [6] *The Harleian and Selden MSS. read,*

Whiche lettre so the forseide Iohn Hardynge,
Maker of this symple wretyn boke,
To kynge Henry at Bois de Vyncent toke.

For whiche he graunte hym ther be his patent,
The maner hoole than of Gedyngton,
With thapourtenaunte and right that it appent,
For euer to haue and holde for enherisoun,
To hym his heirs and assignes, of the croun,
Be the service of tuelue pens yerly,
At the terme of seynt Mighell oonly.

[7] The. [8] doubled.

That

That[1] other part as shuld of right suffice,
Semblably[2] with theim was remainyng,
By whiche thei bound theim self by their sealyng
Hym to delyuer the kyng his castels all,
To kepe to tyme his iudgement were byfall[3].

¶ Of whiche iudgement, without possession
Of castell strong throughout ther all the lande,
He might not well dooen execucion,
Wherfore the heires to hym so their theim bound;
Whiche letter also Iohn Hardyng toke on hand,
And did deliuer so then at Boys Vincent,
For the saied reward together by one entent.

The. C.lix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Edward made sir Iohn Balyoll kyng of Scotland.

ANd in the yere of Christ his incarnacion,
A thousād whole two hūdred & four scoure,
And therto three, by verye computacion,
At the feast of sainct Michael set afore,
The kyng Edward to Scotland came therfore,
Wher twenty then chosen [were] of England,
And other twenty [persones, also][4] of Scotland.

¶ By whose aduyse all other rightes exclude, *Fol. C.lxiii.*
The kyng iudged to Iohn Bailyol[5] the croune,
That was discent, as clearely was conclude,
Of the eldest doughter of Dauid [of] Huntyngdon,
As [chronicles make therof][6] good mencion,
Margarete wedded to Aleyne of Galawaye,
Whose doughter was kyng Iohns mother ỹ day,

¶ That Dernegull hight, and was Iohn Bailiols wyfe,
Whose sonne & heire, kyng Iohn, was thē crouned,
That Bailioll hight, that knowen was full ryfe,
In ỹ mynster of Skone within[7] Scotland groūd,
Syttyng vpon the regall stone full sound,

[1] The. [2] In like fourme. [3] yfall. [4] with theym. [5] Bailloll. [6] chron clers maken. [7] in.

As

As all the kynges there vsed had afore,
On saynt Andrewes daye, with all ioye therfore.

¶ At Christmas nexte after the same kyng Iohn,
To Newcastell to kyng Edwarde came,
His homage made, and feautee leege anone,
Of his free wyll without[1] any blame,
And with greate ioye agayn retourned hame;
But then ẏ Scottes chose theim. xii. lords by assēt.
To rule the kynge Iohn by[2] their entent.

Homage of ye scottes.

The. C.lx. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Iohn of Scotlande made confederacye with Fraunce agayn Englande.

WHiche made him then to make confederacy
With kyng Philip of Fraunce and aliaūce,
Perpetually to be contributorie,
Ether with other, by strong & great assuraunce,
Englande to warre with al theyr hole puyssaunce;
The kyng Edwarde seynge this hye falshede,
To Barwike came with hoste and great māhede.

¶ At the nonnes of Barwyke then he laye,
And layde a siege about on euery syde,
[At after Easter,][3] but Flemynges then thāt daye,
The Leden hall there[4] helde full strong that tyde.
Which ẁ wylde fyre was[5] brent & might not byde[6];
That same night then syr Wyllym Duglas[7] yald[8]
Barwyke castell to kyng Edwarde and salde[9].

The. C.lxi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Iohn of Scotlande surrendred his homage to kyng Edwarde, and disclaymed to holde of hym.

IN this same tyme. vii. erles of[10] Scotlande
Sieged Carleile, and so to Hexham brent,
And home again harmeles out of Englād

[1] withoutyn. [2] than by. [3] And Ester passed. [4] they. [5] were. [6] voyde. [7] Douglas. [8] yolde. [9] solde. [10] than of.

They

They went anone, and none harmes hent,
[Worse to haue dooen was there entent.]
But then kyng Iohn surrend[red] vp his homage
To kyng Edwarde, for hym and his linage,

¶ By letters, whiche the kyng Edward then sent
To abbeys great in Englande of recorde,
To be remembred of his false entente,
[Renoūcyng kyng Edwarde for his souerayn lord.]
The seuen erles at Dunbarre, by concorde,
Then sieged it, fro whiche earle Patrike went,
[And graunted][1] to holde of hym at his entent.

The. C.lxii. Chapiter. *Fol. CLxiiiL.*

¶ Of the battayle of Dunbarre, where that kyng Edwarde preuayled.

WHiche castell so then the kyng rescowed,
And droaue therles there out of the felde,
And much people vnto the deth ther bowed,
Without helpe there slayne vnder shelde;
To Ronkesburgh[2] the kyng Edward so held,
That sone was yelde to hym without[3] stryfe,
Their good[4] saufe also and theyr lyfe.

¶ So he forth to Edenburgh went anone,
That yelden was on the same condicion,
Then was Stryuelyn voyde and lefte alone
Without defence or[5] any garyson,
That Edwarde toke in[6] his possession;
[Whiche kyng Edwarde toke into his power,
And saued the people both farre and nere.][7]

¶ Then[8] came therle of Vlster with great power
Of Iryshemen, and so to saynt Iohns towne
The kyng thē went, ẅ host through Fyfe ful cler[9],
And brent ẏ shire throughout both vp[ō] & downe;
When then kyng Iohn, by good direccion,

Submyssion of ẏ Scottish kyng & al his lords vnto kig Edward the first.

[1] To graunte. [2] Roke-burgh. [3] withoutyn. [4] goodes. [5] of. into.
[7] And lefte theryn of his men a certayne,
To defende vnder theire chieftayne.
[8] Ther. [9] cler.

To

To Edwarde sent, and prayed hym then of peace,
And to his grace submytte hym or he [would] cease.

¶ Thē kyng Edwarde toke his submyssion
At Brighyn then, vpon the water of Taye,
And gaue hym there his realme without condiciō,
Of Scotlande so to hym and his for ay;
The lordes all made hym homage that daye,
The. x. daye was of Iuly[1], and in the yere
Of kyng Iohn then the. iiii. was counpted clere.

¶ And therupon he sent hym to the toure
Of London then, with certeyne rebelles moo;
Kyng Iohn he kept in worshyp and honoure,
Like his estate, where he would ride or goo,
Ten myle about for his disport there[2] so;
Then kyng Edwarde on the mountaynes went,
That monthes[3] there bee called in theyr entent.

¶ And as he came homewarde by Skone awaye,
The regall there of Scotlande then he brought,
And sent it forth to Westmynster for ay,
To be there in a cheire clenely wrought
For a masse preaste[4] to sytte in when he[5] ought:
Whiche [there was][6] standyng besyde the shryne,
In a cheire, of olde tyme made full fyne.

¶ Thē made the kyng Iohn Wareyn his regēt,
That erle was then of Sussex and Surray,
And treasorer he made, at his entent,
Hugh Cressyngham, and Wyllyam Ormesby
The chiefe iustice, through Scotlande generally.
His chaunceler at Skone, and tresorer,
Abydyng wer, to rule the land full clere.

¶ Thē went [kyng Iohn][7] to Flaūders for socoure
Of the dukes of Geldre and Brabant,
And also of the noble Emperoure,
That hym had hight great helpe & socoure then;
But none he had and home agayn he want[8]:

[1] Iuyll. [2] than. [3] montens. [4] prestes. [5] they. [6] yet is there stondynge. [7] the kynge. [8] wan.

For in [ỹ] meane tyme whyle he in Flaūders [a]bode,
Wyllyam Valoys[1] all Scotlande ouer rode.

¶ He slewe the iudge[2] and the chaunceler, *Fo'. C.lxv.*
Thofficers [also] and the chaumberleyn,
The capitaynes[3] and the treasorer,
And gatte the lande fro Englyshmen agayn,
And slewe theim all with cruell death and payn;
Wherfore the kyng, vpon the Maudeleyn day,
At Fowkirke fought with Scottes in great aray.

¶ Where Scottes fled, and fourty. M. slayn,
And into Fiffes[4] he went, and brent it clene,
And Andrewstoune he wasted then full playn,
And Blakmanshire[5] & Menteth as [men mene,][6]
And on[7] the ford of Trippour[8], with hoste I ween
To Bothbile[9], Glascowe, and to the towne of Are,
And so to Lanarke, Loughmaban & Anand thare,

¶ Whiche[10] all he had euer[11] wher he came,
And then he wed kyng Philippes suster Margarete,
A fayre lady, and [full of][12] noble fame,
Hir[13] sonne and heire, Edwarde Carnauan[14] hete,
A mayden wed, kyng Philippes doughter swete,
Whom his father, then prince of Wales create,
Duke of Cornewayle & erle of Chester nominate.

¶ Then went the kyng to Scotlande agayn[15],
And wan the lande, and had there all obeysaunce,
Sauyng Wales that would not hym obeyn,
But fled hym euer for drede of mischaunce[16];
He ordeyned then by statute ordinaunce,
That none should bee the prince of Wales more,
Excepte of the kyng his eldest sonne [first bore.][17]

The. C.lxiii. Chapiter.

¶ How the byshop of Rome, at the suggestion of the Scottes, wrote to kyng Edwarde under this fourme.

[1] Waleys. [2] iuges. [3] capeteyns all. [4] Fife. [5] Blacke Manañ shire. [6] was seen. [7] ouer. [8] Trips. [9] Bethuyle. [10] Whiche castels. [11] aie. [12] of full. [13] His. [14] Carnarvan. [15] so ayen. [16] all mischaunce. [17] euermore.

ANd in the yere a thousande. CCC. & one,
Bishop[1] Boniface, at ỹ Scottes suggestiō,
To kyng Edward by lettre wrote anone,
Chargyng hym then vpon his beneson[2],
For to delyuer the Scottes out of pryson,
Whiche[3] in Englande he had holden with wrong,
And his officers call home [ỹ] there had be long.

¶ [Alledged all][4] howe Scotlande hole was holde
Of Peters churche of Rome, & nought[5] of hym,
But by great wrong and oppression bolde,
He theim ouerled with warres sore and brym,
And theim compelled, in payn of lyfe and lymme,
[To] become his men, [&] the realme of hym to holde,
By homage leege, whether they wold or nolde.

¶ And bad hym also[6] afore hym then appere,
At the courte of Rome, his right there for to shewe,
And yf it myght be knowe his right were clere,
Without delay by iudgement iuste and trewe,
He shulde it haue by execucion due,
By sensours of the[yr] churche and hole sentence,
For to obeye his hie magnificence.

The. C.lxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Edwarde wrote agayn an aunswer of his lettre.

Fol. Clxvii.

THē kyng Edward wrote [vnto hym][7] agayn
[An aunswere][8] by his letters meke and due,
All his tytles and[9] duties full playne,
Nought in fourme neuer[10] in effecte to sue,
Nor[10] in his courte [no] iudgement to pursue;
Remembryng well his[11] fatherhede,
Howe Brutus had Albian, and dyd [it] possede

¶ In Hely tyme, whiche to his sonnes he deuyde:
Vnto his sonne Locryne, fyrste propogate,
He gaue Logres, that hath[12] this tyde,
To Albanacte, the seconde procreate,

[1] Pope. [2] benediccion. [3] Whome. [4] He alleged. [5] not. [6] als. [7] to the Pope.
[8] Bonyface. [9] and his. [10] ne. [11] his holy. [12] Engelonde hote.

He.

He gaue Albanye, Scotlande nowe denomynate,
And to Cambre, his yongest sonne, he gaue
Cambre, that nowe is Wales, to ioye and haue.

¶ To kyng Locrine, of Logres, and to his heires,
The soueraynte and homage ay reserued
Of Albanacte and Cambre, [and] all theyrs,
Perpetually Troyan lawe obserued,
By which lawes Bryton[1] hath bene conserued,
Sith hitherwarde, without interrupcyon,
Afore the tyme that Rome had prescrypcion.

¶ Afore the tyme also that Chryste was bore
By many yeres, the kynge[s] of Logres had
Scotlande by eschete, for faute of heyres thore,
And remeued kynges ẏ were there knowen bad,
And other kynges there made, with hertes glad;
Whiche ẏ land couth there gouerne mikel[2] better,
And seruyce dyd to Logres ofte by letter.

¶ Also the same Iohn Baylioll[3] I made
Kyng of Scotlande, as lawe and reason wolde,
Who made homage to me with hert full glad,
And afterwarde was false manyfolde:
He stroyed my lande, ẁ hostes stoute and bolde,
Wherfore I made hym warre tyll he were[4] fayne
To my presence to come, and hym obeyne.

¶ Where then for trespasse and rebellyon,
He surrendred to me and to my heyres
The realme of Scotlande, & also[5] the crowne:
The lordes of all Scotlande, for them & theyrs,
Made me homage for theyr proper landes,
By theyr letter wryten, and theyr bandes.

¶ Wherfore then[6], hauyng therof possessyon,
The pryde of my subiectes and insolence
Where I dyd fynde, theyr false rebellyon,
As ryght and lawe wolde be[7] my regence,
I chastysed ay, at myne intellygence;

Howe the Scottyshe kynge & all the lordes of Scotlād made homage vnto kyng Edwarde.

[1] Britayne. [2] muche. [3] Baillolle. [4] wase. [5] therofe.
[6] I than. [7] so be.

Wherfore please it [to youre][1] fatherhede,
Myne aunciente rightes to haue cōmend in dede.

The. C.lxv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the lordes wrote to the byshop of Rome for the same cause[2].

THe date was of this letter, a. M. yere,
Thre hundreth also[3] & one, the. viii daye of Maye,
And of his reygne. xxix. clere;
With that the lordes in Englande were ȳ daye,
By theyr letter[4], and the byshop[5] dyd praye
The kynges ryght, not [to] put in questyon,
Of eldest tyme longyng to his crowne.

Fol. CLxvii.

¶ For in theyr letter the bishop[5] they did remēber,
They wolde not suffer his disherityson,
His crowne so foule to hurte and dismembre,
His royalty to put in questyon,
For desyre of his rebels false suggestyon;
The whiche ryghtes for death or lyfe mayntaine,
They wer so bound they could[6] none other meane.

¶ So seased the byshop[5], and the mater lette,
And kyng Edwarde then in to Scotlande went,
Through all Catnesse destroyed [it] in greate hete,
The monthes[7] hye & oute ysles [strayte] he shent,
Tyll they obeyed all hole his regiment;
And wyntred then at Dunfermlin abbey,
Where saint Margarete is worshipped euer & ay.

The. C.lxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Of the batayle of Argyle, where Vmfreuyle tooke Wyllyam Waleys, and Iohn Waleys.

[1] your holy.

[2] *King Edward's letter, the substance of which is given in the preceding Chapter, appears at full length in Latin; at the end of the Lansdowne Manuscript of Hardyng, as well as the letter of the Barons which forms the subject of this Chapter. As the one of these is already printed, with very little variation, in Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. II. p. 883, and the other, p. 873, with the names of the Barons inserted who put their seals to it, it was thought unnecessary to print them here. The king's letter occurs at the end of the Selden Manuscript at Oxford.*

[3] als. [4] lettre wrote. [5] pope. [6] couth. [7] mountes. *edit. alt.* mounteyns. MS.

ANd then therle of Angos Robert Vmfreuile,
That regēt was of Scotlād cōstitute,
Toke William Wales[1], then at Argyle,
His brother Iohn also without resute,
With rebelles mo, that were all destytute;
By batell sore there smyten full cruelly,
Where Vmfreuile then had the victorye:

¶ And to London them brought to iudgement,
Where they were drawē & hanged on galowe tre,
And quartred then, their quarters home were[2] sēt,
At certayne townes hanged vp there to[3] be,
Theyr traytourhede and falshede for to se;
Theyr heddes also[4] full hye vpon the towre,
At London brydge were set to[5] great terroure.

The. C.lxvii. Chapiter.

¶ How Peirs of Gauerstone, erle of Cornwaile, was exyled.

ANd in the yere a thousand. iii. C. and fyue,
He exyled out Peyrs Gauerston[6] of Cornewayle
That earle was then, for treason knowen ryue,
And in the yere after [without any][7] fayle,
Earle Robert Bruis of Carrike ganne assayle
Earle Iohn Comen[8] of Bongham[9], at Dunfryse,
And slewe hym there, in feueryere whē it [did] fryse:

¶ Bycause he wolde not to hym there assent,
To be crowned then kynge of Scotlande,
And forthe he fled, [to se][10] who wolde consent,
And many one drewe to hym in that lande,
Became his men, and made syker bonde;
To whome Walter Wareyne, the yonger sonne,
Of therle of Surrey, ỳ then dyd wonne,

¶ With the lorde Vesty[11], that had his syster wed,
That fro her went vnto this Robert Bruys,
Eyther of other were fayne, for they were fled

[1] Waleys. [2] so. [3] for to. [4] als. [5] for. [6] Causton. [7] withoutyn. [8] Comyn. [9] Bougham. [10] to witte. [11] Vesey.

Out

Out of Englande, their liuyng had such guris[1]
[For their ryotous lyuyng, and male auentures;
Thus went they aboute, harkening euery where
Who were foes, and who their frendes were.][2]

¶ All Scotland through this Robert wēt about
On fote to spye who wolde with hym holde,
And who wolde not he warred them all oute,
Fol. C.lxviii. And kylled[3] them downe in places manifolde,
[And muche harme dyd, in chronycle as is tolde;]
And with hym [was] alwaye Walter Wareyne,
That w̄ hym went through mountaynes [woode] and playne.

¶ On nightes they lay in woodes & in moūtaine.
At morowe on theyr foes came downe and[4] kyll
On day[5] they were thousādes, at euen but twayne;
There knewe no moo at euē where they drewe tyl,
So were they euer at nyght of lodgyng[6] wyll,
For drede of guyle and of greate traytourye,
They lodged them on nyghtes full priuely.

¶ But on the feaste of the Annuncyacion
Of our lady, saynt Mary the virgyne,
Robert Bruys, with greate supportacyon,
Was crowned at Skone, as he coulde ymagyne,
To whom great folke with good wyl did enclyne,
Full glad of his welfare, & [his] coronacyon,
With greate hoste came to Perch w̄ prosperacion.

The. C.lxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe syr Robert Vmfreuile, earle of Angeou, and syr Aymer Valence earle of Pēbroke discomfyted kyng Robert Bruys, besyde saynte Iohns towne, and put hym vnto the flyghte.

ON[7] the morowe [sir Robert erle][8] Vmfreuile,
Of Angeous then, ẏ regent was by North

[1] use.

[2] Women noone spured they were so lecherouse,
Which caused theym to spede as they deserued,
The rewarde of synne is shame and sorowe obserued.

[3] slewe. [4] to. [5] daies. [6] longynge. [7] And on. [8] erle Robert.

The

The Scottes sea, and Aymer Valence ẏ while
Erle of Pẽbroke, by South ẏ water of Forth,
[Wardayne was, of Scotlande forsoth,
That daye faught with kyng Robert Bruis,][1]
Beside Iohnstoune, where he fled ẇout rescowes

¶ Vnto [the] Kentir, & many Scottes there slaine,
Where then they toke the wyfe of kyng Robert,
And his brother Nygell, the sothe to sayne,
And the earle of Athels, myght not [a sterte,][2]
And sent them to the kyng ẇ full glad hert;
Whome the kyng kepte after theyr estate,
At London, well together consocyate.

¶ Henry Percy toke the brethren two
Of kyng Robert, Alexaunder & Thomas [ẏ] hight,
To the Iustes them sent ẏ hanged[3] were tho,
His other brother at London hanged ryght;
Kyng Roberte then sieged the Percy [full] wyght,
But Vmfreuyle hym anon rescowed,
And the syege from hym anone remoued[4].

¶ Kyng Robert Bruys faught ẇ Aimer Valẽce,
Earle of Penbroke, and put hym to the flyght
At Methfen so, and slewe with violence
All Englyshemen in batell there downe ryght,
Therle of Gloucester, Gylbert Clare ẏ hight,
Thre dayes after he syeged hym in Are,
But kyng Edward therle [then] rescowed thare.

¶ The king Edwarde ẇ hoost hym sought full[5] sore,
But ay he fled into woodes & strayte forest,
And slewe his men at straytes & daungers thore,
And at marreys and mires was ay full prest
Englysh[men] to kyll without[6] any rest;
In the mountaynes & cragges he slewe ay where,
And in[7] the nyght his foes he frayde full sere[8].

The king Edward ẇ hornes & hoũdes him soght, *Fol. CLxiv.*
With mẽne on fote, through marris, mosse, & myre,

[1] Wardeyn wase & fought with kynge Robert Brouse. [2] astarte. [3] honge. [4] remued.
[5] aie. [6] withoutyn. [7] on. [8] sore.

Through

Through wodes also, & moūtēs [wher thei fought,][1]
And euer ẏ kyng Edward hight men greate hyre,
Hym for to take and by might conquere;
But thei might hym not gette by force ne by train.
He satte by the fyre when thei[2] in the rain.

¶ The kyng Edward for anger fell in accesse[3],
And homeward came full sycke and sore annoyed.
And bade his soonne he should, for no distresse,
No trewce take ẇ Scottes that sore[4] hym noyed,
But werre theim aye to tyme thei were distroyed,
For he saied thus, "Thou shalt neuer fynd theim trewe,
But whiles thei bee in thy subieccion dewe."

The deathe of Edward the first.

¶ At Burgh vpon the sande he died anone,
And to London caried then daye by daye,
At Westminster buried with muche mone,
With quene Margarete he had thē soōnes twaỵ
Thomas Brotherton erle of Northfolke gaỵ,
And marshall of England, the other of Kent
Edmond Wodstok was erle in all entent.

¶ This noble kyng died [in Iuly the third daye,][5]
[And toward heauen he then tooke his waye,][6]
The yere of Christ a thousand sooth to saie,
Three hundred whole, and seuen by calculacion,
And of his reigne and coronacion
Fiue and thirty, not fully whole[7] complete,
When he so went vnto the blisse so[8] swete.

The. C. lxix. Chapiter.

¶ Edward the second, kyng of England, began to reigne the yere a thousand three hundred and seuen, the eyght daye of Iuly, and was deposed the yere a thousand thre hundred twenty and sixe, and of his reigne nyntene yere.

Kyng Edward the second.

EDward his soōne, prince of Wales & lord,
At Carnaruan of his mother bore,
Was croūed kīg by good & whole cōcord,

[1] as they thought. [2] they went. [3] axcesse. [4] so. [5] on seint Thomas daie. [6] Of Caunterbury called the Translacion. [7] all. [8] full.

Of

Of all the lordes that were assembled thore,
At Westminster, as was his father afore;
And at the feast of thassumpcion
Of our lady, he sent for Peers Gauerston[1],

¶ Whom then he made therle of Cornwaile,
Again the will of all the baronage,
Whom his father exiled, for misgouernaile.
The third yere after, for his misused outrage,
The lordes rose, of ire and greate courage,
And heddid hym as for an hie traytour,
That wasted had and spent the kyng his tresour.

¶ And in [ſ] mean while kyng Robert Bruys had get — The battaille of Bānokesburne.
All Scotland nere, wherfore ſ kyng Edward
To Scotland went, at Bannokesburne thei met
And faught full sore, till slain was the vaward,
And discomfited was the midelward;
And to the rereward kyng Edward hym drewe
For greate socour, wher he had battayl newe:

¶ Whiche kild[2] was doune, sauf[3] fewe that led the kyng
To Dunbarre then fleand[4] with hym away,
Ther was therle of Gloucester slain fleyng,
The lord Clifford, and all the lordes that daye;
Therle of Herford to Bothuile fled his waye, — *Fol. CLxx.*
Therle Edmond of Arundell, and erle of Valence,
Therles of Warwike & Oxenford take[5] at defence.

¶ This battaill was the yere of Christ smitten,
A thousand whole three hundred and fiftene[6],
On Midsomer daye, and of his reigne thē written
The seuenth yere, by chronicle as is seen:
Then was Vmfrey erle of Herford frethed clene,
And enterchaungid for kyng Robertes wife,
That holden was in England then full ryfe.

The. C.lxx. Chapiter.

¶ Of the relesse that kyng Edward made to Robert Bruys at Dūbarre, whiche relesse Iohn Hardyng deliuered in to the tresorye, in the dayes

[1] Causton. [2] slayne [3] safe. *edit. alt.* [4] fleynge. [5] taken. [6] fourtene.

of kyng Henry the fifth, at Boys Vincent in Fraunce, with other; for whiche he gaue hym Godyngton, that the quene hathe nowe.

PAtrike Dūbarre erle of Marche, that daye,
To kyng Edward was leege mā, lōg afore
To his father, and trewe had been alwaye,
Sent kyng Edward to Barwik; but, therfore,
He toke of hym a relesse for euermore
Of his seruice that due was to the[1] croune,
Anentes kyng Bruys to execute[2] his treason.

¶ Whiche relesse the maker of this booke,
Iohn Hardyng brought with other euidence,
And to the kyng Henry the fifth it toke,
With other mo, afore at Boys Vincent,
Perteignyng to England royall regiment[3];
And nought he hath vnto his sustenaunce,
As oft a fore here in his remembraunce.

The. C.lxxi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Robert Bruis toke all the lordes of England, and sleugh many at Stryuelin bridge, & distroied the Marches, and bete doune castelles therin.

KYng Robert Bruys toke Robert Vmfreuile,
Erle of Angeos, Henry then lord Percy,
Therle of Marche, and also ý lord Neuile,
Acton and Scropen[4] and also[5] the lord Lucy
At Stryuelyn bridge, fightyng mightely
In the vaward of the forsaid battaill,
Taken prisoners, and raunsomed for auaill.

¶ Thē kyng Robert ý Marchis whole distroied,
The castelles wanne and bet theim to the ground,
And all Scotland, afore that he had noyed,
Obeyed to hym and were his lieges bounde,
And maintened well thē furth all Scotlād groūd;
The bishoprike of Duresme all throughout
Nothumberland he brent with hoste full stout.

[1] his. [2] excuse. [3] regence. [4] Scrope. [5] als.

¶ Two cardinales ỹ [B. of Rome][1] to Scotlād sent,
To treate a trewce, a twene the kynges twoo,
And for to stall Lewes Beamount[2] present
Bishop of Duresme, that then was sacred so,
Whose brother was Henry lord Beaumont tho,
Licensed and graunted by the kyng of Fraunce,
To bee liege menne to Edwardes whole plesaūce.

¶ But sir Gilbert Midelton theim mette,
And sir Walter Selby, misruled knightes,
A litell fro Duresme their waye [forsett,][3]
And robbed theim openly on the[4] lightes,
And to Midford castell led theim fourth rightes,
And held theim ther in mighty and strong hold
To tyme thei had their iewels and their gold.

Fol. C.lxxi.
Gilbert Midelt̄ robbed y^e^ cardi-nalles.

¶ Whiche knightes twoo robbed the lād about,
That castell held by force and rebellion,
A quarter of a yere, with rebelles stout;
But thei were take within that[5] garison,
And to the kyng sent, by that enchesone,
That hanged were, as traytours all should been,
On galowes hie, that all might theim seen.

¶ Then after soone, sir Gosselyn Deynuile,
His brother Robert, with twoo hundred in habite
As thei were friers, went about in exile,
Robbyng the land in full greate dispite,
The bishopes places of Duresme in circuite,
Thei spoiled clene, leuyng nothyng in theim
But walles bare whiche thei would not claime.

The. C.lxxii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the lordes of England, with powre royall, durst not ryde into Scotlande passyng fourtene mile, England was so at vnder that tyme.

THerle Edmond then of Arundell,
Wardein of the Marches then constitute,
Therle Robert of Angeos, Vmfreuile,
Of his landes hauyng no refute,

[1] Pope. [2] Beaumonte. [3] for to lett. [4] daie. [5] their.

Therle Dauid of Athell destitute
Of his erldome, the lord Percy full hardy,
The[1] lord Neuell, the lord Beaumont manly,

¶ With all the power of the North contree,
Distroyed then Scotland[2] and brent,
Vpon the March vnto Lyntell Lee,
Whome sir Walter Wareyn, by whole assent
Of Iames Douglas, pursued as thei went
With great power alwaye[3] at their side,
That thei were fain again to England ride.

¶ But sir Walter Wareyn and Douglas[4],
With their power brent all Northumberland,
Tyndale became Scottes[5], and false then was,
And rode with theim, & brent through all the land
To Alerton, and so rode home to Scotland
Through the West March, & brent it all throughout,
And home thei went without[6] any doubt.

¶ The castell then of Berwyke and the towne
Kyng Robert gatte, after strong & greate defence,
By treaty with [peace Spaldyng][7] and treason,
The Wendesdaye before Easters[8] reuerence ;
Wher that traitour, without long[9] suspence,
Betrayed the towne, and into Scotland went,
By Scottes slain as to a traytour appent.

The. C.lxxiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Edward laied siege to Barwyke, and forsooke the siege, and went South, for Robert Bruys had destroyed mikell of Yorkshire, & discomfited ŷ archebishop of Yorke & his clergy at Milton on Swale.

THe kyng Edward began to siege Berwyk,
And wonne it had, but false tales it let,
And tidinges newe, ŷ nought the kyng did like;
Fol. C.lxxii For[10] Robert Bruys, the kyng of Scotlande, mette
With [the bishop][11] of Yorke, and hym ouersette :

[1] With the. [2] the Scottish londe. [3] alweie ther. [4] Iames Douglas. [5] Scottish.
[6] withoutyn. [7] Piers Spaldynge. [8] Pasch. [9] longer. [10] That. [11] tharchebishope.

Wherfore

Wherfore he loste[1] the siege, and went awaye,
But Bruys had stroyed England in fell araye.

¶ To Borough brydge by East and West he brent,
And home agayne with many [a] prysoner,
Without harme or lette of his entent,
With mykell good, but in Myton medowe, nere
To Swale water, laye then with great power
Walter Wareyn among the hay kockes bushed,
Vpon [the byshop][2] sodenly with Scottes yssued.

¶ And. xv. hundreth Englyshe there he slewe,
And home he went with kyng Edward[3] full glad,
With prysoners many, mo then men knewe,
The byshop fled fro the felde full woo bestad,
With his clerkes that then were[4] full mad;
For whiche therle Thomas of Lancastre there,
And kyng Edward, departed halfe in werre.

The. C.lxxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe at the nexte parliamente after, Thomas of Lancaster and Leycester erle, and certayne lordes, exiled the twoo Spencers out of the land; but then ẏ Spencers made great persecucion with the kyng agayn the lordes, and slewe the erle of Lancaster and the other lordes.

AT [ẏ] parliamēt thē at Westminster next hold,
Erle Thomas, ẏ then was called ful trewe,
Therle Vmfrey of Herford that was bold,
Therle of Marche full manly as men knewe,
The Monbrey[5] also, Percy, and Clyfford drewe,
All armed came, and two Spencers exiled
Out fro Englande, neuer to be reconsyled.

¶ But sone the Spencers came to ẏ kyng again,
Syr Hugh the lorde[6], and syr Hugh his sonne,
And put therle of Marche in great disdayn;
Roger his sonne, that with hym did wonne,
[Appeched hym then of hye treason,]

[1] lefte. [2] tharchebishope. [3] Robert. [4] were there. [5] Moubraie. [6] fader.

Agaynst

Agaynst the kyng, wherfore the kyng hym[1] sent
Into the toure, tabyde the parliament.

¶ Then went the kyng and Spencers[2] both two,
With hostes full great, to Burton vpon Trent,
Where the lordes laye, and sparled[3] theim then so,
That North they went, [then wayes][4] by one assente,
To rayse mo men they trust in theyr entent,
The Spencers two fully for to destroye,
Who all the realme full cruelly did noye.

¶ At Borinbrig[5], syr Andrewe [Hertlaw met]
With [erle] Vmfrey of Herford, and hym slewe,
And toke the erle Thomas, without[6] let,
And to the kyng that then to Pountfret drewe,
Where then were sette vpon hym iudges newe,
Therle Edmound of Arondell for iustice
And syr Robert Mapilthorpe[7], his enemyes.

¶ There[8] he was headed anone vpon the hyll,
And buryed was there in a chapell fayre,
Henry his brother stode at[9] the kynges wyll,
Whom the kyng graunted to bee his heyre,
That wedded then Alyce without despayre,
The doughter and heyre of [th]erle Henry Lacy,
Of Lyncolne, so graunted by the kynges mercy.

Fol. Cl.xxvii.

¶ Wyllyā fitz Wareyn, & many [an]other knight,
In diuers shyres, some hanged and some head[10],
That hold with hym or with his compeers right,
Syr Bartholomewe Badelismore, without rede,
Drawen and hanged, and put to[11] foul dead,
Roger Clyfford, and Iohn Monbraye[12], barons,
Headed then were for theyr rebellions.

¶ Therle of Marche syr Roger Mortymer,
His sonne Roger, foriuged were for treason,
And by the kyng of death pardoned were,
And put were then in perpetuall pryson
Into the towre, for that same encheson;

[1] theym. [2] the Spencers. [3] sparcled, *edit. alt.* [4] waies divers. [5] Borowbrig.
[6] withoutyn. [7] Mauthorpe. [8] Where. [9] in. [10] behede. [11] unto. [12] Moubray.

Fro

Fro that tyme forth, the Spencers other excede[1]:
The quene was but an hand mayden in dede.

¶ To tyme the kyng to her brother hir sent,
And also his sonne Edwarde to dooen homage
For Guyen, so to haue at his entente,
And for they dwelled so long in that viage,
The kyng theim had suspecte of theyr message,
By councell of the Spencers theim exiled,
As in chronicle pleynly is[2] compiled.

¶ The kyng then made and playnly did create
Andrewe Hertlawe erle then of Carlele,
Whiche tyme the kyng Robert full fortunate
Rode all the East Marche, full proudly and well,
The byshopryke and Yorkeshire euery dele;
Andrewe Hertlawe, erle of Carlele absent,
To Lancastre hym drewe in false entente.

¶ The[3] kyng Robert was passed home agayn,
With prayes greate, and many prysoners,
Fro Humber North the people downe were slayn,
Of whiche the kyng, and all his councelers,
Blamed therle Andrewe and his compeers,
For he had men enough with hym arayed,
The Scottes all that might haue slayn & frayed.

¶ He hight the kyng haue brought to hym great powers
Into Yorkshyre, & held nothing his hight,
Therfore[4] the kyng, by counsell of the Spencers,
Gaue charge to take hym either by daye or night,
Or kyl hym downe, wher they mete w hym might:
To all shryues was sent this commaundement,
Fro Trent northwarde by writtes & maundemēt.

The. C.lxxv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe syr Roger Mortymer the younger wente oute of the toure of London, & went into Fraunce to the quene of Englande, and to the prince Edwarde hir soonne; and also howe the lorde Lucye tooke syr Andrewe Hertlawe erle of Carlele, and headed hym at Carlele for treason.

[1] all excede. [2] it is. [3] Whiles. [4] Wherfore.

THen

THen syr Roger, the yongest Mortimer,
Made his kepers dronke and went away
Out of the toure by night [& other in feer,][1]
And into Fraunce anone he toke his waye,
Vnto the quene Isabell, in poore araye,
And bode with her, at[2] hyr gouernaunce,
All tyme that she was soiournyng in[3] Fraunce.

Fol. C.lxxiiii.

¶ And then Antony Lucye lorde of Cokirmouth,
Syr Robert Lowther, with other many [in feere,][4]
At Carlele toune, as knowen was full couth,
Toke syr Andrewe Hertlawe, with mekill steer:
They put on[5] hym he toke royall power,
In truce takyng with therle of Murrey
Withouten power, in trayterous araye;

¶ In wrongyng of the kynges hye estate,
And of his right full great derogacion,
And howe he toke greate golde immoderate
Of kyng Edwarde, through cauelacion,
To bryng hym power for his supportaciō
Agayn the kyng Robert, that then destroyed
His lande full foule, and had hym self anoyed;

¶ And howe [he] had the people hole withdrawe
With hym westwarde, by false confederacie
Betwene hym and therle of Marowe[6],
Couened[7] fully [before cast][8] traytorie;
Wherfore they drewe hym first all openly,
And hanged[9] after, and to[10] London sent
Vnto the kynge his head, for great present.

The. C.lxxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the quene Isabell treated mariage of one of the doughters of therle of Henaulde for hir sonne Edwarde to haue to wife by thauice of her brother kyng Charles, & came to Englande with great power, and toke ý kyng, and slewe his counsell for treason.

[1] with other infere. [2] and at. [3] so in. [4] infere. [5] to. [6] Murrawe. [7] Conceyued. [8] be forcasten. [9] hanged hym. [10] so to.

THere

THere by aduise[1] and good consyderacion
Of the kyng of Fraunce, her brother dere,
Quene Isabell [accorded, for][2] supportacion,
Hir sonne should wed one of the doughters clere
Of therle of Henauld, that fyue then were,
Through whose succour she & hir sonne Edward
Toke then the sea to Englande warde.

¶ Erle[3] Edmond of Kent then with her came,
Kyng Edwardes brother, & syr Aymer Valence
Erle of Penbroke, whiche came with hir fro hame,
And Mortymer the yonger in hir presence,
Henaultes and Frenche, with great sufficience
Of people stronge, at Orwell with her lande,
Where lordes many her mette I vnderstande.

¶ To London then she & hir sonne tho[4] wrote
The councellours and traitours for to take,
That ruled had in [mykell mysryote][5]
The kyng Edwarde, her lorde & also[6] hir make,
And in prieson to kepe theim for hir sake;
Wherfore they voyded out of the citee then
The quenes enemyes echone ay when & when.

¶ The kyng then fled into the West countree,
She and the prince full sore hym then pursued,
And at Bristowe she headed, as men might see,
Syr Hugh Spenser the father that was renewed,
And syr Hugh his sonne, that was transumed
In hye estate, and erle had be[7] create
Of Wynchester, wher he stode all mate.

¶ Syr Hugh Spēser his sonne, at Herforde take,
Was headed then, and vnto London sente,
So was Edmond there headed for hyr sake,
That was erle[8] of Arondel there present,
His hed smote of, for treason so was shent; *Fol. C.ccvo*
Theyr hedes set vp in dyuerse sere place,
In recompence of all theyr great trespasse.

[1] thadvyse. [2] accord with. [3] The erle. [4] so. [5] myschiefe and riote. [6] als. [7] been. [8] the erle.

¶ And

¶ And at London [they heded][1] the chaunceler,
With dyuers other whiche[2] they founde vntrewe,
So dyd they also[3] the kynges tresourer,
And there set they a parlyament all[4] newe;
But fyrste they put the kyng, as all men knewe,
In Killyngworth, there to be holde in warde,
To tyme they se howe lordes wolde awarde.

¶ At which parlyamēt. iii. bishoppes & erles thre,
Thre barons also, & thre banarettes[5] electe,
To Kyllyngworth to ryde [w̄ the cominalte,][6]
All homage leege, by parliament hole directe
To surrender vp, without any reiecte;
The which they dyd for his mysgouernaunce,
With heuy chere and mournyng countenaunce.

¶ The kyng full sad, with wordes well auysed,
Thanked them all, knowynge his hye trespasse,
And that he was of rule not well prouysed,
To the pleasure of God, whiles he had space,
Ne cōmon wele to kepe in euery case;
Ne to his wyfe had bene a trewe husbande,
But falsly had her exyled oute of lande.

¶ Mekely he prayed the lordes at parlyament
His sonne to admytte vnto the regyon,
Syth he vnable was to the regyment,
And foule had ruled the lande withoute reason,
He them besought, for gylte of [his] caryon,
His sonne were not refused, ne chastyzed,
But set in rule, by councell well aduyzed.

¶ These lordes twelue, with heuy countenaunce,
Reported vnto the quene, and lordes all,
The sorowfull chere, and wordes w̄ repentaunce
Of kyng Edwarde, as then it was befall,
His prayer meke, and his desyre fynall;
Of whiche the lordes in ẏ same parlyament,
Reioysed were of his noble agrement[7].

[1] the hede of. [2] the whiche. [3] als. [4] than all. [5] banrets. [6] in comonte. [7] argument.

The.

The. C.lxxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Edwarde the thyrde, kynge of Englande and of Fraunce, beganne to reygne the yere a thousand thre hundreth twentye and syxe, and dyed the yere a thousande thre hundreth thre score and seuentene, and of his reygne one and fyftye yere.

Edward y^e thyrde.

EDward his sonne, ỹ prince of Wales was than
In tender age that time of. xiii. yere,
Was crowned on saint Brice day [&] begā,
The yere of Christ was then accompted clere
A thousande hole, thre. C. and syxe and. xx. were,
Whose father then had reygned. xix. yere oute,
And in his [twenty yere,][1] withouten doute.

¶ [From the third daye of Iuly by computacyon,
Of the yere, vnto sayncte Brycez daye,][2]
So muche [in his][1] twenty by relacyon
He reygned had, & then put downe for aye;
From Kyllingworth to the castell of Berke[ley]
By nyght he was caryed and translate,
From wyfe and chylde forsake and repudyate,

Fol. C.lxxvi.

Where he was slayne with an hote brenning spyt,
Through his towayle[4] vp to his herte within,
In September, his bowelles brent for hete,
That deed he was without[5] noyse or dyn,
On sayut Mathewes daye, so they dyd hym bren,
The fyrste yere was [it] then [accompted & wonne,][6]
Of kyng Edward the third that was his sonne.

¶ At Gloucester entombed fayre and buryed,
Where some say God shewed[7] for him [great] grace,
Sith that tyme with miracles laudifyed
Ofte tymes in dyuerse many[8] case,
[As is wryten there in that same place;]
For whiche kyng Richard, [called] the seconde,
To translate hym was purposed hole and sounde[9].

[1] yere tuenty. [2] Fro seynt Thomas daie the translacion Of Caunterbury vnto seynt Brice daie.
[3] ouer. [4] foundement. [5] withoutyn. [6] accounte and ronne. [7] sheweth. [8] and many. [9] grounde.

¶ Sir

¶ Sir Iames Douglas, in Enḡlād ẇ an hoste,
Destroyed the lande, wherfore the kyng Edward,
With Frenche, Henaulde, & Englysh for ẏ moste,
In myghty hoste & great, then came northward,
The seconde yere of his reygne, to regarde
Whome in Stanhope parke he besieged then
That compted were of Scottes, ten. M. menne.

¶ By. xv. dayes that syege there endured;
He helde them in they myght not passe[1] oute,
But through a mosse, ẏ all men trowed was sured,
So depe of[2] myre, and brode it was aboute,
No siege was layde, for there they had no doute,
[By which ẏ Scottes cast them what so betyde,
To escape awaye in the nyghtes tyde:][3]

But Iames Douglas their flekes fell[4] dyd make,
Whiche ouer the mosse echeone at others ende
He layde anon, with fagottes fell[5] ouer the lake,
There gate awaye, and passage to pretende,
On whiche by nyght they led their horse vnkend,
And home they went to Scotlande harmelesse[6],
Wherof the kyng was heuy there doutlesse.

¶ When they were ouer ẏ quaking mosse & mire,
They drewe the flekes ay after as they went,
That Englyshe should not them sue ne conquere,
This was a poynt of warre, full sapyent,
But on our syde there was, by consequent,
But[7] lytell wytte that lefte the[8] myre vnwatched,
And[9] by good watch ẏ Scottes myght haue be cached.

¶ And in the yere a thousande compted clere,
Quene Isabell her doughter maryed,
Dame [Iane of ẏ towre][10] to Dauid Bruis her pere,
Kyng Robertes sonne, and heyre hole notifyed,
At Berwyk towne, the seconde daye signifyed
Of Iuill, and of kyng Edwarde then was thre,
By cause of whiche the kynge in pryuite.

[1] passen. [2] a.

[3] Ne no mystruste of no maner escape,
More like to fooles than to the werly iape.

[4] many. [5] seer. [6] than harmeles. [7] Full. [8] that. [9] For. [10] Iohan of Toure.

The.

The. C.lxxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Of the relesse that kynge Edwarde made in his tender age to kynge Robert of his seruyce of Scotlande, whiche Iohn Hardinge delyuered to kyng Edwarde the. iiii. at Leycester, with a patent, by which ỹ earle of Dunbar bound him and his heyres to holde his landes of ỹ kinges of Englande.

BY councel of his mother & [the] Mortymer
Relesed there [the hole][1] souerayntе,
And seruyce dewe that to the[2] crowne then were,
At Berwike then without autorite
Or[3] any parlyament in especialte[4],
In tender age and youthes intelligence,
In his third yere so of his hie regence,

¶ He sent furth then to Henauld for a wife
A bishop and other lordes temporall,
Wher in chaumbre preuy and secretife,
At discouerit dischenely[5] also[6] in all,
As semyng was to estate virginall,
Emong theim selfes our lordes for[7] hie prudence,
Of the bishop asked counsaill and sentence,

¶ Whiche doughter of fiue should bee the quene;
Who counsailled thus with sad auisement,
Wee will haue hir with good [hippis I mene,]
For she will bere good soonnes at myne entent;
To whiche thei all accorded by one assent,
And chase Philip that was full feminine,
As the bishop moost wise did determyne.

¶ But then emōg theim selfes thei laugh fast ay,
The lordes then saied, the bishop couth
Full mekill[8] skyll of a woman alwaye,
That so couth chese a lady that[9] was vncouth,
[And for ỹ mery woordes that came of his mouth,][10]
Thei trowed he had right great experience
Of womanes rule and hir[11] conuenience.

Fol. C.lxxvii.

[1] his rotall. [2] his. [3] Of. [4] specialte. [5] descheuely. [6] als. [7] of. [8] muche. [9] it. [10] Suche lordes the choisse to put upon a bishop mouth. [11] theire.

¶ Kyng

¶ Kyng Robert Bruys smitten in lepry dyed,
To whom his soonne Dauid then did succede,
And crouned was for kyng and notified,
His wife also was crouned quene in deede,
Kyng Edwardes suster she was then, as I rede:
Sir Roger then that was lord Mortimer,
With Isabell the quene was holden dere.

¶ Through hardinesse of whiche he wasted clene
The kyng his tresour, as was notified;
For whiche Henry erle of Lancastre, for tene,
Rose with greate hoste, as then was fortified[1],
To haue withstand and clerely haue replied
The wantonnes of Roger Mortymer,
That was that tyme the quenes[2] playfeer.

¶ But treat[ed] he was to sitte in rest and peace,
Notwithstandyng, at the coronacion
Of kyng Edward chose he was, without lees,
His custode then for good informacion
Of the kyng his persone and preseruacion;
But quene Isabell, and the Mortimer,
Would not suffre ne[3] while that so it were.

¶ Edmond Wodstok, that then was erle of Kent,
By kyng Edward of Carnaruan create,
Whose brother he was by quene Isabelles entēt,
And [Mortimer his][4] mighty and greate estate
Arested was and stode repudiate,
At Winchester foriudged in parliament,
And hedid there again the common assent.

¶ A brother he had [hight] Thomas of Brothertō,
Erle of Northfolk and marshall of England,
That of his death made none[5] execucion;
For lordes all, the greatest of the land,
Full sory were, but nought thei tooke on hand,
Fro noone till euen without the castell gate,
He stoode condempned as a repudiate.

Fol. C.lxxviii.

[1] notified. *edit. alt.* [2] quene Isabell. [3] no. [4] Mortymers. [5] moone of.

¶ Whome

¶ Whome then at euen a boye of the marshalse
Stroke of his hedde, for whome the lordes than
And commons all displeased were inwardly.
At Notyngham sone after thei[1] began,
Wher Mortimer, therle of Marche then,
Arested were[2], and his soonne sir Roger,
And to the Toure of London sent thei were.

¶ On sainct Andrewes daye thei wer drawe and hong
At London, so by dome of the parlyament,
At Westminster holden by processe long;
Sir Simond Bedford was of their assent,
Drawe and hanged: [therfore thei][3] went,
And fro the quene his mother he resumed
His landes all, for she had so consumed

¶ His treasour foule and all his greate riches;
He putte hir to hir dower and nomore,
To liue vpon at the frere minours doubtles,
[Wher she had not been brought before,
And there she dyed and buryed is therfore,][4]
At London nowe full feire and reuerently,
[Wher she had dwelt long][5] full honourably.

¶ Edward Baylioll to claim Scotland thē went,
And with hym went sir Gilbert Vmfreuile,
Claimyng to bee erle by his whole entent
Of Angeous[6] then, as chroniclers compile;
Sir Henry Beaumont also went that while
His heritage to gette and to conquere,
Therledome of Boughan should bee his clere.

¶ Henry Percy with Edward Bailioll went
Galoway[7] to claime as for his heritage;
By shippe thei went all whole by one assent
At Rauensporne[8], and landed[9] with greate corage
At Kincorne wel in Fyfe by all knowlage;
Dauid Strabolgy erle of Athellis by right
With theim thē went for his landes ther to fight.

[1] so. [2] wase. [3] ther afore he. [4] Wher she died and buried is right thore. [5] But there she duelte longe after. [6] Angos. [7] Gallewaie. [8] Ravenser spurne. [9] londe.

Thei

¶ Thei were accōpt[ed] twoo. M. fightyng menne,
And fiue hundred byside the mariners,
At their landyng their shipis thei brent right then,
And bored some and[1] sanke at good leysers;
Thei thought theim self of good & strong powers,
Thei toke none hede of shippis[2] home again,
But landeway ride[3] for all the Scottes dain.

¶ Thei toke none hede nor yet consideracion
Of thousandes many, ne of greate multitude,
As lordes dooe nowe of commons congregacion,
But putte their cause to [God his hie][4] excelsitude,
And in their owne handes solicitude;
At Kincorne then faught with therle of Fyffe,
Discomfit hym and[5] fled awaye with life.

¶ His menne were slain vpon the feld echeone:
Thē Robert Bruys ŷ bastard soōne their guyde,
The lord Seton with power came anone,
And newe battaill theim gaue with mekell pryde,
That noumbred were ten thousand on their side,
Whiche slain were all, for thei would take[6] none,
Saufe the chiefteynes that fled awaye alone.

P.I. C.xxix.

¶ The kyng Edward Baylioll with his power,
To Dunfermelyne abbey then furth so went,
Wher in Glasmore ŷ Scottes then sembled were,
Fourty thousand full proud in their intent,
And all were slain without suppowelment;
Therle of Marre and therle of Murray,
Therle of Carryk and Menth[7] dyed that daye.

¶ And after soone at Deplyng More[8] mette
Sir Neel Bruys with ten thousand in feer,
That slain were there and to therth doune beet,
The Englishe had the feld that daye full clere,
Their ordinaunce was to take no prisoner;
Wherfore thei slewe the Scottes without mercie,
Lest newe bataill came on theim in hie.

[1] whiche [2] shippynge. [3] rode. [4] Goddes. [5] he. [6] taken. [7] Menteth. [8] Dipplyngmore.

¶ At these battailles afore that been wrytten,
Sixty thousaund Scottes slain and mortefied
Were more with prees, as afterward was weten,
Then ẇ mānes hand thei were so feel[1] multiplied,
Echeone [on] other of pride so[2] reuied,
Without[3] rule of marcill[4] gouernaunce,
Thei smored were by their contrariaunce.

¶ And but twoo knightes [&] thirty & thre squiers,
Whiche ther were dedde of the Englishe power,
In foure battailles faught ẇ axe swerd & speris,
At Diplyng Moore[5] fro tyme the soōne rose clere
To three after noon, [as saieth][6] the chronicler;
Within seuē dayes thei smote these. iiii. battailles,
As chronicles[7] make full clere[8] rehersailes.

¶ Thē wēt thei furth vnto sainct Iohns towne,
That was replete and full of all vitaile,
And kept the toune with manly direccion.
Archebald Douglas and erle Patrik no faile,
Of Dunbarre then the toune began tassaile,
With thirty thousand, but there thei were well bet,
With cast of stones and greate defence ouerset.

¶ The citees then and tounes to[9] the sea side
At their costage to Scotland sent a flete,
To helpe our lordes and get theim good[10] that tide,
And with the shippis of Scotland for to mete,
And so thei did and sore theim all to bete,
And brought theim home, and some with wildfyre brēt
In Taye water, and some thei sanke & shent.

¶ Wherfore the Scottes the siege then[11] forsooke,
Thenglish lordes at Skone the kyng did cronne,
Edward Baliol [the soonne][12] was, who will looke,
To Iohn Baliol kyng of that region,
Whome then afore Henry Beaumount brought[13]
Frome Baliol, wher he was lord in Fraunce,
As his auncetors had been of remembraunce.

[1] fell. *e.t. alt.* ele. MS. [2] then so. [3] Withoutyn [4] marcall *e.t. lt.* [5] Dyplyngmore. [6] after the. [7] chronicleres. [8] pleyne. [9] of. [10] good. [11] then so. [12] that soonne. [13] brought down.

T t ¶ This

¶ This kyng Edward Baliol his fooes[1] sought,
And at Rokisburgh faught ẅ therle of Murrey,
[Discomfited theim][2] in battaill sore ther[3] fought,
And to Duresme sent hym fro thens awaye,
Ther to bee kept in siker strong araye;
Then sir Archbald Douglas and erle Patrike,
Then of Dunbar their kyng thought to [bee swik.][4]

¶ Thei toke with hym a trewce to Candylmasse
From October, in trust of whiche he sent
Fol. C.lxxx. Thenglishe lordes to England home expresse,
Trustyng he had been sure in his entente,
All was falshede that [the two][5] erles ment,
For they vphelde Dauid in tendre age,
Kyng Robartes sonne, to whom they did homage.

¶ Syr Iames Douglas & erle Patrike Dūbare,
With all theyr helpe at the Candilmasse,
On Edwarde roase, the Bailiol, or he were ware,
And slewe all that they found[6] doutlesse,
That fayn he was to Englande [to] flee helpelesse;
At Marche after he entred then Scotlande,
With thesame lordes then of the north lande.

¶ On both sydes they rode and fast destroyed,
And to Berwike Edwarde Bailol came,
And sieged it and felly was annoyed;
To whiche Edwarde of Englonde, ẅ great fame,
Came with his hoost and laye there at thesame.
The Douglas then and Dunbare with power
Northumberlande all through brent full[7] clere.

The. C. lxxix. Chapiter.

¶ Of the battayle of Halidon hill, and howe Edwarde Bayliol did homage leege to kyng Edwarde of Englande.

TO Halydon hill they came ẅ[8] their prayes,
Barwike castell and towne so to rescue,
Wher to oure hoste ful oft they made frayes[9],

[1] foone. [2] Discomfite hym. [3] they. [4] besecke. [5] tho. [6] founde with hym. [7] then. [8] with all. [9] affraies.

Both

Both day & euen and morowes or[1] day dewe;
But then the kyng of Englande to hym[2] drewe
The kyng also of Scotland with his might,
Full sore that daye in batayll did they fight:

¶ Where Edwardes two had al the victorye,
The royaltes of all Scotlande there wer slayn,
Thyrty thousande with theim liggand[3] by,
Of men of armes and archers dead certayn:
Then in the yere next after soth to sayn,
At Newcastell Edwarde, kyng of Scotlande,
His homage did to the kyng of Englande.

Homage of ye Scottes.

¶ For whiche ŷ cōmons of Scotlād on hym rose,
And slewe his men that he into[4] Englande came,
And gatte an hoste and rode vpon his fooes,
Through Anand, through Kylay, & Conyngham,
Carrike, and Glascowe, slewe al [ŷ] he foūd at hame:
The kyng Edwarde of England with power,
Through Lowthian so did to Stryuelyn[5] clere.

¶ And both met[6] there with great[7] gladnesse,
And home they came destroiyng all the waye:
Another yere in Iule, for to redresse
Scotlande agayn, with hostes they gan a fraye,
At saynt Iohns towne they met in great araye,
And ther they made therle of Athelis regent,
Whome the commons felly slewe[8] and shent.

¶ Kyng Edwarde sent after in another yere,
In Maye, Henry Lancastre, a noble knight,
To Scotlande with an hoste of good power,
And afterwarde he came[9] with mekill might
To saynt Iohns towne & [on the monthes][10] right,
Through Murrey to Elgyne, Giluernes[11], & Rosse,
Throughout mounteynes, woddes, myre[12], & mosse.

¶ Kyng Edwarde then came home into Englād̄e,
And proclaymed his sonne, Edwarde nominate,
The prince of Wales thens forth I vnderstande,
Henry Lancastre the younger he create

Pd. Cclxxxi.

[1] er. [2] them. [3] hynge. [4] to. [5] Stively. [6] they mett. [7] muche. than slewe.
[8] went. [9] ouer the mountes. [10] Inuernes. [11] mires.

Erle of Derby to beare the hole estate,
Wyllyam Mountague erle of Salisbury,
Of Northampton; Wyllyam Bowne[1] full manly

¶ Of Gloucester he made Hugh of Awdely,
Of Suffolke then he made Robert Hufforth,
Of Huntyngdon Wyllyam Clinton gay,
Whiche erles the kyng toke with hym forth,
[With many a worthy knyght bothe of South and North,]
And with the quene so vnto Andwarpe,
And there abode [by] all the wynter sharpe,

¶ With great people and worthy chyualrye,
Agayn the kyng of Fraunce to clayme his right,
And wrote his title vnto ȳ [Romishe bishop][2] on hie;
The [duke of Barre and other lordes][3] of night,
The quenes frendes then socoure had hym hight,
Where then the quene of hyr sonne Lionell
Delyuered was, as chronicles do tell.

¶ He cherished then Flaundres that they forsoke
Theyr naturall lorde and swore feautee
To hym and his theyr power they betoke,
To byde and dwell vnder his soueraintee,
[Because they sawe in hym suche humanitee,]
He chaunged his armes in banners and penons,
And in his seale quartred of both regions.

¶ And in the yere then of his reygne thyrtene,
His armes chaunged and called kyng of Frāuce,
He rode in Fraunce on warre, as then was seen,
A thousande tounes he brent by [his] puysaunce;
The kyng of Fraunce without[4] variaunce,
Sent hym worde[5] that he wold with hym fight;
But at the poynt he did not as he hight:

¶ For at that tyme in sonder they were a myle,
He fled awaye, kyng Edward held the felde;
Two dayes after he [sued and Vmfreuile][6]
Of hym had sight, and then he founde his sheld,

[1] Bourn. [2] Pope. [3] The dukes of Barre and of Gelre. [4] withoutyn. [5] full worde.
[6] he shewed and other while.

By

By whiche he knewe his couenaunt he not held;
Wherfore the kyng to Brabant went agayn,
The dukes three of Barre, Earle[1] and Brabayn.

¶ The parliamēt [thē] at Westmynster was hold,
Wher they graūt[ed] hym the. ix. lābe flees & shaue
Of the commons; but the churche nomore wold
Hym graunt, but one dysme of theim to haue:
For which he graūted generall perdone and gaue.
The. ix. lambe flees & shaue[2] graunt was two yere,
To helpe the kyng his right to conquere.

The. C. lxxx. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kynge Edwarde smote the battayle on the sea at Sluse besyde Brydges, & howe the kyng firste rode into Fraunce, and quartred his armes with the armes of Fraunce, and sent to kyng Philip to trye the ryght betwene theim two.

ANd in his yere next after then fourtene,
At Sluse ẏ kīg faught ẇ the Frēch nauy,
Fro noone to eue & to the morowe[3], as was seen,
Where all wer drouned[4] & slayn myghtely,
And kyng Edward to Fraunce went hastely, *Fol. Clxxxii.*
With hoste full great destroied the lande, & brent
The cytee of Turnais besieged and shente.

¶ Then wrote he to the kyng Philip of Fraunce,
Not namyng hym [kyng of that][5] lande,
But to Philip of Valoys for greuaunce,
Willyng alone they two to take on hande
To fyght[6] for the cause and for to stande,
Who hath the better for euer to holde Fraunce,
Withoute[7] warre or any more dystaunce.

¶ Or elles they two eyther ẇ an. C. knyghtes,
And yf these wayes please hym not to excepte,
Come with his hoste & all his strongest wyghtes
To the cytee of Tournay, none excepte,
[At a certayne daye iustly to be kepte;]

[1] Gelre. [2] shere. [3] morne. [4] dreynte. [5] as kyng of that ilke. [6] fyghtyn. [7] Withoutyn.

And

And who the felde maye get brooke well Fraunce,
Withoute more stryfe or any varyaunce.

¶ The kyng then wrote vnto kyng Edwarde agayne,
That he wolde not for the[1] letters fight,
Whiche touche[2] not kyng Philyp in certayne,
But Philyp Valoys, as sheweth well to syght,
To whiche he wolde set neyther daye ne highte[3];
But when he thought it were for his honoure,
He shulde hym chase awaye without socoure

¶ Out of his land, which wrongfully he sheweth[4]
Agayne his fayth, feautye made and homage
To his auncesters by letter, as it sheweth,
Vnder his seale of hole and good knowlage,
For Guyan and his other herytage;
And fro Turnace into Brabane agayne,
The kyng Edwarde in wynter dyd remayne

¶ To byde the byshoppes[5] rule and disposicyon
Of good accorde[6], for then two cardynalles
[To take][7] a trewce by good prouisyon,
Duryng two[8] yere betwene them [generals,]
And all theyr frendes that were princypalles:
Then came the kyng [to] Edwarde into Englande,
His offycers newe made I vnderstande.

¶ To the trewce then taken [at Maltrete,][9]
The dukes two of Burgoyne and Burbone,
In the kynges soule of Fraunce swore and hete[10]
Truly to kepe for frendes or for foone,
And duke Henry of Lancaster sad as stone,
Willyam Bowne[11] earle of Northhampton,
And Willyam Mountague [full hye of][12] renoune,

¶ Earle of Salisbury, in kyng Edwardes soule there,
In lyke maner were sworne and biheste
The. xix. daye then of Ianyuere,
The yere of Christ a. M. then was seste[13],
Thre hundreth and two and fourty[14] at leest,

[1] tho. [2] touchen. [3] nighte. [4] sueth. [5] popes. [6] concorde. [7] Had made.
[8] thre. [9] so at Meltrete. [10] bchete. [11] Boun. [12] of high. [13] ceeste. [14] four.

When these trues were taken so and sealed,
For afterwarde they shulde not be repeled.

The. C. lxxxi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Henry duke of Lancaster went to Guyan in ỹ yere of Christe a thousande thre hundreth. xlv. And of the batayle of Cressy, in the yere of Christe a thousand thre hundreth fourtye and syxe.

ANd then Henry, duke of Lancaster create, *Fol. Cl.xxxiii.*
Went to Guyen with many bolde baron,
Where then he gate the cytees of estate,
And castelles fele[1] & many a walled towne,
And made the lande Englyshe both vp & doune,
And to [the kyng] Edwarde obeied[2], as they[3] ought,
And great worshyp and ryches there he caught.

¶ And in the yere a thousande [and] CCC. gone,
Syxe and fourtye kyng Edwarde at Cressy
Met with Philyp of Valoyes there anone,
That kyng of Fraunce was by intrusery,
At whiche batayle Edwarde had [the] victorye,
And with honoure and myght there gate ỹ felde,
And Philyp fled and caste there doune his shelde.

¶ And his eldest sonne with hym went awaye,
With an hundreth banners in [her] company;
The kynges of Beme were slayne that daye,
And of Maliogres there full manfully,
The dukes of Alaunson also[4] theim by
And of Loreyn slayne were in[5] batayle,
And earles fyue without[6] any fayle.

¶ Of Flaunders, Bloys, Harcourt & Melayne[7],
Of gentyls and other without any essayne,
And of Guntpre[8] were there in batayle slayne
Fyue score thousande, the twenty daye certayne,
And syxe also of Auguste accompted playne:
The kyng Edwarde had all the victorye,
The kyng Philyp had all the vilanye.

[1] many. [2] obeyinge. [3] it. [4] ther. [5] in that. [6] withoutyn. [7] Meleyne [8] Grauntpre.

¶ [The

¶ [The] king Dauid then of Scotland, ẅ power,
To Duresme brent, where on saynt Lukes daye,
The archbyshop with his clergye clere
And syr Gylbert Vmfreuyle in good araye,
The lorde Percy the Neuyle[1] then laye
With all the North a[2] lytell frome Duresme,
Wher then they faught & on [ẏ] king Dauid came.

¶ And take he was ẏ yere of Christe was then
A thousande full, thre hundreth fourty and syxe,
Full sore wounded full lyke he was a man,
[And also of his lordes mo then fyue or syxe,]
Brought to London priuely through Essex,
For lordes shulde not hym take ẅ[3] greate power,
From Iohn [of] Coupland ẏ was his taker clere.

¶ And in ẏ towre of London [then] kept in warde,
To tyme the king were come[4] home out of Fraũce:
That then in Fraunce mo castelles to regarde,
And townes walled, got[en] by his hye puissaunce,
Then had the kyng Philip in gouernaunce,
And lyke was then all Fraũce to haue conquerde
With his alies, he made that lande afferde.

The. C. lxxxii. Chapiter.

¶ Of the greate pestylence in the yere of Chryste a thousand thre hundreth fortye and nyne, and the yere nexte after the kynge wente vnto Fraunce and the prynce of Wales vnto Guyan.

ANd in the yere of Christ clerly [ac]compted,
A thousande hole thre. C. fourty & nyne,
The pestilence was in England amoũted,
That[5] kyng Edward newe warre ganne ymagine,
Fol. C.lxxxiiij. The nexte yere after agayne Fraunce fyne[6];
Thether he went, & prince Edward then went
With greate power to Guien as regent.

¶ The kyng then put his sonnes yonge of age,
In Fraunce then forth in mighty gouernaunce,
Syr Lyonell earle of Vlster in[7] wage,

[1] lorde Neuile. [2] but. [3] be. [4] comyn. [5] The. [6] syne. [7] at.

Regent

Regent of Fraunce hym made by ordynaunce,
Syr Iohn of Gaunt to haue hole attendaunce
Of all the hoste, as hye and greate constable,
To whiche he was accompte ẏ tyme full able.

¶ Sir Edmonde Langeley full of gentylnesse,
Sir Thomas Woodstok full of corage,
To their banners them put for worthynesse,
To haue rule in that worthy viage;
Whiche prynces fyue approued in yonge age,
There was no king Christen had such sonnes fiue,
Of lyklynesse[1] and[2] persones that tyme on lyue.

¶ So hye and large they were of all stature,
The leste of them was of persone able
To haue foughten with any creature
Singler batayle in actes marcyable;
The byshops wit me thinketh was cōmendable,
So wel coulde[3] chese the princesse ẏ them bare,
For by practyse he knewe it or by lare[4].

The. C.lxxxiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kynge of Fraunce was taken prysoner at the batayle of Poyters the yere of Christe a thousande thre hundreth fyftye and syxe.

IN the yere of Christe a. M. [ac]cōpted right,
Thre hundreth and syxe and fyfty mo,
The prince Edward at Poyters sore dyd fyght,
The. xix. day of September was tho;
Where kyng Iohn of Fraunce his sonne also
He toke and had the felde with victorye,
His eldest sonne [then] fledde fro hym cowardly.

¶ The kyng Dauyd died and lette his hostage
For his raunsome lygge ay forth in Englande,
The yere a thousande. CCC. by knowlage
Eyght and fyftye, as I can vnderstande,
And payde not[5] yet ne quyt not out his bonde,
Ne his hostage he wolde not so di-please,
To delyuer ne putte theim fro their ease.

[1] symbihesse. [2] of. [3] couth. [4] lore. [5] nought.

¶ The quene Isabell, & the quene of Scotlande,
Her doughter was and kyng Dauyds wyfe,
Sone after dyed, and buryed I vnderstande
At [the] Graye Freres, in lande[1] knewen [full] ryfe,
[The whiche ȳ quene Isabell founded in their lyfe,
Full fayre entombed & wrought full rychely,
Where the two quenes reste full honorably.][2]

The. C.lxxxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Of the seconde pestylence and the greate wynde and earthquake, the yere a thousande. CCC.lxi.

ANd in the yere of Christ a. M. wryten,
Thre hundreth also syxtye and one,
The. ii.[3] pestylence reigned, as was weten,
Duke Henry dyed for whome was mekyll[4] mone,
Dame Blaunche his doughter, full faire of fleshe and bone,
His heire was then whom Iohn of Gaūt did wed,
The duchy [by hir] had, men saied he had well sped.

Fol. CIxxxv

¶ In that same yere was on sainct Maurys day,
The greate winde and earth quake[5] meruelous,
That greately gan[6] the people all[7] affraye,
So dredfull was it then and perelous,
Specially the wind was so boistous,
The stone walles, steples, houses, and trees,
Were blow doune in diuerse ferre[8] coūtrees.

Kyng Iohn of Fraūce.

¶ And in the yere a thousand three hundred also[9]
Sixty and foure, kyng Iohn of Fraunce dyed
[In London then, in Sauoy had been sicke,][10]
The dukes palice of Lancastre edified
Full royally as it is notified;
His boweles buryed at Poules[11] with royaltee,
His corps in Fraunce with all solempnitee.

¶ In that same yere sir Iohn Moūtfort of newe
Duke of Brytain was by heritage,

[1] London. *edit. alt.* MS. [2] At Gray Freres in London knowen rife,
Withyn Newegate wher for hir soule,
The friers praie and the bell they toule.
[3] seconde. [4] muche. [5] quave. [6] than. [7] did. [8] sere. [9] eke. [10] At London than in the Savoie he laie seke. [11] Pereules.

As

As heire male his title was [act trewe.][1]
At Orrers faught again the Frenche linage
Sir Charles de Bloys, that claimed by mariage
The duchy whole of Brytain by the might[2]
Of his wife, wher he was slain[3] by might.

¶ Duke Iohn of Gaunt was at that[4] battaile,
Sir Edmond also[5] of Langley his brother dere,
Sir Iohn Chaundos treated without[6] faill
All daye, and faught at eue through his aũswere
Whiche treaty is ȝet oft remembred here,
For Chaũdos trewee that treted[7] all daye to night,
And made bothe parties at eue together fight.

¶ At whiche battaill duke Iohn of Gaũt in dede
And his brother Edmond then faught full sore,
Were neuer twoo better knightés thẽ thei in dede[8],
That better faught vpon a feld afore,
It was but grace that thei escaped thore:
Thei putte theim selfes so ferfurth ay in prees,
That wounded wer thei bothe full sore no lees.

The. C.lxxxv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe prince Edward of Wales wedded dame Iohã, doughter of Edmond Wodstoke erle of Kent, he of ȳ third degree, and she of the second.

THese brethrẽ twoo ẇ their Englishe power
Set Iohn Moũtfort ī his whole ducherie,
With great honour & manhode all[9] in fere.
Erle Iohn of Kent dedde was afore sothely,
Erle Edmõdes soõne, to whom dame Iohã truly
His sister was heire, whome therle Mountague
Of Salisbury had wed of maiden newe,

¶ And hir forsoke after[10] repudiate.
Whom his styward sir Thomas Holand wed,
And gate on hir Thomas erle of Kent late.
And Iohn Holand hir other soonne she hed;
Thomas their father dyed of sickenes bested[11].

[1] attrewe. [2] right. [3] than slain. [4] that same. [5] als. [6] withoutyn. [7] treted. [8] nede. [9] als. [10] after and. [11] stedde.

The prince hir vowid vnto a knight of his,
She saied she would none but hym self I wis.

For hir beaute all onely he hir tooke,
And wed hir so and to[1] Guyan went;
Fol. Clxxxvi. The yere was then a thousand who so loke,
Three hundred also[2] sixty and fiue extent,
Rychard his soonne, whiles he was there regent,
In Burdaux borne was thē with great gladnes,
Supposyng then of hym greate worthynes.

A battaill in Spain. ¶ The kyng Peter of Castell and Lyon
To Burdeaux came, & ther prince Edward beheld[3]
To gette again his worthy region,
Fro whiche his brother bastard ẇ [full] strong beeld,
Had putte hym out, & thought it for to weeld;
For whiche the prince with all his hole power
Rode into Spain to helpe hym to conquer.

¶ Wher thē he faught against the bastard strōg
The third daye of[4] Aprill accompted then,
In battaill sore ferfoughten ther full long,
In whiche were slain full many a Spanish māne.
The basterd fled, the prince the feld there wan,
And sette the kyng Peter in his region,
In peace and rest without rebellion.

The. C.lxxxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the lordes of Italy sent ambassiate to kyng Edward for sir Leonell of Andwarp, to make hym kyng of Italy, who was create erle of Vlster by his wife, doughter & heire to Rychard erle of Vlster, of whom he gate dame Philip, wedded to Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche; whiche erle of Marche gate Roger erle of Marche, and my lady Percy.

THe duke of Milayn [ỹ] hight sir Bernabo,
The lord Mātowe & the marques Ferrar[5],
The lord of Mountpollestrme[6] then also,
The lordes of Iene, of Pyse that then were,
The lordes of Venis and[7] Florence there,
To kyng Edward sent ambassiate,
By commen assent of[8] papall senate,

[1] into. [2] als. [3] withelde. [4] so of. [5] Ferrare. [6] Mounte Pellestryne. [7] and of. [8] of the.

¶ For

¶ For Lionell his soonne with theim to send
The duke his doughter of Melayn for to wed,
Promisyng [hym] then hym so to recommend
That of Itale the rule sholde all be led
By hym and his[1] frendes of Italye bred,
And in short tyme to ioye and bere the croune
Of all Italye the royal region.

¶ His wife was dedde, and at Clare was buried,
And none heire he had but his doughter faire,
Philip that hight as chronicles[2] specified,
Whom quene Philip christened for his heire,
Tharchbishop of Yorke [for his][3] compeire;
Hir godmother also[4] of Warwyk the countesse
A lady was of all greate worthynes.

¶ The kyng his soonne sir Leonell create
Duke of Clarence, and to Melayn hym sent
With chiualrie of fame well ordinate,
And squyers freshe, galaunt, and sufficient,
With officers and yomen as[5] appent,
And with hym went that greate ambassiate
At his costage to Melayn consociate.

The. C.lxxxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe sir Leonell, when his wife Elionor was dedde, was create duke of Clarence, and weddid the dukes doughter of Melayn in Lumbardy, and dyed ther, & had no childe with her; and some saye he is buried there, and some saye his boones were brought home and buried at Clare in Essex; but in trouth of Clare he had his name and honoure of duke of Clarence, for Clare is called Clarencia in Latyne, and also Clarence in Frenche. *Fol. Clxxxvii.*

THis duke royall of Clarence excellent
At Melayne wedded was thē in royal wise
With that lady fayre and benevolent,
Full royally as to suche [a] prince [shuld] suffice,
And all[6] the rule he had by councell wyse,
Fro mount Godard vnto the citee [of] Florence,
And well beloued was for his sapience.

¶ In citees all he helde[7] well vnitees,
Greate iustes ay and ioyus tournementes,

[1] be his. [2] the cronycle. [3] was hir. [4] als. [5] that. [6] also. *edit. alt.* [7] kepte.

Of

Of lordes & knightes he made great assemblees
Through all the[1] lande by his wyse regimentes,
They purposed hole by theyr commen assentes
To croune hym kyng of all [great Italie,][2]
Within halfe a yere for his good gouernaly[3].

¶ In all the world was then no prince hym like
Of hie stature and of all semelynesse,
Aboue all men within his hole kyngrike;
By the shulders he might be seen doutlesse,
As a mayde in halle of gentilnesse,
And in all other places sonne to rethorike,
And in the felde a lyon Marmorike.

¶ In whiche meane tyme his iustes & his excesse,
His great riot and wynes delicacie,
His ghoste exiled out [of his corps][4] doutlesse,
Afore the daye set of his regence[5],
For whom was made great mone through Italie:
Some sayen he is buried at Melayn,
And other some saye at Clare certayn.

¶ But chyldren had he noone but Philip heire
By Elizabeth his first wyfe, whiche[6] the kyng
Edwarde maryed to Edmond Mortymer
Therle of Marche, that was his warde ful ying,
Who gate on hir Roger their derelyng[7],
And Elizabeth wed to Henry Percy,
Sonne and heyre vnto therle Henry

¶ Of Northumberland, which two, both father & sonne,
Wer knightly men in warres ay occupied,
Beyonde the sea great worshyp had they wonne;
In many a realme full greatly magnified
For marcyall actes by theim multiplied;
The whiche were long here[8] to reporte,
For[9] in theyr tyme they were of noble porte.

¶ But of the prince Edwarde yet wold I saye
Howe he fro Spayne departe[10] then in dede,
The kyng Peter toke hym his doughters tweyn,
Thelder hight dame Constaunce as I rede,

[1] that. [2] the grete Itaile. [3] governaile. [4] fro his corse. [5] regencie. [6] whome.
[7] feire derlynge. [8] herein. [9] But. [10] departed.

To

To duke Iohn wed[ded] his lyfe with her to lede ;
The yonger hight dame Isabell by name
The duke Edmōd of Yorke wed[ded] of great fame.

¶ And in the yere a thousande fully written,
Thre hundreth eke sixty and also[1] fouretene,
The prince Edwarde died, as well was weten,
At Kenyngton which was his palice clene,
And buryed was at Cauntorbury [as I][2] wene, *Fol. Clxxxvii.*
Betooke hym hole to Goddes disposicion
After his mercy to suffre his punycion.

¶ And in the yere of Christes incarnacion
A thousande hole and three hundreth signified,
The prince pereles by all informacion
Sixty and seuentene clerely notified,
Great syckenesse so had hym victoried,
And droue hym out from all his region,
That neuer prince might haue dooē by persecuciō.

¶ In Iune the. xxii. daye expresse
Was when he died & from this world expired,
That[3] was the floure of earthly worthynes,
That to the height of knighthode had aspired,
His[4] owne hande pereles as was enquired ;
At Westmynster buried in royall wyse,
As to suche a prince of reason ought suffice :

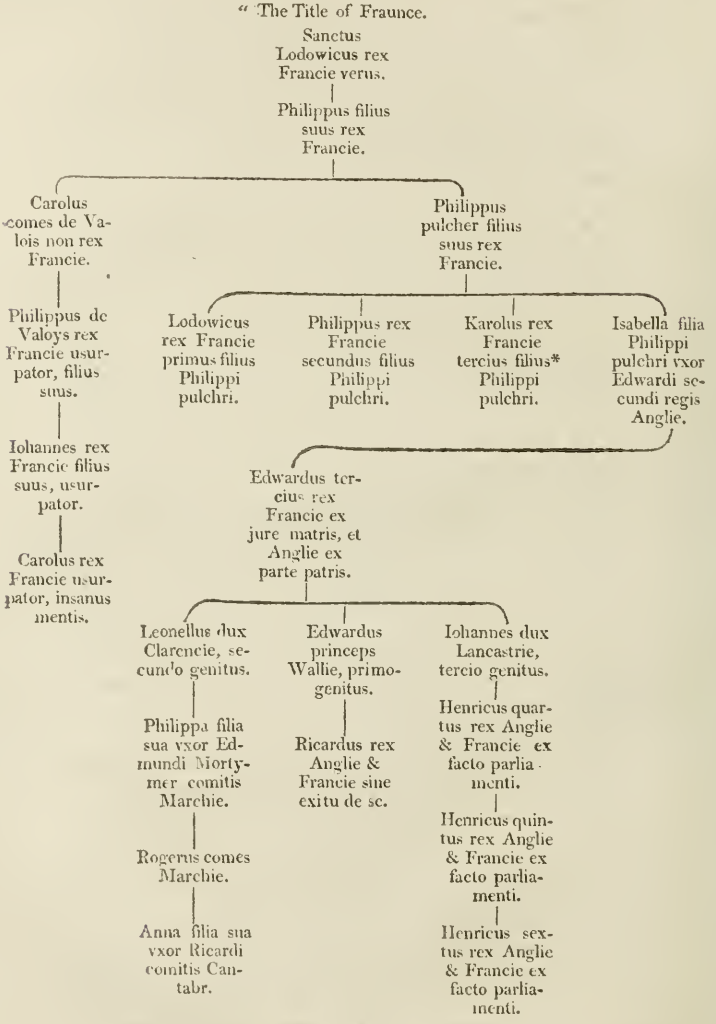
¶ Who was the first of Englyshe nacion
That euer had right vnto the croune of Fraunce
By succession of bloode and generacion,
Of his mother without[5] variaunce,
The whiche me thynk[eth] should be of moste substaūce ;
For Christ was kyng by his mother of Iudee,
Whiche syker[er] side is ay as thynketh me.

¶ [And of his pedegre vnto the croune of Fraūce
With his bloode wherof he is discent,
Within this booke, without any varyaunce,
Mencion is made only to this entente
That reders by all good auysemente,

[1] als. [2] men. [3] Who. [4] Of his [5] withoutyn.

The title of his right and heritage
May well conceyue and haue therof knowlage.][t]

[t] *Here the Harleian Manuscript gives the following prose additions. In the Selden Manuscript they are found at the end.*


" The Title of Fraunce.
Sanctus Lodowicus rex Francie verus.
Philippus filius suus rex Francie.
Carolus comes de Valois non rex Francie.
Philippus pulcher filius suus rex Francie.
Philippus de Valoys rex Francie usurpator, filius suus.
Lodowicus rex Francie primus filius Philippi pulchri.
Philippus rex Francie secundus filius Philippi pulchri.
Karolus rex Francie tercius filius* Philippi pulchri.
Isabella filia Philippi pulchri vxor Edwardi secundi regis Anglie.
Iohannes rex Francie filius suus, usurpator.
Edwardus tercius rex Francie ex jure matris, et Anglie ex parte patris.
Carolus rex Francie usurpator, insanus mentis.
Leonellus dux Clarencie, secundo genitus.
Edwardus princeps Wallie, primogenitus.
Iohannes dux Lancastrie, tercio genitus.
Philippa filia sua vxor Edmundi Mortymer comitis Marchie.
Ricardus rex Anglie & Francie sine exitu de se.
Henricus quartus rex Anglie & Francie ex facto parliamenti.
Rogerus comes Marchie.
Henricus quintus rex Anglie & Francie ex facto parliamenti.
Anna filia sua vxor Ricardi comitis Cantabr.
Henricus sextus rex Anglie & Francie ex facto parliamenti.

* Isti tres fratres, Lodowicus, Philippus, et Karolus, filii Philippi pulchri, reges Francie, qualibet per se divisum post alterum mortui sine exitu de se, vnde Iure divino et humano Corō. Francie successit ad Edwardum

The. C.lxxxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Richarde the seconde, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, began to reigne the yere a thousand thre hundreth &. lxxvii. and was deposed by parliamente in the yere a. M.CCC.xcix. and the. xxii. yere of his reygne.

RIchard his heyre, ý sōne of prīce Edward,
Crowned was then with all solempnitee

Kyng Richard the seconde.

By

---

wardum regem Anglie tertium, per medium Isabelle matris sue, prout Ihc' xp̄c temporaliter & humaniter successit ad regnum Iudeorum per medium beate Marie matris sue.

Actus Consilii generalis pro Edwardo tercio rege Anglie de jure suo, rege eciam Francie de jure matris sue.

Edwardus tercius rex Anglie et Francie transivit cum Philippa regina vxore sua in Brabanc' et in Gellerlond et Henald, et dimi-it reginam in Andewarpe civitate Brabanc', ubi ipsa peperit filium Leonellum, et xiij°. anno regeminis Anglie cepit super ipsum clamare se regem esse Francie, et portare arma Francie quarterata cum armis Anglie, tam in scuto suo quam in sigillo et in scriptis. Et antequam incepit guerram movere super Francos, scripsit Domino Pape per Ambassiatos suos in generali concilio, et omnibus principibus Cristianis titulum et totum jus suum, et declaravit quo modo Carolus Rex Francie filius Philippi pulcri quondam regis Francie, ultimus seisitus de regno Francie, sine prole de se obiit, vnde jus regni et Corone discendebat Isabelle sorori dicti Caroli et proximo heredi suo, et sic per medium ejusdem Isabelle jus discendebat dicto Edwardo filio suo; et Philippus de Valois filius Avunculi sui in linea collaterali usurpavit regnum t Coronam, per vires violenter factus contra jus Francie humanum, et peciit inde Iudicium. Et predictus Phi'ippus per oratores et ambassiatores suos alligavit ibidem quod dicta Isabella fuit femina, que non potuit esse capax corone in capite suo, et quod regnum Francie fuit talliatum heredibus masculis sancti Lodowici, cui ipse, quamvis dicta Isabella fuisset proxima de sanguine in linea directa, fuit proximus heres ad regnum & coronam per talliam predictam et nullum scriptum aut specialitatem inde monstravit, nec offerebat monstrare, et peciit inde judicium. Vnde concordatum, et ex communi consensu tocius consilii generalis diffinitum et determinatum fuit, quod predictus Edwardus habuit jus ad coronam et regnum Francie per medium dicte matris sue: sicut per jus divinum Ihesus Christus temporaliter & humaniter pervenit ad coronam regni Judeorum per medium beate Marie matris sue. Et per jus humanum Francie notorie observatum usitatum semper et approbatum, videlicet, si homo hereditatus mortuus non habeat filium quod ad filiam ejus transibit hereditas: et in libro Numeri sic approbatum, ubi Dus loquens Moysy in monte; sic de filiabus Salphaat hereditatem suam inter cognatos suos; et similiter diffinitum fuit in dicto generali consilio, si omnino oporteret predictum Edwardum jus suum predictum prosequi per guerram, quod ei bene liceat tam per subditos suos quam per alienos et amicos suos id prosequi, melioribus viis & modis quibus melius et videbitur expediri, non obstantibus alligacionibus quas Iohannes de Valois monstravit per nuncios suos in dicto consilio, omni via bone pacis petita & prosecuta perantea ne effusio sanguinis Christiane fiat in ipsius defectu, & ulterius determinatum fuit in dicto consilio quod quicquid per predictum consilium de Valesio heredes successores sive fautores suos quocunque modo post hec in prejudicium sive contrarium prosecucionis dicti Edwardi, in hac parte actum fit, erit, vel fuerit per usurpacionem, obstinacionem, aut vires violenter factas, seu imposterum faciend' injustum merito dici debeat et pro injusto teneatur.

ET post consilium predictum scripsit Philippo de Valois pro via bone pacis, et non fuit considerata ex parte Philippi sed denegata, quapropter Edwardus intravit Franciam cum armis Francie & Anglie quarteratis, et combussit civitatem Tornacensem et mille villas in via Tornacensi, per consilium & auxilium ducis Geller, ducis Brabancie, comitis Henaldie, et aliorum amicorum suorum in illis partibus. Et in temporibus istis Philippa regina peperit in Gaunt infra Flandriam Iohannem filium regis postea ducem Lancastrie.

Memorandum est quod Edwardus rex Anglie et Francie, tercius post conquestum Anglie, arripuit apud Hegges, juxta Barbeflete in Normannia, vndecimo die Iulii Anno Regni sui Anglie vicesimo, regni sui Francie vij°. et Anno Domini Millesimo CCCxlvj°: et abinde pertransivit versus Cane, in qua via cepit plura castra, civitates, et villas muratas, et per fortissimum insultum et durissimum bellum cepit dictam civitatem de Cane, constabularium Francie, viginti milites, trescentos Armigeros suos ibi, et abinde removit.

By all the lordes and barons hole award,
Obeying hole vnto his maiestee,
Who that tyme was in tendre iuuensee,
Of eleuen yere fully accompted' of age
When he had so his croune and heritage.

¶ And kyng was called of Englãde & of Fraũce.
In Iune the. xxii. daye full clene,
Of Christes death, without variaunce,
A thousande was thre hundreth sixty to neuen,
And. xvii. yere therwith to be[leuen,]
When the two realmes fell to hym by discente,
As nexte heyre to kyng Edwarde thexellent.

¶ And in the yere a thousande thre hundreth mo,
Sixty adioynt and therwith all nynetene,
The thyrde pestilence reigned in Englande so
So sore that moste parte of the people clene
Dyed awaye, as through the realme was sene,
And of his reignes of Englande and of Fraunce
The thyrde yere was by very remembraunce.

Fol. C.lxxxix.

¶ And of his reigne in Iune then the. v. yere,
And of our Lorde a thousande then accompted

ET cepit iter suum versus civitatem de Roone. Rex Philippus Francie fregit pontem, quapropter iter suum cepit versus Liseux civitatem, ubi duo cardinales sibi obviaverunt pro pace tractanda, sed voluit pro eis tardari, dando eis responsum quod quando rex Philippus offerrat ei racionem et jus suum, ipse vellet libenter admittere. Et cepit Liseux forti manu, et fecit custodem et officiarios suos ibi, et abinde removit versus Paris.

ET cepit viam suam versus civitatem de Paris, et rex Philippus fecit omnes pontes in via sua rumpi, per quod rex Edwardus venit ad Poysy, ubi rex Philippus fecit pontem rumpi, et pontem de Seyntlo, quod non potuit ad Paris venire, Philippo rege tunc existente in Paris, ubi rex Edwardus cum exercitu suo ibidem requievit, et reperavit pontes predictos per tres noctes et tres dies donec illos duos pontes reperaverat, per quod pertransivit aquam de Sayne, ubi forte bellum et magna occisio Gallorum fuerunt deultra aquam de Sayne, et post bellum percussum cum victoria abinde removit cum exercitu suo.

ET cepit iter suum versus aquam de Sowme, ubi omnes pontes fracti fuerunt, vnde iter suum cepit versus villam de seynt Wallery, ubi aquam de Sowme pertransivit, per grande bellum et occisionem Gallorum, ubi, deultra villam, vidit Philippum regem ex altera parte aque pertransientem usque ad villam de Abvile, propter quod rex Edwardus pertransivit usque ad Cressy.

ET die Sabbati, vicesimo sexto die Augusti, predicti duo reges apud Cressy bellum percusserunt, anno predicto ante horam vesperam, ubi rex Philippus et primogenitus suus cum centum vexillis fugierunt a campo, ubi nobilis rex de Bayheñ & xiiij.M.cccclx. domini, milites, et armati, occisi fuerunt, ultra communes Francorum ad majorem numerum. Et Edwardus rex ibi pernoctavit in Campo ad confortandum homines suos vulneratos et lesos: et abinde removit.

ET cepit iter suum cum victoria versus villam de Caleis, et venit coram Calcys et obsedit illam quinto die Septembris Anno predicto ex omni parte per mare et per terram, ubi nobilis dux Henricus Lancastrie et Dominus de Percy filius sororis sue, venerunt sibi cum exercitu suo ab Acquitania per totam Franciam absque impedimento Francorum, permanentes cum rege quousque rex habuerat villam et Castrum de Caleis.

' accounte.

Thre hundreth eke. iiii. score and one full clere,
The commons rose an hūdreth thousād amoūted[1], Insurrecciō.
Of Kent and Essex, whiche that tyme surmounted
The kynges power and all the hie estates,
For whiche the lordes fled then as exulates,

¶ And lefte the kyng alone [then] in the toure
With tharchbyshop of Cauntorbury there so,
And the priour to been his gouernoure
Of Clerken well whiche[2] the commons heded tho,
And brought the kyng forth with theim to[3] go:
They asked hym all bondmen to bee free,
And taxe[4] none euer after payed to bee.

¶ They asked eke[5] Iake Strawe & Wat Tiler
To bee made dukes of Essex and Kente,
To rule the kyng thens forth in peace and warre,
For they bee wyse of royall regiment.
Thus tolde they the[6] kyng all theyr entent,
The whiche he graunte in all thyng by and by
For he durste [no poynt][7] then theim denye.

¶ Afore Iake Strawe ŷ kyng thē stode hodlesse,
Of which Walworth, the mayre of Londō trewe,
Areasoned hym then of his greate lewdenesse,
With a dagger in Smythfelde then hym slewe,
The citezens with hym then strongly drewe
And slewe theim downe and put theim to[6] flight,
And brought the kyng into the[8] citee right.

¶ The cōmons brent the Sauoye a place[9] fayre,
For euill wyll they had vnto duke Iohn;
Wherfore he fled northwarde in great dispayre
Into Scotlande: for socoure had he none
In Englande then, to whō he durste make moone;
And there abode tyll commons all were ceased
In England hole, and all the lande well peased.

¶ The. xx. daye of Maye nexte folowyng,
And one therwith as calculers it knowe,

[1] that amounted. [2] whom. [3] for to. [4] taxes. [5] als. [6] to the. [7] not any point. [8] his own. [9] paleis.

The date of Christ a thousande then beynge,
Thre hundreth also[1] foure score & two on rowe,
Thearth quake was whiche that tyme I sawe,
That castelles, walles, toures and steples fyll,
Houses and trees and cragges[2] fro the hyll.

¶ And in the yere afore kyng Richarde wed
Quene Anne vpon saynt Agnes day that floure,
That doughter was, as I haue sene and red,
Vnto the kyng of Beeme and emperoure,
And suster also[1] vnto his successoure
Themperour of Rome, that Segemond hight,
Who to kyng Henry [in Englãde][3] came full right.

The. C.lxxxix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Richard wente into Scotlande in the yere a thousande three hundreth and. lxxxvi. and in his reygne the. x. yere; and howe he create two dukes of Yorke and of Gloucestre.

ANd in the yere of Christ a thousande so,
Thre hũdreth also[1] foure score &. vi. ther tyl,
And of his reigne the. x. yere and mo,
The kyng Richard with hoste went at his wyl
Fol. C.xc In to Scotlande his corage to fulfyll,
To Edinburgh, and brent the lande also,
Without lettyng there of any foo.

¶ At London so then at his parlyament
He made therle of Cambrydge, his vncle dere,
The duke of Yorke to be incontynent,
And so he was proclaymed there full clere,
That Edmonde hyght of Langley of good chere,
Glad and mery and of his owne ay lyued
Without[4] wronge as chronicles[5] haue breued.

When all [the] lordes[6] to councell and parlyament
[Went,] he wolde to hunte and also to hawekyng,
All gentyll[7] disporte [as to a lorde][8] appent,
He vsed aye and to the pore supportyng,
Where euer he was in any place bidyng,

[1] als. [2] rockes. [3] the fifte. [4] Withoutyn. [5] cronyclers. [6] lordes went. [7] gentilnes. [8] that myrth.

Without

Without suppryse, or any extorcyon
Of the porayle, or any oppressyon.

¶ He made also the earle of Bokyngham
Thomas Wodstoke that same daye, and create
His other vncle duke of Gloucester by name
Proclaymed hole, and so denominate
With his brother to be consociate;
The foxe tayle he bare ay on his spere,
Where he so rode in peace or elles in warre.

¶ The kyng then made ỹ duke of Yorke by name
Maister of the mewhouse & his[1] haukes fayre,
Of his venery and mayster of his game,
In what countree he[2] dyd repeyre,
Which was to hym, without any dispeyre,
Well more comforte and great[3] gladnesse
Then bene a lorde of worldly greate rychesse.

¶ His vncle Thomas, ỹ duke then of Gloucester,
And[4] wed the doughter then of therle of Herforth,
By whiche he had by writyng & by letter
The constablery of Englande then ay forth,
[Both by South, Est, West and North,]
By[5] herytage of his wyues lande and ryght,
Of auncyent tyme by kynges graunt & hyght.

¶ And in the yere of kyng Richarde elleuen,
The duke Thomas that was of Gloucester,
Henry the earle of Derby dyd beleuen
With hym by worde and also by his letter,
The earle Marshall did so then for the better,
Therle Beauchampe of Warwyk by his name,
Of Arundell the earle dyd[6] the same:

* The batail of Rotcote bridge.

¶ These lordes fyue togethier boldely sworne
Agayne Robert Veer then duke of Irelande,
The kinges pleasure & [one] of age both like borne,
Whom he loued moste as they could vnderstand,
With batayl stronge at Rotcot bryge toke on hād
To fyght with hym, where then he fled awaye
Ouer Thamis, without retourne for ay.

[1] of. [2] that he. [3] a greater. [4] Had. [5] Of. [6] then dide.

The.

The. C.xc. Chapiter.

¶ Of the great parlyament where the fyue lordes foriuged ỹ duke of Irelande and his compeers.

AT Lenton nexte accompted in the[1] yere
At London then, ỹ king set his parliamēt
At Westminster to hold it there moste clere,
Where these fyue lordes came armed by one assēt,
Appealed the duke of Irelande of greate entent,
The archbyshop [of Yorke] that[2] hyght Neuyle,
And Michell Poole earle of Suffolke that whyle,

¶ Sir Nichol Brēbyr[3] of London ỹ was mayre,
Tresilyan also[4] and syr Symonde Bourley
Whiche they exyled, & some they honge vnfeyre;
Some they heded that tyme that was[5] full gaye,
Holt and Belknap exyled were awaye
In to Irelande, for hye contryued treasone
Agayne the kyng and his royall crowne.

* The batayl of Otturborne.

¶ The earle Douglas & the earle of March also,
Northumberlande, by West the Newe Castell,
Vnto Morpath norwarde dyd mikyll wo
At Otturborne, as chronycles dyd[6] tell,
Henry Percy with small hoste on hym[7] fell,
And slewe Douglas, & many put to [the] flyght,
And gate the felde vpon his enemyes ryght.

¶ He sent the lorde syr Thomas Vmfreuyle,
His brother Robert, & also[4] sir Thomas Grey,
And sir Mawe[8] Redmayn beyond ỹ Scottes that whyle,
To holde them in ỹ they fled not awaye;
Wherfore the Scottes releued agayne alway,
Throuh which Henry was takē there anone,
To Dūbar led, for whom was made great mone.

¶ The felde was his all̃yf ỹ he were take,
The Vmfreuyle, Grey, Ogle, and Redmayne
Helde the felde hole, ỹ myght so for his sake,
And knewe nothyng whetherwarde he was gayn.

[1] that. [2] that then. [3] Bremble. [4] als. [5] were. [6] cronyclers doo. [7] theym. [8] May.

The

The earle of Marche with preuy men alane,
Full priuely to Dunbarre with hym rode,
And kepte hym there, for he was greatly ferde'.

¶ The Douglas all ý many were that daye,
Laboured full sore with wyles and great wyt
Hym to haue slayne for euer and ay,
For Douglas death, so sore they rewed it.
This batail was on saynt Oswoldes daye cōmyt,
The. xii. yere of the kyng, and of Cristes date
Thirtene. C. foure score and eyght socyate.

The. C.xci. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the quene Anne dyed, and howe kyng Rychard went fyrste to Irelande[2] with his hoste.

ANd in the yere a thousand. iii. C. [and] mo,
Foure score & fourtene, quene Anne died,
The. xviii. yere was of the kyng then so,
And bury d was as well is notifyed:
Of all vertue she was well laudefyed,
To womanhede that myght in ought appende,
At Westminster she is full well commende.

¶ At Michelmasse nexte after folowyng,
In that same yere the kyng to Irelande went,
With greate power & hoste therin warrynge
Vpon Makmur with all his hole entente,
And on the greate Aneell[3] by one[4] ascent
Of his lordes, where Makmurre & greate Aneel[3]
To hym obeyed and made hym homage leel.

¶ The earle of Marche, syr Roger Mortymer,
The kynge made then leuetenaũt of Irelande, *Fol. C.xxiii.*
That yonge was then, and home he came ý yere,
And great hoshoulde helde [as] I [can] vnderstand,
Far passyng kynges of any other lande;
For whiche the voyce on hym rose[5] and name
Through Christendom he bare then furth ý fame.

[1] loode [2] Ierusalem. *edit. alt.* [3] Oncle. *edit. alt.* [4] all. [5] than rose.

¶ And

¶ And in the yere a thousande as was then,
Thre hundreth eke foure score & also[1] syxtene,
Of his reygne the. xviii. yere was then[2],
At Alhalowmasse[3] kyng Rychard as was sene
At Calys wed dame Isabell the[4] quene
Kīg Charles doughter ŷ then was kīg of Fraūce,
At Christmasse crowned by gouernaunce.

¶ And in Smithfelde great iustes & tornement[5]
Of all realmes and dyuers nacyon,
Of Englyshe, Iryshe[6] and Walshe present,
Of Scottes also[1] were at the[7] coronacyon,
And iusted there with greate cōmendacyon,
By. xiiii. dayes iusted who so[8] wolde,
[Henry of Derby bare hym][9] then full bolde.

Henry Percy and Raufe his brother gaye,
Robert Morley and syr Iohn Grene Cornewell,
Heer Nichol Hauberke and eke syr Mawburney,
Walter Bytterley, syr Thomas Blankeueile,
Syr Hugh Spencer, and Iamco[10] saunz fayle,
Heer Hans, heer Iohn, & the lorde Fitz Walter,
Blaket, Dynmoke, and also[1] the lorde Spencer,

¶ Vmfreuyle and his brother Roberte,
Vmfrey Stafforde and syr Rychard Arundell.
These. xx. helde the felde within full smert
Agayne all other that wolde with iustes mell,
Of what nacyon he were that man can[11] tell,
Of [in any lande the][12] knyghtes iusted thare,
And squyers also[1] without ŷ well them bare.

The. C.xcii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng arest the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Warwyk and Aroundell, and foreiuged them for treason; and made fyue dukes, a marquis, and foure earles; and watched daye and nyghte with Cheshyre men, for drede of insurreccyon.

THe yere of Christe a. M. was so then,
Thre. C. eke foure score & also[1] seuentene,

[1] als. [2] whan. [3] Hallowtide. [4] to. [5] *The other edit. has* torment, *evidently in mistake.*
[6] als Irish. [7] that. [8] so there. [9] The erle Henry of Derby. [10] Iamyco. [11] couth.
[12] many londes.

At Mydsomer the kyng with many a man
At Plashe toke Thomas of Wodstoke full kene,
Of Gloucester the duke that was full clene,
That smyten was in fell and great syknesse,
And in the towre hym put in great distresse.

¶ Whome sone he sente to Calyce secretely,
And murthered hym[1] in the prynces inne,
By hole aduice of his councell priuely,
And in eche shyre of which he did greate synne,
His confessyon of treason more and mynne,
Of. ix. poyntes fayned, he then proclaymed
To staunche the folke ỹ for hym cryed & claymed.

¶ He then arest Thomas earle of Warwyke,
And earle Rycharde of Arundell no lees,
The lorde Cobham full trewe and also[2] manlyke,
Foriuged them by strength of men and prees,
The earle of Warwyk his name for to distresse[3],
Vnto thisle of Man in sore prison,
Of Arundell therle hedded for treson.

Fol. C.xciii.

¶ The lord Cobham in [to] prisone perpetuall
In the towre to abide for euer more:
At Mighelmasse next, so then did bifall,
The kyng then held his greate parlyament thore,
At Westminster, wher the kyng mustred sore
At the Blakeheth an hundred thousand menne,
To make the commons for to dred hym then.

¶ At whiche parlyamēt he made therle of Derby
Duke of Herford, therle of Rutland also
Of Almarle duke, therle of Kent duke of Surry,
Therle of Huntyngton duke of Excester tho,
Therle marshall he made and no mo
Duke of Northfolke; thus were there dukes fiue
Of newe create, and none was substantiue.

¶ He made therle of Somerset marques
Of Dorset then, sir Iohn Beaufort that hight,
Of poore linelode that was that tyme doubtles,

[1] hym ther. [2] als. [3] decrees.

Foure erles next he made in mantiles [full] right,
With swerdes girt, the lord Spencer on hight,
That create was then erle of Gloucester,
Thomas Percy also erle of Worcester,

¶ The lord Neuell then erle of Westmerland,
Wyllyam Scrope erle of Wiltshire create,
That chamberleyn was then, I vnderstand,
And tresourer of England ordinate.
These foure erles were thus consociate;
Then all these dukes and erles with many mo
Of lordes young he [had aye with hym.][1]

¶ Bishopes thirtyne he held then furth eche daye,
Barons many and many a worthy knight,
To greate nombre, and squiers freshe and gaye,
And officers well mo then nedid right,
In eche office by tenfold mo to sight
Then were afore; for then he had, eche daye,
Twoo hundred menne of Cheshire wher he laye,

¶ To watche hym aye wher so euer he laye,
He dred hym aye so of insurreccion
Of the commons and of the people aye,
He trusted none of all his region,
But Chesshire menne for his proteccion;
Wher euer he rode with arowes and bowes bent,
Thei were with hym aye redy at his entent.

The. C.xciii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe in the tyme of kyng Rychard reigned ouer passyng pryde, aduoutree and lechery, as well in menne of the spiritualtie, as in other of his hous.

TRuly I herd Robert Ireleffe[2] saye,
Clerke of the grenecloth, ý to the houshold
Came euery daye for moost partie alwaye,
Ten thousand folke by his messis tould,
That folowed the hous aye as thei would,
And in the kechin three hundred seruitours,
And in eche office many occupiours;

[1] he helde aie with hym so. [2] Iuelefe.

¶ And

¶ And ladies faire with their gentilwomen,
Chamberers also and lauenders[1],
Three hundred [of theim were occupied][2] then.
Ther was greate pride emong thofficers, *Pol. C.xciiii.*
And of all menne farpassyng their compeers,
Of riche araye and muche more costious
Then was before or sith, and more precious.

¶ Yemenne and gromes in cloth of silke arayed,
Sattyn, and damaske, in dublettes and[3] gounes,
In cloth of grene and scarlet for vnpayed,
Cut werke was greate both in court and tounes,
Bothe in mēnes hoddis and also in their gounes;
Broudur and furres & goldsmith werke aye newe,
In many awise eche daye thei did renewe.

¶ In his chapell were bishoppes then of Beame,
Some of Ireland, and some also of Fraunce,
Some of England, and clerkes of many a realme,
That litill connyng had or conisaunce
In musike honorably God his seruice to auaunce
In the chapell, or in holy scripture
On[4] mater of Goddis[5] to refigure.

¶ Lewed menne thei were in clerkes clothyng,
Disguysed faire in fourme of clerkes wise,
Their peryshyns full litill enfourmyng
In lawe deuine or els in God [his] seruise;
But right practyfe thei were in couetyse,
Eche yere to make full greate collecoion,
At home in stede of soules correccion.

¶ Greate lechery and fornicacion
Was in that house, and also[6] greate aduoutree,
Of paramoures was greate consolacion,
Of eche degre well more of prelacie,
Then of [the] temporall or of the chiualrie:
Greate taxe ay the kyng tooke through all the lād,
For whiche commons[7] hym hated [bothe] free & bōd.

[1] launderers. *edit. alt* [2] were accounted of theym. [3] and in [4] Any. [5] Gode. [6] als.
[7] the commons. *edit. alt.*

The. C.xciiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the duke of Herford and the duke of Northfolke wer exiled out of England.

ANd in the yere. M. and thre hundred clere,
Foure score and therwithall eightene,
And of his reigne the twenty & twoo yere,
The duke Henry of Herford, as was seen,
At Couentree in barres armed clene,
Again the duke of Northforke for treson,
Whiche bothe the kyng exiled fro his region.

¶ The duke Henry exiled was[1] for ten yere,
The other was also for terme of life,
That died duke, at Venys leide on bere,
But duke Henry exiled was beliue[2],
[Like as the chronicle can openly discriue,]
For ten yere whole for to abide in Fraunce,
And to auoyde the realme without[3] variaunce,

¶ Vpon the pain of decollacion;
And hiyng[4] sone before sainct Edwardes daye,
In Octobre, [called] the translacion;
Vpon whiche daye he shipid fourth his waye,
At Calice londed and so rode on[5] [alwaye]
Vnto Paris, wher he was faire recepte
With lordes many and worship[ful]ly was mette.

¶ In Lenton next, duke Iohn his father dyed,
Of Lancaster, of weakenes and of age, *Fol. C.xcv.*
Entombed faire at sainct Poules buryed,
His heire in Fraunce should haue his heritage:
In Maye then next the kyng, with baronage,
To Ireland went with hoste and greate power,
The wild Irishe to wynne and to conquere.

¶ For then Roger therle of Marche was slain,
With wild Irishe in bushment for hym laye,
His soonnes then full young [were bothe][6] twein,

[1] was also. *edit alt.* [2] full rife. [3] with. *edit. alt.* [4] hedyng. [5] furth. [6] that were but.

In

In ward were take vnto the kyng that daye,
And then the kyng made full fell arayc,
In euery shire blanke charters to bee sealid,
For cause his actes should not bee repeiled.

Blanche chartres.

[In] the yere of Christ a. M. was then clere,
Three C. also[1] foure score and eke ninetene,
And of his reigne the twoo[2] & twenty yere,
Begynnyng at Midsomer, then as I meane,
[Whiche afterward turned hym to nukell tene;]
He was then landed[3] in Ireland with his hoste
Of chiualrie and power with the moste.

Kyng Richard his voiage into Irelād.

The. C.xcv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe duke Henry of Herford and of Leicestre landed in Holdernesse in the same yere, and Thomas Arundell archebishop of Cantorbury that before was exiled, and howe duke Henry swore to therle of Northūberland and to sir Henry Percy, wardeyns of the Marches, and to therle of Westmerland, and to other lordes of ŷ North.

AT whiche tyme so ŷ duke Henry toke land
At Reuēsporn ī Yorkeshire, as was knowe,
Tharchbishop Thomas, I vnderstand,
Of Cauntorbury, Arondell, that was lowe
Bothe of ryches and gold as menne sawe,
For the kyng had hym out of [the] land exiled
Fro Cauntorbury, neuer more to bee reconsiled.

¶ In Holdernesse he landed[3] with fourty menne,
Wher the lordes of Lyncolneshire hym mette;
Bothe Wyloughby Roos and Darcy then,
And Beaumoūt also[1], ẅ penouns proudly bette,
By ordinaunce of Henry Percy sette
Erle of Northumberland and sir Henry
His soonne, wardeyns of the Marche[4] seuerally.

¶ To Dancaster he rode full manfully,
Wher bothe the wardeyns of the Marche[4] mette
Then with the duke, with hostes great & chiualry,
Therle also of Westmerland was sette,

[1] als. [2] thre. [3] londe. [4] Marches.

With

With his power, as then it was his debt ;
For he had wed the dukes suster dere,
A full good lady without[1] any were

¶ Ther swore the duke vpon the sacrament,
To claime no more but his mothers heritage,
His fathers landes, and his wifes in good entent,
And to laye downe bothe taxe and tallage,
Whiles he might liue but of[2] the baronage ;
And all thestates somouned in parlyament,
Thought it nedefull, and therto whole assent.

Fol. C.xcvi.

¶ He swore also the kyng in gouernaunce
To be put by good and hole prouision,
And Chesshyre men, for theyr misgouernaunce,
To voyde out of his house of eiuill condicion,
And officers of good disposicion,
To rule his house like his estate royall,
Thus was his othe there made in speciall.

¶ Then rode they forth to Bristowe were thē lay
Scrop and Busshe, and also[3] syr Henry Grene,
And headed theim, but Baget[4] fled away ;
And then the kyng at Flynt, as was sene,
Great monstres[5] made of people that was[6] kene,
Whiche toke his wage and came[7] to duke Henry,
And rode ay forth with hym full redely.

¶ In this meane whyle therle of Northūberlāde
Treated with the kyng that tyme in Conwaye,
To mete with duke Henry then in Englande,
And brought hym then to hym in meke araye,
With litell speche to Chester then the waye,
They rode anone and put hym there in warde,
And so to London from thens came southwarde.

The. C.xcvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe duke Henry of Lancaster was made kyng by resignacion, renunciacion, and deposayle, and election of the parliamente, and crouned at Westmynster on saynte Edwardes daye in Octobre.

[1] withoutyn. [2] if. [3] als. [4] Bagot. [5] mustres. [6] were. [7] went.

ANd

ANd set hym in the toure, where he resigned
His right, his realme & his royall croune
To duke Hēry, which no mā thē repugned;
And there he made a playn renunciacion
Of all his righte, for whiche by prouision
The parlament then, for his misgouernaunce,
Deposed hym so then by greate ordinaunce.

¶ Then went they to a free election,
Seyng the youth then of the Mortimer,
That erle of [the] Marche by trewe direccion
Was then, and heire of England then moste nere
To kyng Richarde, as well then did appere,
Consydred also[1] the right of duke Henry,
They chose hym kyng, there durst none it[2] deny.

¶ Therle of Northumberlande then had sent
His power home by councell of duke Henry,
So did his sonne Henry that truly ment,
Supposyng well the duke wolde not vary
From his othe, ne in no wyse contrary,
And he and his kepte all theyr power,
[Tyll he was crouned][3] kyng, as [it] did appere.

¶ Therles two then of Northumberlande,
Of Worcester, and syr Henry Percy,
And therle also of Westmerlande
Councelled hym then fro his oth not to varye;
And though at eue he did to theim applie,
On the morowe by a pryue counsayl,
He would be crouned kyng without fayle[4].

The.

[1] als. [2] hym. [3] to he were croundе for. [4] any faill.

The Harleian MS. has here the following prose addition, which also occurs at the end of the Selden MS.

" For a muche as many men mervaile gretely why the erle of Northumberlonde and sir Henry Percy his furste goten sonne, and sir Thomas Percy erle of Worcestre, were supportours to king Henry the fourth, to have his heritage and to take kynge Richarde to have depose hym be stronge honde, truly I, the maker of this boke, wase brought up fro twelve yere of age in sir Henry Percy house to the batail of Shrewesbury, wher I was with hym armed of xxv^t^ yere of age, as I had beene afore at Homyldon, Cokelawe, and at divers roode and feddes wyth hym and knewe his entent and hade it wretyn. Wherfore I have titled in this booke that for trouth the cause why they re[illegible]ayenst hym may euermore be knowe. Their quarell wase so sucte, devoute, and be goode aduyse and counsall of maister Richarde Scrope archebishope of Yorke, for whome God Almyghty hath showed many myracles sith that tyme hedirwarde, and be the counsell of dyvers other holy men, and also be counsell of dyvers ouer lordes that deceyued hym, and wer bounde to hym be theire lettres and sealles which I sawe and hade in kepynge

whiles

The. C.xcvii. Chapiter.

¶ Henry the fourth, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, was electe by ȳ hole parliament the morowe after Michelmasse daye, the yere of our Lorde a thousande thre hundreth foure score and nynetene, and reigned. xiiii. yere, & died at Westmynstre the. xix. daye of Marche, in the yere of Christe a thousande foure hundreth and. xiii., and of his owne reygne the. xiiii. yere.

Fol. C.xcvii.

Kyng Henry ȳ fourth.

THis duke Henry, by great loue of the land,
Of many lordes and of the commontee,
Tharchebyshop Arondell toke on hande
To croune hym then in royall maiestee,
On sayut Edwardes day with [great] solempnitee ;
But kyng he was the morowe[1] after Mighelmesse,
His reygne begynnyng that day without distresse.

¶ Therle

[1] morne.

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whiles I wase with hym, and all theire quarell they sent to kynge Henry in the felde, writeñ vnder the scalles of their thre armes, be Thomas Knayton and Roger Salvayñ, squyers of sir Henry Percy; whiche quarell nowe followeth nexte after.

" Nos Henricus Percy, Comes Northumbrie, Constabularius Angliæ, et Custos Westmarchie Anglie versus Scociam, Henricus Percy, primogenitus noster Custos Estmarchie Anglie versus Scociam, et Thomas Percy Comes Worcestrie, procuratores et protectores rei publice, coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo Judice nostro suppremo, ponimus, dicimus et probare intendimus manibus nostris personaliter, die instante, contra te Henricum ducem Lancastrie, complices tuos et fautores, te injuste presumentem et nominantem regem Anglie, sine titulo juris nisi tamen de dolo tuo et vi fautorum tuorum, Quod quando tu post exilium tuum Angliam intrasti, apud Doncastre tu jurasti nobis supra sacra evangelia corporaliter per te tacta et osculata juxta clamare regnum, seu regium statum, nisi solummodo hereditatem tuam propriam et hereditatem uxoris tue in Anglia, et quod Ricardus dominus noster rex ad tunc regnaret ad terminum vite sue gubernatus per bonum consilium dominorum spiritualium et temporalium. Tu ipsum dominum tuum et regem nostrum imprisonasti infra turrim London quousque resignaverat metu mortis regna Anglie et Francie, et renunciaverat totum jus suum regnis predictis et aliis dominiis suis et terris deultra mare. Colore quarum resignacionis et renunciacionis, tuorum fautorum consilio, ac publica voceracione, vulgaris populi apud Westmonasterium per te et tuos complices collecti, tu te coronasti in regem regnorum predictorum et seisiri fecisti omnia castra et dominia regalia contra sacramentum tuum; unde perjuratus es, et falsus.

" Item nos ponimus, dicimus, et probare intendimus quod ubi tu jurasti super eadem evangelia eisdem loco et tempore nobis nullas decimas de clero, nec quintodecimas de populo, nec aliqua alia talliagia in regno Anglie levari permitteres ad opus regnum dum viveres nisi per considerationem trium statuum regni in parliamento et hoc non nisi propter maximam indigenciam pro resistencia inimicorum tantummodo et non alter. Tu contra juramentum tuum sic prestitum levari fecisti quamplures decimas et quinto-decimas ac alias impositiones et talliagia tam cleri quam comunitatis Anglie et Mercatorum, metu majestatis regie tue, unde perjuratus es, et falsus.

" Item nos ponimus, dicimus et probare intendimus quod ubi tu nobis jurasti super eadem evangelia, eisdem tempore et loco, quod dominus noster et tuus rex Ricardus regnaret dum viveret in regalibus prerogativis suis. Tu ipsum dominum nostrum regem et tuum proditorie in castro tuo de Pountefreite sine consensu suo, seu judicio dominorum regni, per quindecim dies et tot noctes, quod horrendum est inter Christianos audiri, fame, scitu, et frigore interfici fecisti et murdro periri, unde perjuratus es et falsus

" Item ponimus, dicimus et probare intendimus quod tu, tunc temporis quando dominus Ricardus rex noster et tuus fuit sic ex horribili murdro mortuus ut supra, tu extorcisti, usurpasti et deforciasti regnum

¶ Therle of Warwike and therle of Arondell
That exiled were, and the lorde Cobham eke,
With all theyr frendes ý kyng Richard did expell,
The dukes frendes of Gloucester nought to seke,
Whiche then began for to encrease, and eke
Through all the realme with kyng Henry to stād.
To croune hym kyng that tyme of all Englande.

¶ An

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num Anglie ac nomen & honorem regni Francie injuste contra juramentum tuum ab Edmundo Mortymere comite Marchie, tunc proximo et directo herede Anglie et Francie, immediate et hereditarie post decessum predicti Ricardi successuro, unde perjuratus et falsus es.

" Item ponimus, dicimus, et probare intendimus ut supra quod ubi jurasti eisdem loco et tempore supportare et manutenere leges regni Anglie et consuetudines bonas, et postea tempore coronacionis tue jurasti easdem custodire et conservare illesas, tu subdole et contra legem Anglie tuis fautoribus scripsisti quamplures in quolibet comitatu Anglie ad eligendos tales milites pro quolibet parliamento qui tibi placuerint sic quod in parliamentis tuis nullam justiciam contra voluntatem tuum in hiis querelis nostris nunc motis non potuimus habere quamvis nos plures tibi secundum consciencias nostras nobis a Deo datas conquerulavimus sine remedio, Deo teste et venerabilibus patribus Thoma Arundell Cantuariensis et Ricardo Scrope Eboracensis archiepiscopis, unde nunc manu forti oportet coram domino nostro Ihesu Christo nos petere remedium.

" Item ponimus, dicimus, & probare intendimus quod ubi Edmundus Mortymere, frater Rogeri Mortymere nuper comitis Marchie et Ultonie, fuit captus per Owinum Glendore in mortali bello campestri, et in prisona ac vinculis ferreis adhuc crudeliter tentus, in causa tua quem tu proclamasti captum ex dolo, et noluisti pati deliberacionem suam per se nec per nos consanguineos suos et amicos quar'modo affident' cum predicto Owino pro financia sua de bonis nostris propriis protractavimus ac pro bono pacis inter te et ipsum Owinum, quapropter considerasti nos tanquam proditores et de cetero mortem et finalem destructionem personarum nostrarum subdole et secrete conjeccisti et imaginasti. Ideo te et complices tuos et fautores mortaliter diffidimus tanquam proditores et rei publice regni destructores, ac veri ac directi heredis Anglie et Francie invasores, oppressores et deforciatores & manibus nostris hic probare intendimus hac die, omnipotente Deo nobis auxiliante.

" For asmuche as many meñ have been merred and yit stonde in grete erroure and contraversy, holdyng oppynyon frowarde howe that Edmonde erle of Lancastre Leicestre and Derby wase the elder sonne of kynge Henry the thride, croukebacked, vnable to haue been kynge, for the whiche Edward his yonger brother wase made kynge be his assente, as soñe men haue alleged, be añ vntrewe cronycle feyned in the tyme of kynge Richarde the seconde be Iohn of Gaunte duke of Lancastre to make Henry his sonne kynge, whañ he sawe he myght not be chose for heyre apparaunt to kynge Richarde.

" For I John Hardynge, the maker of this booke, herde the erle of Northumberlonde that wase slayne at Branham More in the time of kyng Henry the Fourth saie, howe the same kyng Henry, vpon saynt Mathee daye afore he wase made kinge, put forth that ilke cronycle claymynge his title to the crown be the seide Edmonde, upon whiche all the Cronycles of Westminstre and of all other notable monasteries were hade in the counsell at Westmynstre, and examyned amonge the lordes, and proued well be all theire cronycles, that the kinge Edwarde wase the older brother, and the seide Edmonde the yonger brother, and not croukebacked nother maymed, but the semeliest persoñ of Engelonde except his brother Edwarde. Wherfore that Chronycle whiche kynge Henry so put furth was adnulled and reproued.

And than I herde the seide erle saie, that the seid kynge Henry made kynge Richarde vnder dures of prisoñ in the Toure of London in fere of his life to make a resignatioñ of his right to hym. And upon that a renunciation of the seide right. And tho two declared in the counsell and in the parlement at Westmynster, on the morowe of seynt Michell thañ next followynge, what of his myght and his wilfulnes, and what be certeyne lordes and strenght of the coñons, he wase crounde ayenst his oth made in the White Ffreres at Doncastre to the seid erle of Northumberlonde and other lordes, ayenst the wille and counsell of the seide erle and of his sonne, and of sir Thomas Percy earl of Worcestri, for which cause they died after, as I knew well, for that tyme I wase in the feelde at Shrewsbury with sir Henry Percy, of the age of xxv^{ti} yere, armed, and afore brought up in his house of xij yere age.

" Also I herde the seide erle of Northumberlonde saie divers tymes, that he herde duke Iohn of Lancastre

¶ An hundreth thousande cryed all[1] at ones,
At Westmynster to croune hym for[2] kyng,
So hated they kyng Rychard for the nones,
For his mysrule and wrong gouernyng,
For taxes and for blanke charters sealyng,
For murder of duke Thomas [of] Woodstoke,
That loued was well more then all the floke.

¶ The great parliament [then he made][3] rehersed,
The dukes[4] of Almarle, Excestre and Surry,
He depryued and the iudgement reuersed
That then was made & gaue full wylfully,
Agayne Woodstoke and Warwyke for enuie,
Arondell and the lorde Cobham full trewe,
Whiche was reuersed and reuoked newe.

¶ The duke of Almarle was then erle Rutlande,
The duke of Surry erle of Kent was agayn,
And eke the duke of Excester, I vnderstande,
Of Hungtyngdon therle was to be fayn,
The marques eke of Dorset was full bayn
Of Somerset erle agayn to bene,
He chastised theim no feller as was sene.

¶ Therle of Gloucester was lord Spencer
Then set agayn to[5] his first estate;
The kyng then made his eldest sonne full clere
The prince of Wales in parliament hole create,
Duke of Cornewayle and erle denominate,
Of Chester also[6] that then was yong of age;
But yet he was that tyme of hye courage.

[1] than all. [2] for their. [3] he made than been. [4] dukes thre. [5] unto. [6] als.

castre, amonge the lordes in counsels and in parlementes, and in the cōmon house, amonge the knyghtes chosyn̄ for the comons, aske be bille forto beene admytte heire apparaunte to kyng Richarde, considerynge howe the kynge wase like to haue no issue of his bodie. To the whiche the lordes spirituell and temporell and the cōmons in the cōmon house, be hoole aduyse, seide, that the erle of Marche, Roger Mortymere, wase his next heire to the crouñ, of full discent of blode, and they wolde have noone other; and axed a question upon it, who durst disable the kynge of issue, he beynge yonge and able to have children; for whiche when the duke of Lancastre wase so putt bie, he and his counsell feyned and forgied the seide Cronycle that Edmonde shuld be the elder brother, to make his soñ Henry a title to the crouñ, and wold have hade the seide erle of Northumberlonde, and sir Thomas Percy his brother, of counsaile thereof, for cause thei were discent of the seid Edmonde be a suster; but they refused it.

" Whiche Cronycle, so forged, the duke dide put in divers abbaies and in freres, as I herde the seid erle ofte tymes saie and recorde to divers persouns, forto be kepte for the enheritaunce of his sonne to the crouñ, whiche title he put furste furth after he hade kynge Richarde in the Toure, but that title the erle Percy put aside."

The.

The. C.xcviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng gaue the constablerie and the Marshalsee to therles of Northumberlande and Westmerlande, wyth certayn landes, and how syr Robert Vmfreuile was made knight of the Garter & capitayn of Rokesburgh, & faught on fote on Fulhoplewe and wan the feld with victorie, and was made lorde Vmfreuile.

AT this tyme[1] ỹ kyng [graũted by parliamẽt,][2]
The constablery certayn[3] of Englande,
In heritage so at his coronoment,
To therle then of Northumberlande,
Also of Man thisle, I vnderstande,
To holde of hym and of his heyres alwaye,
By seruyce royall, as wrytten was that daye.

¶ And to therle of Westmerlande, also, *Fol. C.xcviii.*
The Marshalsee of Englande then he gaue,
All Richemond fee that was in Englande tho,
By patent also[4] for terme of life to haue:
The lordes all he pleased, so God me saue.
With office ay, orels with lande or[5] rent,
With liberall herte as to a prince appent.

¶ And whyles that parliament so did endure,
The Scottes rode by North and sore had stroyed
In Cokedale then, where Vmfreuyle had cure,
That with theim faught & had theim sore anoyed
At Fulhaplowe[6], on fote he theim acloyed;
For there he toke syr Richard Rotherforde
His sonnes fyue full fell of dede and worde;

¶ Syr Wyllyam Stiwarde also he toke,
The lorde of Gordowne he put to flight,
And Willibarde[7] the felde there then forsoke,
And prisoners brought home well mo at night
Then he had men with hym the felde to fight;
For whiche the kyng hym had ay after in cherte,
Consyderyng well his knightly aperte[8].

[1] parlement. [2] graunte be patent. [3] certeynly. [4] als. [5] and. [6] Fullhope lawe. [7] Willy Barde. [8] iuperte.

The. C.xcix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng Henry remeued kyng Richard from place to place by night, in preuey wise; in whiche tyme therles of Kent, Salisbury and Huntyngdon, the lorde Spencer, and syr Raulfe Lomley were headed.

THe kyng thē sent kyng Richard to Ledis,
There to be kepte surely in preuitee,
Fro thēs after to Pykeryng wēt he nedes,
And to Knauesburgh after led was he,
But to Pountfrete last where he did die.
Bothe therles of Kent and Salisbury,
Therle of Huntyngdon, and Spēcers[1] sothelye,

¶ And syr Raulfe Lomley with mo in company,
After Christmasse thought to haue slayn the kyng;
They were distured and fled awaye in hye,
But they were slayn at Circester fleyng
By the commons with theim there fyghtyng,
Therles of Kent and of Salysbury,
And syr Raulfe Lomley in theyr companye:

¶ The lorde Spencer take was vpon the sea,
At Bristowe was headed[2] and decollate,
Therle also of Huntyngdon did flee,
And brought vnto the countesse of estate
Of Herforde then, who had hym forth algate
To Plasshe, where she made men hym hede,
Without counsayll of any lorde or rede:

¶ Syr Thomas Shelly[3], set full hye in[4] pride,
And Mawbleyn[5] with Ferebye drawe and honge,
Syr Barnard Brockeys[6] was heded theim beside,
The byshop also[7] of Carleile theim among
In Westmynster, his life there to prolonge,
Perpetually by iudgement was commytte,
Among his brethren in order for to sytte.

[1] Spencer. [2] bihede. [3] Shellaie. [4] of. [5] Maudeleyn. [6] Brocas. [7] als.

The.

The. CC. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Richard was brought deade frō Pountfret to Powles and after buried at Langley, for menne shoulde haue no remembraunce of hym. And howe syr Robert Vmfreuyle faught with ŷ Scottes at Redeswere, and had the felde and the victorye. *Fol. C.xxix.*

IN March next after kīg Rychard thē was dede.
Fro Poumfret brought with great solempnyte,
Men sayde forhungered he was & lapped in lede.
At Poules his masse was done and diryge,
In hers royall semely to royalte,
The kyng & lordes clothes of golde there offerde,
Some. viii. some. ix. vpon his hers were proferde.

¶ At Westminster then dyd they so the same,
When[1] truste he shuld[2] there haue buryed bene
In that mynster, lyke to a prynce of name,
In his [owne] tombe together with the quene
Anne, that afore his fyrste wyfe had[3] bene;
But then the kyng hym faste to Langley sent,
There in the freres to [be buryed][4] secretement.

¶ On Michelmasse day next after his coronaciō,
Sir Robert then my mayster Vmfreuyle,
At Redeswyres[5] withoute excusacyon,
With Richarde[6] Rotherforde fought that whyle,
And toke [the] stewarde as I can compyle,
And Iames Douglas with the lorde Seton[7],
And prisoners many [for to geue][8] raunson.

¶ Two hundreth men vpon ŷ felde were slayne,
Thre hundreth fled, some hole, some maymed sore,
That dyed at home with sorowe and ẅ payne,
Some died homeward ŷ home they came nomore :.
Where so he fought vnto his men right thore,
A mery worde he wolde saye or they met,
To glad theyr hartes enemyes[9] to ouerset.

[1] Men. [2] shuld then. [3] that had. [4] burie. [5] Redeswire. [6] sir Richarde. [7] of Seton. [8] then for to. [9] their enemyes.

¶ The.

The kynges voiage into Scotlande.

¶ The. ii. yere of his reygne then he went,
In haruest [tyme so][1] into Scotlande,
And Edenburgh with the countre brente,
In whiche tyme the Scottes brent our lande,
All Bamburgh shyre in Northumberlande ;
For both wardeyns with the kyng were gone,
No wardeyne there, but husbandes by their owne.

The. CC.i. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Owen of Glendoure rose in Wales againe the king, and made warre on the lorde Gray Ruthin, and toke the lorde Graye and syr Edmonde Mortymer.

THe king came home and to London went
At Michelmasse, wher thē he had message,
That Owen Glendoure then felly blent[2]
In Englande sore[3], and did full great damage[4],
For cause the lorde Graye helde his herytage;
And to the kyng of it full sore had playned,
No remedye gate, so was he then demeaned.

¶ The lorde Gray Ruthin[5] did hym great wrong,
Destroyed his lande, and he did hym the same,
So both Marches destroyed were full longe ;
But Owen wanne him selfe eche day great name
Of vasselrie[6], [of gentyls][7] and [of] fame,
That he them did, for whiche to him they drewe,
And became his men & to him were full trewe.

¶ So on a daye the lorde Graye and he met
With great power vpon eyther syde,
Fol. CC. Where then they faught in batayle sore[8] bet,
And toke hym then his prysoner that tyde,
And there the felde he had with mikyll pryde,
Greate people toke and slewe, & home he went,
The lorde Graye he raunsomed at his entent.

¶ Syr Edmonde then Mortimer warred sore
Vpon Owen, and dyd hym mekyll tene,

[1] so the kynge. [2] brent. *edit. alt.* MS. [3] so. [4] outrage. [5] Riffyne. [6] Walsherye. [7] for gentilnes. [8] full sore.

But

But at laste[1] Owen laye hym before,
Where in batell they faught, as well was sene,
Where Owen toke him prisoner [as then] ful kene,
With mekell folke on eyther syde slayne.
And set Edmonde in prysone and great payne.

¶ He wrote vnto the kyng for great socoure,
For he had made with Owen his fynaunce.
To whom ỹ kyng wolde graunt then no fauoure,
Ne nought he wolde thē make him cheuesaunce,
For to comforte his foes disobeysaunce;
Wherfore he laye in feters and sore prysone,
For none payment of[2] his greate raunsone.

The. CC.iii. Chapiter.

¶ The earle of Northumberlande & his sonne Henry Percy stroke the batayle of Hamildon with the Scottes, & toke syxe earles, and discomfyte. xl. thousande Scottes.

IN the[1]. iii. yere therle of Fyffe & Murrey,
Of Athell, and Angos, & Douglas also,
And of Menteth ẅ barons fell[4] ỹ daye,
The nomber was. xl. thousande and mo,
Had brent the lande by South, Northward tho
To Homildon, where on Holy Rode daye,
The earle them met in good & stronge araye.

¶ His sonne also, Henry Percy, was there,
George of Dunbar was in theyr company,
And with the Scottes ỹ daye fought full sere,
Discomfyted them and had the victorye,
Six earles taken [and.] xl. thousande playnly,
Some fled, some died, some maimed there for euer,
That to Scotlande agayne came[5] they neuer.

The kynges voyages into Wales.

¶ The kyng Henry thryce to Wales went,
In the haye tyme and haruest dyuers yere,
In enery tyme were mystes and tempestes sent,
Of wethers foule that he had neuer power
Glendour to noye, but euer his caryage clere

[1] the laste. [2] than of. [3] his. [4] many. [5] than came.

Owen

Owen had at certayne straites and passage,
And to our hoste dyd[1] full greate damage.

¶ The king had neuer but tempest foule & raine,
As longe as he was ay in Wales grounde,
Rockes & mystes, windes & stormes [euer] certaine,
All men trowed [ẏ] witches it made that stounde;
The cōmens all then of all Englande grounde,
Warred[2] his gate[3] to Wales euery yere,
For haye and corne were loste both two in fere:

Whiche made greate derth & of catell morayne,
And euen[4] ay in hylles and in mountaynes
Kepte him ful strong, ẏ king ay wrought in vaine,
The king might not, but euer [more] held ẏ pleines,
And waste his owne lordshippes & his demaines:
And full great parte Owen had and occupyed,
By processe so in Wales, and victoryed.

Fol. CC.i.

¶ Therle Henry then of Northumberland
Brought to the kyng his owne prisoner,
Therle of Fyffe was then I vnderstand,
Heire vnto the duke of Albany clere,
Regent that was of Scotland without pere;
But sir Henry his soonne then would not bryng
His prisoners in no wise to the kyng.

¶ But the kyng he prayed for Mortimer,
That raunsomed might [he been][5] ẇ his frendes so:
He saied hym nay, for he was taken prisoner
By his consent and treson to his foo,
Whom he would not comfort for to ouergoo
The prince his landes ne his owne to destroye,
For ay he had greate trust [ẏ] he should hym noye.

¶ The kyng hym blamed for he toke not Owen,
When he came to hym on his assuraunce;
And he aunswered then to the kyng again,
He might not so kepe[6] his affiaunce,
To shame hym self with suche a variaunce.

[1] aie dyd. [2] Cursed. [3] viage. [4] Oweyn. [5] be. [6] to kepe.

The

The kyng blamed hym for his prisoner
Therle Douglas, for cause he was not there,

¶ And saied he should hym fette, but he hym sēde :
Sir Henry sawe no grace for Mortimer,
His wifes brother, he went awaye vnkende
To Berwyk so, and after came[1] no nere,
Afore thei mette at Shrowesbury in fere;
Wher then thei faught for cause of[2] his entent,
He purposed had Mortimer his coronoment.

¶ The lordes all of England had hym hight,
And Owayn also[3] on Seuerne hym to mete,
Except therle of Stafford young to fight,
By their letters vnder their seales mete;
But in[4] the poinct thei brake all their behete,
And he was slain, and all the cause conselid
Why he the feld tooke and the kyng appelid.

The. CC.iii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe for therle of Marche his right, sir Henry Percy and sir Thomas Percy his vncle, erle of Worcester, faught with the kyng, and were slain at the battaill of Shrewesbury, wher all ỹ lordes deceiued them, the yere of Christ a thousand foure hundred and thre, and of his reigne the fourth yere, that were bounde to theim by their seales, except therle of Stafford; whiche letters I sawe in the castell of Werkeworth, when I was constable of it vnder my lord, sir Robert Vmfreuile, who had that castell of kyng Henry his gift, by forfeture of therle of Northumberland.

ON Madleyn euen was[5] on the Saterdaye,
After long trete the prince began to fight,
The yere of Christ a thousād was no nay,
Foure hundred also and three therto full right,
When the[6] battaill was streken of mikell[7] might,
And of the kyng then was the fourth yere
Of his reigne accompted well and clere.

¶ His vncle dere was with hym there dedde,
His father came not out of Northumberland,

[1] he come. [2] in. [3] als. [4] at. [5] than. [6] that. [7] great.

But failed hym foule without witte or rede ;
But to the kyng he came I vnderstand,
[Holy submittyng hym vnto his royall hand,][1]
Fol. CC.iii. Whom then he putte to hold in sore prisone,
With twoo menne of his owne [in Bagyngton.][2]

¶ His castelles all his mēne held then full strōg,
To tyme the kyng had graunt hym plener grace,
But the[3] lordes in counsaill then[4] emong,
Hight hym to help the sixte yere at the Pasche ;
But none durst come that tyme, so fell the case,
But bishop Scrop and therle marshall,
The lord Bardolfe, then of our[5] lordes all.

The. CC.iiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe in ŷ [*sixte*] yere of his reigne, & in ŷ yere of Christ a thousand foure hundred and fyue, master Rychard Scrope, archebishop of Yorke, Thomas Mombraye erle marshall, sir Iohn Lamplewe, and sir Wyllyam Plompton, were hedded byside Yorke.

IN Lenton after he came home to his land,
By perliamēt whole deliuered and acquit,
And twoo yere after in peace I vnderstād,
With kyng Henry full peasebly did sitte ;
Then in the yere, as menne remembre it,
Of his reigne the sixte, the bishop Scrop went,
Therle marshall with hym, of one entent,

¶ To Yorkes More, and ther assembled power
Of their owne and their[6] frendes also,
Of therles menne of Northumberland that were
To the nombre of twenty thousand tho,
Afore the daye assigned that was so
By therle then of Northumberland,
That there cheften with theim should haue[7] stād,

¶ With other lordes that were to theim assent ;
But the bishop and therle marshall
Wher slain [afore] the daye of assignement

[1] In peaseble wise in truste grace to fonde. [2] at Babyngton. [3] Than the. [4] theym. [5] the. [6] of theyr. [7] ther have.

Betwene

Betwene theim made afore in speciall.
[Hedded were then nere Yorke][1] as then did fall,
Sir Iohn Lamplewe and sir Wyllyam Plomtō,
With the bishop were hedded there for treson.

The. CC.v. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the lord Hastynges, the lord Fauconbridge, and sir Iohn Coluile of ỹ Dale and his make, and sir Iohn Ruthyn, were hedded at Duresme by ỹ kyng, for therles of Northumberland; & then he gate therles castelles, and stroke of seuen heddes at Berwyke.

THe lord Hastynges at Duresme was then take,
The lord Faucōbrige togēther in cōpany,
Sir Iohn Coluile of ỹ Dale & his make,
Sir Iohn Ruthyn[2] that knightes were full māly
To therle of Northumberland openly,
Were hedded there all foure vpon a daye.
And to Werkworth remeuid in greate araye,

¶ Wher the castell with in aweke was yolde
Vnto the kyng after assautes fell and sore;
The casteleyns to passe free wher thei would,
With horse and harnes without chalenge more.
Then to Aluwike[3] the kyng remeued thore,
Wher the capitains vnto the kyng then sent,
Wyn Berwyke ones he should haue his entent.

¶ So went he then to Berwyke without delaye,
With assaut and shotte of gonnis strong [ỹ were.]
He had it then, and ther hedded on a daye *Fol. CCxiii.*
The barons sonne of Graistoke taken there,
Sir Henry Bowton[4] and Blenkensop therfore;
And Prendirgest ran[5] on the sea also,
And Tuwile[6] with other squiers twoo.

¶ To Aluwike[3] then the kyng laied siege again,
Without assaute by whole connencion,
Henry Percy of Athel, with hert fain,
And Wyllyam Clifford without discencion,

[1] And biheded nygh Yorke. [2] Sir Iohn Griffith. [3] Alnewyke. [4] Boynton. [5] rande.
[6] Tywyle. *edit. alt.* Iohn Turnebull. MS.

The castell yeld at the kynges entencion;
With horse and harnes without enpechement,
Or forfeture or els impediment.

¶ Prodhow, Langley, and also Cokirmouth,
Aluham[1], Newsted, deliuered were anone;
[Thei remoued][2] then furth in to the South,
Therle of Northumberland was [then] gone
Afore northward to Scotland with great mone;
The lord Bardolf with hym thither went,
And there abode with their suppowelment.

¶ The sommer next by sea to Wales thei went
Vnto Glendour, and after then[3] to Brytain,
And so by sea to Flaunders or they stent.
The other sommer to Scotland came again
By thest sea, and ther thei did remain
To the winter then of snowe full depe,
That thei were slain, for whom ỹ folke sore[4] wepe:

¶ The nynth yere was then of the kyng Henry,
In Feueryer afore the fastyngange[5],
Of Christ his date a thousand certainly,
Foure hundred and[6] eight counted emong,
At Bramham more with speres sharp and long;
In Yorkshire so the Rokeby with theim mette,
Shrief of the shire, with power [that he][7] gette.

The. CC.vi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng his soonne of Scotlād & heire, Iames, was taken on the sea, and brought vnto the kyng, and then dyed Owayn and the kyng of Scotland.

THe same yere also[8] ỹ prince thē of Scotlād,
Vpon the sea sailyng then in to Fraunce,
Was taken & brought to ỹ kyng of Englād,
Eleuen yere old was he then by remembraūce,
Whom the kyng then putte in gouernaunce,
For like a prince as to a kyng appent
In all honour as was conuenient.

[1] Aln.ham. [2] The kynge remewed. [3] that. [4] dyd. [5] Lentyn songe. [6] als and. [7] he had. [8] als.

¶ The tenth yere then of the kyng his date,
The kyng of Scotland and Owayn of Glendor
His soonne also, the world forsoke [then] algate,
And dyed awaye, of theim then was no more;
The prince of Scotland then was kyng therfore,
And Wales all became the kyng his menne,
In rest and peace without rebellion then.

¶ In that same yere Gilbert Vmfreuile
Lord was then of Riddisdale in[1] Keyme,
That passid not seuentene yere that while,
And ward was to the kyng that tyme,
[But seuentene yere of age was that tyme;][2]
At Arrays then[3] faught full worthely,
With George Turnuile[4] in lyestes syngulerly, *Fol. CC.iiii.*

¶ With axe and sworde, and dagger vpon foote,
Twenty strokes with euery wepen smyten,
Vndeparted without any mote,
And on the morowe there[5] they syten,
Twenty coursses with speres together hitten;
A[6] quarter bare vnarmed and vnarayed,
Saue there [serkes slewe][7] with speres vnasayed.

The. CC.vii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Robert Vmfreuile went into Scotlande, and lay in the Scottishe sea. xiiii. dayes, and euery daye faught with ȳ Scottes, some daye on the northsyde, and some daye on the southsyde, and gatte. xiiii. greate shippes, & brent there galiot with ordinaunce and sore battayll in the Scottishe sea afore Edynburghe, and at the Blakenesse.

THe yere eleuenth of this same kyng Henry,
Syr Robert Vmfreuile toke the see
With. x. sayles to kepe it notably,
When trewee was taken in specialtee
Betwene Scotlande and vs in certentee,
To the Scottishe sea both by sea and lande,
And to Monshole[8] on our syde I vnderstande.

¶ In the Scottishe sea with his shippes he laye,
Where. xiiii. shippes he toke with his manhede,

[1] and of. [2] Of goodely porte full gentill to theym hym byme. [3] so than. [4] Trumvile.
[5] on horses there. [6] Oone. [7] sherte sleve. [8] Mouschole.

And

And faught full sore at full sea euery daye,
Sometyme vpon the northside so in dede,
And some tyme on the southsyde out of drede,
With the duke of Albany and[1] of Fyffe,
[And his proude Scottes ẏ faught then full ryffe :][2]

¶ With therle of Douglas and theim of Lothiā,
And brought his fiers brennyng vpon the sea
In botes and cogges[3] ordened by theim than[4],
With other botes with mē of armes in propertee,
And archers good well pauyshed in specialitee,
That brent theyr shippes and theyr galiot,
A shyppe of auantage was then God wote.

¶ When he had ben there. xiiii. dayes to thende,
With his prises he came to[5] Englande,
Full of cloth, wollen, & lynnen that[6] land to amend,
Pytche and tarre both[7], for fre and bonde,
[For to amende the shepes of our lande :][8]
Floure and mele of whete and rye he solde,
The market he so mended manyfolde :

¶ And wood he had, and other marchaundise,
Woll, and hide, and yron great quantitee,
Woll skynnes, cloth of golde, and spyceries,
Iewelles in chestes, and stones of precioustee,
[And other marchauntes in specioustee],[9]
And prisoners also, and mykell[10] flaxe,
Wynes swete, and mykell poleyn waxe.

The. CC.viii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe syr Robert Vmfreuile brent Pebles on there market daye, and made his men to mete their clothe with speres & bowes, and after the Scottes called hym Robyne Mendmarket; and his neuewe brente Iedworth and Teuidale sone after.

AT Pebles long afore that tyme. iiii. yere,
He brent the toune vpon their market daye,
And met theyr cloth ẅ speres & bowes sere[11],

[1] and theym. [2] And some tyme on the South side als full rife. [3] cockes. [4] one. [5] into. [6] the. [7] ynough both. [8] And merchaundyse gotyn with stronge honde. [9] Of dyvers thynges he ther gote grete plente. [10] right muche. [11] there.

By

Fol. CC.v.

By his biddyng without any naye;
Wherfore the Scottes, from thence forthward ay,
Called hym Robyn Mendmarket in certayn,
For his measures were so large and playn.

Robyn Mēd-market.

¶ His neuewe Gilbert and he the. xi. yere
Of kyng Henry, vpon the water of Calme[1] than,
And also[2] on Roule and Ledworth forest clere,
Forrayed full sore with many a manly man,
His banner first there was displayed then[3],
[When] he was clerely but. xiiii[4]. yere no more,
When his vncle [had battled hym so sore.][5]

The. CC.ix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the prince Henry of Wales sent power to the duke of Burgoyn to helpe hym, the two Vmfreuiles, syr Iohn Graye, with other; where Vmfreuile, with the Englyshemen, helde the felde, for he would not kyll the prysoners, as the duke of Burgoyn had ordeyned.

THe prince Henry to duke Philip then sent,
That of Burgoyn was so both syr[6] & lorde,
Syr Gilbert Vmfreuile & his vncle, veramēt,
His cousyn also[7], syr Ihō Gray, as mē recorde,
[With many other worthy, with speare & sweorde,]
Willyam Porter, agayn the duke of Orleaunce,
And his Armynakes with men of great defence.

¶ At Seyncle[7] then again [ỹ] duke of Orleaūce,
And the duke of Burbon by all a daye,
Thenglyshe faught with great[8] sufficience,
And wanne the brydge, with battayll bet awaye
Tharmynakes, with many sore affraye;
Where Vmfreuile proclaymed was erle of Kyme,
Cheiften was of all Englyshe that tyme.

¶ At Durdan also[2] and at Etham agayn
They faught all newe, where then they had ỹ feld,
And prisoners many they did opteyne;
[The which][9] the duke of Burgoyn wold haue weld,

[1] Calne. [2] als. [3] whan. [4] eightene. [5] anoyseld hade hym thore. [6] sire. [7] Seyntclo. [8] full grete. [9] Whome.

[Because

[Because to hym they were so vnbelde,]
Theim to haue slayn, he cōmaund[ed then] eche capitayn
His prisoners to kyll then in certeyn.

¶ To whiche Gilbert Vmfreuile, erle of Kyme,
Annswered for all his felowes and there men,
They shuld all die together at a[1] tyme,
Or theyr prisoners so shulde be slayn then;
And with that toke the felde as folke did ken,
With all theyr men and all[2] theyr prisoners,
To die with theim as worship it requyers:

¶ He said they wer not come thyther as bouchers,
To kyll the folke in market or in feire,
Ne theim to sell, but as armes requiers
Theim to gouerne without any dispeyre,
As prysoners owe home agayn repeire[3]
[For fyne][4] paying as lawe of armes wyll,
And not on stockes nor in market theim to sell[5]:

¶ With whō syr Iohn Graye as his cousyn dere,
And all Englyshe with many other of Fraunce,
With their prysoners full familier,
Batayled in felde with full strong ordinaunce,
More like to fight then to make obeysaunce;
And helde therle of Kyme for theyr cheiftayn,
To lyue and dye vnder his baner certayne.

Fol. CC. vi.

¶ The duke Philyppe full of sapyence[6],
Sawe his manhode and [his knightly][7] courage,
Lothe was to lese his noble aduenture[8],
By treaty and by other tender message,
Of prisoners graunt them [to] do auauntage,
And hym withhelde with all his feloship,
As earle of Kyme proclaymed of great worshyp.

¶ Then after sone oure Englishemen anone
Came home agayne w̄ great and hye[9] rewarde,
Whome then the duke by letter cōmende alone,
In writyng specifyed with herte inwarde

[a] oone. [1] als. [3] to repeire. [4] Fynaunce. [5] kill. [6] sapience sure. *edit. alt.* [7] knightly high. [8] aduertence. [9] huge.

Vnto

Vnto the prynce that sent them to hymwarde,
And thanked them[1] greatly of his[2] seruyce,
In his warres shewed agayne his enemies.

¶ The kiug discharged ỹ prince fro his coūsayle,
And set my lorde syr Thomas in his stede,
Chief of counsayle for the kynges more auayle;
For whiche the prynce of ỹrath [and wilfull hede]
Agayne hym made debate and[3] frowardhede,
With whom the kyng toke parte, & helde the felde,
To tyme the prince vnto the king him yelde.

¶ The king then made his sōne duke of Clarēce
My lorde Thomas, and sent hym into Fraūce,
To helpe the duke Lewys of Orlyaunce[4]
Agayne the duke of Burgoyne at instaunce
Of my lorde Thomas againe ỹ prince suraunce;
Whiche was the[5] cause also[6] of theyr heuynesse,
So to refuse duke Philyppes loue causeles.

¶ But then the duke of Clarence with power
Came to the duke Lowes of Orlyaunce,
Kīg Charles brother, who made hym noble chere,
And hym receyued with full hye reuerence;
They two warryed with mighty suffycience
Vpon the duke of Burgoyne, and hym outrayed,
That he went into Burgoyne all formayed.

¶ Then rode the duke of Clarence into Guien,
Through Fraunce, with hoste then full royall,
And kepte that lande ẅ helpe of duke Lewis thē:
In whiche meane while kyng Henry gan fall
In great syknesse that his strength did pall,
With contryte herte and humble yelden chere,
He sayde, O Lorde, thy mercy I requyre.

The. CC.x. Chapiter.

¶ The wordes that the kynge sayde at hys deathe of hyghe complaynt, but nought of repentaūce of vsurpement of the realme, ne of the restorement of ryght heyres to the crowne.

[1] hym. [2] theire manly. [3] of. [4] Orlye. [5] great. [6] als.

"O Lorde, he sayde, O God omnipotent,
Nowe se I well thy godhede loueth me,
That suffred neuer my foes to haue theyr entent
Of myne persone in myne aduersite,
Ne in myne sycknesse, [ne in myne][1] infyrmyte;
But ay haste kepte it fro theyr maleuolence,
And chastysed me by thy beneuolence.

¶ Lorde I thanke the with all my herte,
With all my soule and my spirytes clere,
This wormes mete, this caryon full[2] vnquerte,
Fol. CC.vii. That some tyme thought in worlde it had no pere,
This face so foule that leprous doth apere,
That here afore I haue had suche a pryde
To purtraye ofte in many place full wyde:

¶ Of which ryght nowe ẏ porest of this lande,
Except only of theyr benignyte,
Wolde loth to looke vpon I vnderstande,
Of whiche, good Lorde, that thou so visyte me,
A thousande tymes the Lorde in Trinyte,
With all my herte I thanke the, and cōmende
Into thyne handes my soule withouten ende."

¶ And dyed so in fayth and hole creaunce,
At Cauntorbury buryed with greate reuerence,
As a kyng shulde be ẅ all kynde of circumstaūce,
According vnto[3] his hye magnifycence,
Besyde the prynce Edward, with great expence,
Of Christ was then a. M. yere full oute,
Four hundreth eke and thirtene oute of doubte.

The conceyte of the maker.

¶ O very God, what torment had this kyng,
To remember in bryef and shorte entent,
Some in his sherte put ofte tyme venemyng,
And some in meate and drinke great poysonment;
Some in his hose by great ymagenement,
Some in bedstraw yrōs sharpe groūd [wel] & whet,
Enuenemed sore to slee him [if he had] on them set.

¶ Some made for hym diuers enchauntmentes,
To waste hym oute and vtterly destroye,

[1] nor. [2] foule. [3] with.

And

And some gaue hym batayle full felonement
In felde within his realme hym for to noye;
And on them selfes the hurte and all [the] anoye,
Ay fell at ende that honged were and heded[1]
As traytours ought to bene in euery stede.

¶ This kyng dyed of his reygne in the yere
Fourtene, [accompted of][2] Marche ỹ. xix. daye,
The Sondaye was then by[3] kalendre;
Of whome the realme great ioye at first had ay,
But afterwarde they loued not his araye:
At his begynnyng full hye he was cõmende
With cõmons then, & also[4] lytell at the ende.

The. CC.xi. Chapiter.

¶ Henry the fyfth, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, began to reygne the twenty daye of Marche ỹ was saynte Cuthbertes daye, and was crowned the ninth daye of Apryl, the yere of Christe a thousande foure hundreth twenty & two[5], after he had reigned. ix. yere and an halfe; and in the houre that he was crowned and anointed he was chaunged from all vyces vnto vertuous lyfe, and lycensed the folke to offer vnto Richarde Scrop, and buryed kyng Rychard at Westmynster, and graunted to Henry Percy his landes.

HEnry his sõne, [ỹ] prynce of Wales was thã,
On saynt Cuthbertes day in Marche folowynge,
Kyng was, so as I remember canne:
On Passyon Sondaye after was this kyng
Anoynted and crowned without taryeng,
The ninth daye it[6] was of Apryll so
With stormes fell and haylestones greate also.

¶ In his fyrste yere the lorde Cobham heretike,
Confedered with Lollers insapient[7],
Agayne the churche arose, and was full lyke
It to haue destroyed by theyr entendment,
Had not the kyng then made suppowelment,
And put hym fro the felde by good direccyon,
That sembled were by greate insurreccyon.

Fol. CC.viii.
Lorde Cobham.

[1] hede. [2] accounte in. [3] by the. [4] as. [5] M.CCCC.xiij. [6] than t. [7] insipient.

¶ Then fled the lorde Cobham herrorious[1]
To Wales so with Lollers many one,
Musyng in his opinyon venemous,
Howe that he myght destroye the churche anone;
But God that syt in heuen aboue alone,
Knowyng his herte naked of all good entent,
Let hym be take to haue his iudgement:

¶ And put he was to prisone in the towre,
Of whiche he dyd escape awaye by nyght,
And take was agayne within an houre,
And after sone dampned by lawe and ryght
For heresye by [the clergy in][2] syght,
And brent he was to ashes deed and pale,
Through cursed lyfe thus came [he in greate bale.][3]

¶ The houre [he was crowned][4] and anoynt,
He chaunged was of all his olde condicyon,
Full vertuous he was[5] fro poynt to poynt,
Grounded all newe in good opinyon,
For[6] passyngly without comparyson,
Then set vpon all ryght and conscyence
A newe man made by[7] all good regimence.

¶ He gaue leue then of good deuocyon
All men to offer to byshop Scrop expresse,
Without lettynge or any questyon.
He graunted also[8], of his hye worthynesse,
To laye the kyng Rycharde and[9] Anne doutlesse
His wyfe that was, at Westmynster buryed[10],
As kyng Richard hym selfe had sygnifyed.

¶ And fro the freres of Langley where he laye,
He caryed hym to Westmynster anone,
And buryed hym of royall greate araye
With the quene Anne in tombe of marbel stone,
Full royally arayed as royals [by them sone;][11]
And to Henry Percy [he graũted][12] his landes clere,
That to the duke of Bedforde then geuen were.

[1] erronyouse. [2] by all the clergy. [3] into. [4] this kynge crowned wase and anoynt.
[5] wexe. [6] Fer. [7] in. [8] als. [9] with. [10] than buried. [11] be them oone. [12] graunte his.

¶ My

¶ My lorde [of] Clarence, fro Guyā home agayne
Came to the kyng, with ioye & greate pleasaunce,
The seconde yere of whome the kyng was fayne,
At Leycester then, as made is remembraunce,
In his parlyament without[1] varyaunce,
His brother Iohn duke of Bedforde create[2],
His brother Vmfrey duke of Gloucester of estate.

¶ Thomas Beauford, ẏ was earle of Dorcet,
He made duke then of Excester that whyle;
He gaue in charge that tyme withouten let
Vnto syr Robert there Vmfreuyle,
[By his wysdome and manhode that whyle]
To treate with the Scottes to get Henry Percy,
Layde in hostage by his grauntsirez foly.

The. CC.xii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe sir Robert Vmfreuile faught at Geteryng the third yere with the Scottes, that had but seuen score speres and three hundreth bowes, on Madelyn day, and discomfited of theim. iiii. M. menne, & made chase twelfe mile on theim in to their owne land, and went with the kyng to Harflite to the siege, with whom I went thether. *Fol. CCxx.*

THen was it warre betwene vs & Scotland,
That sir Robert Vmfreuile might it spede,
But at Geteryng[3] ẇ Scottes hād for hād
He faught on fote on Maudelyn daye in deede,
Wher eightene score Scottes were take I rede,
Three score slain, a thousand putte to flight,
With four. C. mēne discōfited[4] theim fourth right.

¶ Twelfe mile thē he made [on theim][5] great chase
In to their land, and home he came again
To his castell of Rokesburgh in that case,
Whiche he had then in kepyng soth to sain,
[Of his greate labour in harte beyng full fain,]
With prisoners many one hurte full sore,
Hym self and his. that then had wounded thore.

[1] withoutyn. [2] he create. [3] Cretering [4] discomfite. [5] vpon theym than.

¶ At

¶ At Lammasse next, the kyng then as he laye
At Southampton, therle of Cambridge toke,
The lord Scrop also, and eke sir Thomas Graye,
And hedded theim, the cause was who so looke
[Emong theim selfes, for thei this counsaill toke,]
And[1] purposed therle of Marche to croune
Kyng of England by their prouision.

The. CC.xiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng wēt in to Normādy and sieged Hareflete, and gate it with greate peyn and losse of menne; but who maye cast of rennyng hoūdis and many racches, but he must lese some of theim.

THe kyng held furth by sea to Normandy,
With all his hoste at Kydcans[2] landed thē,
And laied a siege to Hareflete myghtely,
On euery side by land and water wanne,
With bulwerkes stoute and bastell he began,
In whiche he putte therle of Huntyngton,
Therle of Kent also of greate[3] renoune.

¶ Whiche erles twoo, ẇ other to theim assigned
Cornwaile and Gray, Steward also[4], and Porter,
Full greate assautes made eche daye & repugned,
Whiles at last thei bette the towne toures their,
And what the kyng with fagottes that there were;
And his connyng[5] werching vnder the wall,
With his gūnes castyng thei made ŷ toure to fall:

¶ And their bulwerke brent with shot of wildfyre,
At whiche place then therles[6] twoo vp sette
Their baners bothe without[7] any hyre;
The kyng ther with his gonnes the walles bette,
The duke did so of Clarence without lette,
On the ferreside, wher as he then laye,
Therle Mountague did well ther alwaye.

¶ The lord Gawcort, that thē was [their capitain][8]
Of Hareflete, tho with other of the toune,

[1] For they. [2] Kakance. [3] highe. [4] als. [5] connynges. [6] tho erles. [7] withoutyn. [8] the chieftayn.

Offred

Offred then the toune to[1] the kyng full fain,
And he with other [to] stand at the kynges direccīō:
Then made he there his vncle of greate renoune.
Capitain of it, duke of Excester than,
And homeward went through Fraunce like[2] a mā.

The. CC.xiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng came homewarde through Normādy and Picardie, and smote the battaill of Agyncort, wher I was with my maister.

AN hundred mile to Calais had he then
At Agyncourt, so homeward in his waye
The nobles[3] there of Fraūce afore him wē[4],
Proudly battailled ẏ an hūdred thousād in araie,
He sawe he must nedes with theim make afraye;
He sette on theim, and with theim faught full sore,
With nyne thousand, no more[5] with hym thore.

¶ The feld he had and held it all that night,
But then came woorde of [hoste and][6] enemies,
For whiche thei slewe all prisoners doune right,
Sauf dukes and erles in fell and cruell wise;
And then the prees of enimies did supprise
Their owne people, ẏ mo were dede through pres,
Then our menne might haue slain ẏ tyme no lese.

¶ On our side was the duke of Yorke ther[7] slain,
Therle also of Suffolke worshipfully[8],
And knightes twoo with other then soth[9] to sain,
And at the siege therle of Suffolke sothely,
The father dyed of the flixe contynually;
But mikell folke at that siege yet dyed,
Of frute and flixe and colde were mortified.

¶ On ẏ Frēch partie ẏ dukes of Barre & Lorein,
And of Alaunson in battaill ther were dedde,
And take[10] were of Christeans[11] in certain,
The duke Lewes of Orliaunce their hedde.
The duke of Burbone [in that][12] stede,

[1] unto. [2] full like. [3] roials. [4] wañ. [5] mo were. [6] newe hooste of. [7] than. [8] worshiply. [9] the sooth. [10] taken. [11] chiefteyns. [12] withyn that same.

The[rle

The[rle of] Vendom, and[1] Arthure also of Brytain,
And sir Bursigalde marshall of Fraunce certain.

¶ And therle of Ewe was take[n] ther also,
Fyue barons also[1] that were at their baner,
And fiftene hundred knightes and squyers mo
Were slain that daye in full knightely maner,
With woundes so as then did apere,
As werres would vpon Chrispyn daye,
And Chrispynian that sainctes in blisse been aye.

The. CC.xv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe themperour and the duke of Holand came to the kyng, the coũte Palatine, the duke of Melayn, the marquys Farrar[2], the lorde Mantowe, and the marques Mount Ferrete, the lorde Moũt Palestrine came with themperour the same tyme, and the duke Bauers and Embeir, and the prince of Orenge also.

ANd in the yere of Christ a thousand clere,
Foure hundred also[1] & therwithall fiftene,
When this battaill was smiten as dooth apere,
In the third yere of his reigne as was seen,
To Caleice so he came and home bee dene,
With themperour of Roome, sir Sigemond,
Vnto hym came then in to England ground,

Fol. CC.xi.

¶ With a thousand mẽne ẏ were full clene araied,
The duke of Melayn, the counte Palatyne,
The marques Ferrer, ẏ lord Mantowe wel apayed,
The coũte Carmeler[3], the counte Palestryne,
With many lordes of the water of the Ryne,
And of the Garter was made the secondarye,
And in it stalled, for he would not varye.

¶ The duke of Holand then by sea came
With. lx. shippes in Thamis that did aryue,
And to the kyng he went vnto lambe,
To themperoure after he went belyue,
As chronycles then did[4] discryue:
Then was he made knight of the Garter
At his desyre, as sayth the chronicler.

[1] als. [2] Ferrar. *edit. alt.* [3] Carmelio. [4] it did.

The. CC.xvi. Chapiter.

¶ Of the battayle of Sayne, & of the carykes there taken in the sea afore the mouth of Sayne.

THe kyng sent then ỹ duke vnto the sea
Of Bedforde, ỹ[1] with four hūdreth sayles
To vitayl Hareflete [w̄] therle of Marche no lee,
Therle marshall without[2] any fayles
With therles, armed in plate and mayles,
Of Oxenforde, Warrewike, and Huntyngdon,
Of Salisbury, Deuonshire, & many [a] baron :

¶ Of Arondell also, these erles all
Were in that flote, [vn]to the noumbre of men
Twenty thousande Herouldes did theim call ;
On our Lady daye thassumpcion then
[All these lordes with many worthy men,]
The fyfth yere of the kynge was then exprosse,
Whē there enemies theim met at Sayn doutelesse.

¶ They faught ful sore afore the water of Sayn,
With carrikes many well stuffed and arayed,
And many other shippes great of Hispayne,
Barges, balyngers, and galeys vnfrayed[3],
Whiche proudly came vpō our shippes vnprayed ;
[And by theuen][4] there sayles aualed were set,
The[yr] enemyes slayn in battayll, and sore bet.

¶ And many dryent were that daye in the sea,
That as our flete rode there then[5] alwaye,
Vnto the feast nexte of his[6] Natiuitee,
The bodies flete amonge our shippes echedaye,
Full piteous was, and[7] to see theim ay,
That thousādes were. xx. as they then[8] tolde,
That taken were in that same batayll bolde.

¶ In which meane while, whiles[9] our ships there laye,
It was so[10] calme without[1] any wynde,
We[11] might not sayle ne fro thens passe awaye,

[1] than. [2] withoutyn. [3] vnaffraied. [4] be the euyn. [5] than stille. [6] hur. [7] and foule. [8] gan. [9] as. [10] suche. [11] They.

Wherfore theyr galeys eche day there gā vs[1] fynd,
With ores many about vs dyd they wynde,
With wildfyre oft assayled vs[2] daye and night,
To brēne our shippes in that they could or might.

¶ The flete came home [than at][3] our Lady day,
Frō Sayn, whiche tyme ỹ kyng then had cōueied
Themperoure then to Caleys on his waye,
And home agayn was come right well apayed,
Of the welfare of that [worthy] flete assayed[4],
So well in armes vnto his hie pleasaunce,
Fol. CC.xii. Vpon his foes, & kepte theim selfe by gouernaūce.

The. CC.xvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng wēt into Fraūce, in the. v. yere of his reigne, the seconde time, and landed at Towke in Constantyne in Normandy.

THe king thē in his. v. yere wēt into Fraūce,
And landed at Towke, and gatte the castell than,
And so came[5] with all his ordinaunce,
And layde his siege aboute with many a man,
Whiche by processe at the last he[6] wan;
Whiche to Vmfreuile, [that] thē was erle of Kyme,
He gaue to kepe for great manhode that tyme.

¶ Bayons, Falace, Cees, and Argenton,
Doumfront, Mortyne, and Iuory also,
Musterdeuilers, Euerons[7], and Alaunson,
Caldebeke, and Depe, Arkes, Vnycort tho,
With other townes [and castels many][8] mo,
Gurnaye, Newcastell, Gysours, Estoutuile,
Roan, Louers, and also Vmfreuile,

¶ Pountlarge, Pountoyes, & also Pount Dorsō,
Maunte, Vire Balom, and also Aueraunce,
Castell Galiard, with many other toune,
Bolham[9] in Perche, saynt Ioilian[10] in Maunce,
Merteyn[11] in Perche, Chirbroke[12] and eke Cōstaūce,
Vernell in Perche, Seintlowe, and Alauayle,
Vernon on Sayn, without any battayle.

[1] to. [2] them. [3] that. [4] well assaied. [5] to Caue. [6] so he. [7] Eueros. [8] namyd. [9] Belham. [10] Iulian. [11] Mortayne. [12] Chirbourgh.

¶ All

¶ All Normandy he gate within two yere,
And after then he trauayled in[1] Fraunce,
For mariage and conuencion clere,
Betwene kyng Charles and hym at instaunce
Of duke Philip of Burgoyn of aliaunce;
In whiche tyme so they were by appoyntment
Accorded well, and clerely condiscent,

¶ That then he wed his doughter Katheryne,
And proclaymed was then of Fraunce regent,
And heritour of Fraunce by ryght lyne[2],
Of his owne right fro kyng Edwardes[3] discent,
And Normandy and Guyan as appent
Remayn should to hym and to his heyres,
Kynges of Englande euermore, and to theyrs.

¶ Then layde he siege to Melon[4] anone right,
Aboue Paris. xv. legges vpon Sayn,
Whiche by processe and laboure of his might,
And full sore siege full long with[5] passyng payne,
He had at laste, of whiche he was full fayn,
And toke it to Vmfreuile erle of Kyme,
To haue for euer ay forwardes fro that tyme.

¶ Sauncer[6] in Burgoyn then gate he mightely,
And Motreux also[7] where the duke was buried
Of Burgoyn then, whom he toke vp in hie,
And at Dugyon[8], as it is notified,
Hym buried so in Burgoyn vndenyed,
With high honour and great solempnitee,
As to suche a prince of reason ought to bee:

¶ And Motreux toke he then to syr Iohn Gray,
That then was made erle of Tanōiruile[9],
A manly knight in armes proued[10] aye,
And lorde Powes was by his wyfe that whyle, *Fol. CC.xiii.*
And emes[11] sonne vnto therle Vmfreuile;
Two better knightes I trowe there were not thā,
Of theyr estate sith tyme that they began.

[1] fore in. [2] of lyne. [3] Edwarde. [4] Melayne. [5] and. [6] Saunce. [7] als.
[8] Dungyon. *edit. alt.* [9] Taunkervile. [10] approued. [11] vncle.

¶ At siege of Meloyn[1] and [of] all other citees
After folowyng the kyng of Scotland lay
The prince of Orenge withouten lees,
The duke Embarre[2] his sonne and heire alway,
That suster sonne then was full freshe and gay,
To kyng Henry at[3] Meloyn [full] well arayed.
The kyng of Frauce, with banner hole displayed,

¶ The siege helde fro Midsomer to Christmasse,
When kyng Henry at his palayce royall
Of Turneis fayre, besyde the bastell pereles
Of saynt Antonye, helde [his hole][4] imperiall,
Where then he feasted[5] these kynges & princes all,
Where then therles of Suffolke and of Kyme,
With ten men, helde the iustes by all that tyme.

¶ But whyles the kyng Henry was so in Frauce,
The duke Robert, that was of Albany,
Layd about[6] Barwike of great puissaunce;
Sixty thousande of Scottes cruelly[7]
Assayled the towne echedaye by and by:
The capitayn was syr Robert Vmfreuyle,
A knight of the Garter had ben long whyle.

The. CC.xviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the duke of Albany besieged Barwike, and therle Douglas Rokesburgh in herueste, in the seuenth yere of the kyng; and howe Henry Percy erle of Northumberland, rescowed Barwike and Rokesburgh with. vii. score. M. mē; for trust it true there is no lorde in Englande that may defende you agayn Scotlande so well as he, for they haue the hertes of the people by North, and euer had: and doute it not, the North parte bee your trewe legemen.

THey shot their gonnes, and with their ladders scaled,
But nought auailed, thei wer so wel of bet,
When they our hoste sawe anone they vnscaled[8],
[That stale][9] awaye by night without[10] let,
For feare our hoste vpon theim shulde set[11],
At Baremore then with. vii. score thousande men,
For which the Scottes fled fro ȳ duke home then

[1] Melayne. [2] Eubavie. [3] but at. [4] Nowell. [5] feaste. [6] siege about. [7] that cruelly. [8] it unscaled. [9] They stolle. [10] withoutyn. [11] haue set.

¶ Vpon

¶ Vpon the night, and let hym there alone
With his owne men and no mo of weike power:
Yet rode he to Norham nere theim anone,
And brent the towne, our hoste and he then wer
But two myle of and durst not come no nere:
Wherfore he rode home then into Scotlande,
Our hoste [more sone][1] retourned to England.

¶ Then syr Robert Vmfreuile with [the] garyson
Of Barwike with his countremen,
Folowed after the Scottes with his penoun,
On the hynde[r] ryders, and many of theim then
He toke homewarde, and slewe squyers ten
Within Scotlande, besyde Cherneside towne,
And to Berwike came with his garyson.

¶ Therle Douglas then hight [syr] Archebalde,
Whiche his one eye had lost at Hamyldon[2],
That semed hym well ay after manyfolde,
At Shrowysbury for his correccyon
He loste one of his stones for his raunson;
His[3] syege then lefte at Rokesburgh where he laye,
And with the duke of Albany rode awaye.

¶ The earles two of Douglas and Dunbarre
For trewce sent to Roberte Vmfreuyle,
Wardeine of the Este marche full wyse and warre,
He wolde none take with them [then] for no while,
Syth they the trewce had broken and did fyle,
He shuld[4] them holde the[5] warre to they were faine
To seke peace[6] then at the kyng agayne.

¶ The kyng was then in Fraunce hole regent,
And Parys had and all the lande aboute,
Troies in Champaine, & Mews in Bry had hent,
With all citees, townes, and castelles stoute,
In all that lande and countree there throughout;
Of Mewis he made sir Iohn Graye capitayne[7]
That was lorde Powes by[8] his wyfe certayne.

[1] soner turned. [2] Homyldon. [3] At. [4] wolde. [5] pleyn. [6] their peas. [7] than capeteyne. [8] to be.

¶ That

¶ That tyme syr Raufe Crōwel[1] was gouernour
Of kyng Charles and[2] Isabell the quene,
By kyng Henry ordeyned theyr protectoure,
Who kept them at Boys Vincent as was sene,
In royall wyse as to them dyd parteigne;
The kyng [busy that tyme][3] in his conqueste,
For to set rule in Fraunce [coulde haue no reste.][4]

¶ In this meane whyle sir Robert Vmfreuyle,
Wardeine of the March, thought then [full] great shame
The king in Frāūce doing so well ŷ while,
He made the warre on Scottes to haue a name.
Two yere complete he wrought thē mekell[5] shame;
Thest marche hole of[6] Scotlande then he brent,
And market townes echeone or that he stente.

¶ Howyk, Selkirke, Iedworth, & all[7] Dunbarre,
Laudre also[7], with all Laudre dale,
The forestes also[7] fro Berwyk that were farre,
Of Eteryke, Iedworth, and eke all Teuidale,
[And all the villages in them both great & small,][8]
And none helpe had but of his countre men,
Of the bishopryke & of Northumberlande then.

[¶ In this mean time ŷ Scottes had great paine;
Wherfore therles of Douglas and Dunbarre
To London came, and toke a trewce full fayne,
As Vmfreuyle them hight afore the warre,
That to the kyng they shulde it seke of farre,
Of whiche he kept his hoste then full two yere,
For with his warre he waste the marche full clere.]

The. CC.xix. Chapiter.

Howe the kynge and the quene came into Englande in the eyght yere of his reigne.

THe. viii. yere of his reygne, at Cādelmasse
The kinge came home and brought with hym the quene,
That[9] he had wed at Troys in Chāpein doutlesse;

[1] Cromewell. [2] and of. [3] that tyme wase besy. [4] so to haue reste. [5] grete. [6] and. [7] als. [8] He stroied and brente, and boldely brought in bale. [9] Whome.

[Afore the lordes of Fraunce as then][1] was wel sene,
The duke of Clarence, as men well it mene.
He made regent of Fraunce in his absence.
To occupye ryght as his owne presence.

¶ The earle of Salisbury, the Mountague,
He made gouernoure then of Normandaye ;
Therle of Kyme, a knyght of his full trewe,
Marshall of Fraunce he made [full] openly ;
The[2] lordes all he ordeyned there to lye,
Hym to comforte, and to bene attendaunt
To hym in all that myght hym be pleasaunt.

¶ [This prynce of princes in][3] England thē abode
To somer after, eche daye in busynesse,
To ordeyne for his passage and his rode
To Fraūce agayne, in which tyme then doutlesse
I sawe two knightes afore hym then expresse,
That none might them accorde [or treate to][4] peace,
Ne iustyce none of fyghting might them cease.

¶ The lordes then greatly counsayled the kyng
To make them fynde suretye to kepe the peace,
The kyng answered anon without tarying,
I shalbe youre borowe nowe or I cease,
For of this thyng I may not longe you prease ;
But what case fall that slaine is[5] one of you,
That other shall dye to God I make a vowe.

¶ They heryng this, anon they were accorde
By frendes [that treated] ỳ time betwene them two,
And after that they were no more [at] discorde.
This was a iustice of peace that could [do] so,
His offyce kepte without borowes moo :
For when he dyed, iustyce of peace bode none,
But baratours theyr office kepte anone[6].

[1] At whiche place so than as. [2] These. [3] These prynceese of. [4] ne treate of. [5] be.

[6] In this meane the Scottes hade grete peyne,
Wherefore the erles of Douglas and Dunbarre
To London come, and toke trewes full feyne,
As Vmfreuile theym hight afore the werre,
That to the kynge they shuld it seche of ferre,
Of whiche he kepte his heeste than full two yere,
For whiche werre his marche wase than full clere.

¶ And

¶ And at the Easter[1] then in his xv[2]. yere,
The duke of Clarence thenemies had espyed,
At Bangy[3] then for whiche his menne in fere
He sembled[4] and thyther faste he hyed,
On Easter[5] euen he wolde not bene replyed,
With whome were then therle of Huntyngdon,
And Somerset[6] the earle his wyues sonne.

The. CC.xx. Chapiter.

Howe on Easter euen the duke of Clarence smote ẏ batell of Bawgy, in the yere of Christe a thousand. iiii. hundreth & twenty, and in the nynth yere of kyng Henry; for that yere the feaste of the Annuncyacyon of oure Lady fell on Ester Twysdaye, and the date chaunged after that batayle in the Easter weke.

ANd nere at[7] Bawge came Gylberte Vmfreuyle,
Marshal of Fraunce, ẅ. v. horse & no mo,
And of good wyt counsayled hym that whyle
To kepe the churche and Goddes[8] seruyce tho,
And after the feaste to seke vpon his foo;
And he aunswered hym, "yf thou be aferd,
Go home thy waye and kepe the churche yerde.

¶ For thou haste bene with the kyng to longe
To make me lese my worshyp and my name,
Thou haste ay gote the worshyp euer[9] amonge,
And I haue none, thus wolde thou lose my fame[10];"
With suche wordes chidyng he dyd hym blame,
To whome[11] he sayde, "yf that thou be afrayde,
And kepe the churche as thou me nowe hast saide."

¶ With ẏ he saide, "my lorde ye haue no menne
With the enemyes thus hastely to fyght;
Youre men wot not of this ne howe, ne whenne,
To semble to you of power ne of myght,
For trewly nowe my cousen Graye nowe right
And I haue here but ten men and no mo;
But [yet] ye shall neuer saye we leaue you so."

Fol. CC.xvi.

[1] Pasch. [2] nynth. [3] Baugy. [4] sembled faste. [5] Pasche. [6] of Somersette. [7] to. [8] Gode. [9] aie. [10] name. [11] goo home.

¶ So

¶ So rode they furth ay chidyng by the waye,
Tyll they to Bawgy ouer the bridge were gone,
Where the enemyes were batayled in araye,
Where then they light & faught with them anon:
The duke was slayne ẏ day there ẅ his foone,
With hym were slayne then therle Vmfrenyle,
And syr Iohn Graye the earle of Tankeruyle.

The lorde Roos, and syr Iohn Lumley[1],
With many other were with hym slayne ẏ daye,
Whose names I can not wryte nor saye:
The earles two[2] of Huntingdon no naye,
Of Somerset also[3], were taken there I saye
For prysoners, and put to greate raunson,
And laye full longe in Fraunce then in pryson.

¶ Thenglishe power came when all was done,
And rescowed then the deed men where they laye,
And brought ẏ lordes home fro thens [thē] ful sone
That were[4] there vpon the felde that daye,
And buryed them in Englande in good araye,
Echeone in his owne abbaye or colage
Afore founded within his herytage.

¶ At Cauntorbury the duke was of Clarence,
Besyde his father kynge Henry buryed,
With suche honoure, costage, and expence,
As the duches his wyfe [coulde haue][5] signifyed,
Whiche neded not to bene modifyed;
She was so well within her selfe auysed,
Of greate sadnesse and womanhede preuised[6].

The. CC.xxi. Chapiter.

Howe the kyng wente agayne to Fraunce, & lefte the quene in Englande with chylde, and wanne dyuerse cytees, townes and castelles in somer, in the nyngth yere of his reigne.

THe kyng [then] let ẏ quene in Englande byde,
In somer then, the. ix. yere of his date,
And into Fraunce agayne he went ẏ tyde

[1] of Lumlay. [2] too. [3] als. [4] dede were. [5] than. [6] preuided.

With heuy harte, to Parys went algate,
The castell of Perfount soone[1] he gate,
A royall place of all that men haue sene,
The [greate cytee of Compyne also][2] I wene.

¶ The cytees also of Cassons, Bray, and Crayle,
Of Owsare also[3], with many cytees moo,
And to Parys agayne without[4] fayle,
In his castell of Lowre[5] abidynge tho;
Tidynges then came to him full glad and mo,
That of a prynce delyuered was the quene,
Of whiche all men reioysed as was sene.

Saynt Dionis[6] then, and castell Boys Vynccent,
Corbell, Pount Melanke[7], and full great parte of Fraunce,
Burgoyne, Artoys, and Pycardy [to] hym sent
To bene his men without contraryaunce,
And eche cytee, to hym sworne in substaunce,
Walled townes and castelles euery chone,
As hye regent of Fraunce [by hym one.][8]

Fol. CC.xviii.

¶ Then rode he furth to Bawgy and Orleaunce,
Wynnyng the tounes and citees in his waye,
And castelles all that were of greate defence,
Crepy, Lawnesse, and Milly with greate affraye,
Nongent le Roy[9] he gatte with greate araye,
Pount Caranton[10] with many other obeyed
To his highnesse, and were his menne conueghed.

¶ The duke of Brytain then was his manne,
[For fee belaste][11] without rebellion,
The counte sainct Paule his manne was then,
The duke of Burgoyn without suspicion,
With many other his menne without collucion[12],
Were sworne thē whole, ŷ [coūtrees in ŷ][13] same wise,
Castelles, and tounes, eke as he couth deuise.

¶ In August so of his reigne the tenth yere,
He toke sickenes, and laye at Boy Vincent,
In pain[14] strong, as then it did appere,

[1] than soone. [2] grettcste in compasse als. [3] als. [4] withouten. [5] Lovers. [6] Denyse.
[7] Melake. [8] than be his oone. [9] Nugent le Roy. [10] Charenton. [11] For briefte.
[12] abusioun. [13] citese in. [14] paines.

Full

Full like to passe, wherfore in his entent,
The duke of Bedford he made hie regent
Of Fraunce, and of his other landes all
Beyond the sea as chief in generall.

¶ And of his soonne Henry he made custode,
Thomas Beauford, his vncle dere and trewe,
Duke of Excester, full of all worthyhode,
To tyme his soonne to perfecte age grewe
[He to kepe hym, chaungyng for no newe,]
With helpe of his other eme[1] then full wise,
The bishop of Wynchester of good aduise.

¶ Therle then of Salisbury manly,
That Mountague[2] then hight by surname,
He sette to kepe then all Normandie
Vnder the regent, as knight of full greate fame,
With other lordes full sage and worthy of name,
Therle of Ox[en]ford, and of Suffolke also,
Of his counsaill to been with many mo.

The. CC.xxii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng dyed the last daye of August, the yere of Christ a thousand foure hundred two and twenty, and of his reigne the tenth yere, for all his rightwisnes and iustice that he did he had no conscięce of vsurpement of the croune.

THe last daye of August then full clere,
Of Christ his date a thousand signified,
Foure hundred and twoo and twenty yere,
When that this prince of princes so[3] dyed,
At Boys Vincent, with death then victoried[4],
That neuer prince in earth might thē haue dooen,
But he alone that ruleth sonne and moonne:

¶ With whose bones the quene came to Englād,
The kyng of Scottes Iames with hir also,
The duke of Excester[5], as I can vnderstand,
Therle of Marche Edmond Mortimer tho,

[1] uncle. [2] Mountacute. [3] also. [4] devou. [5] Exeetre.

Rychard Beauchampe then erle of Warwike, so,
Humfrey then erle of Stafford, young of age,
And erle Edmond of Morten[1], wise and sage.

¶ O good Lord God, that art omnipotent,
Why streched not thy power and thy might,
Fol. CC.xviii. To kepe this prince, that sette was and consent
With themperour, to [conuert Surrey][2] right,
And with Christen inhabite, it had hight,
Why fauoured so thyne high omnipotence
Miscreaunce[3] more then his beneuolence.

¶ Aboue all thyng he keped[4] the lawe and peace,
Through all England, that none insurreccion
Ne no riotes were then withouten lese,
Nor neighbour werre in faute of correccion;
But peasebly vnder his proteccion,
Compleyntes all, of wronges[5] in generall,
Refourmed were well vnder his yerd egall.

The. CC.xxiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe through the lawe and peace conserued was the encrease of his conquest, and els had he been of no power to haue conquered in out landes.

WHen he in Fraunce was dayly cōuersaunt,
His shadowe so obumbred all England,
That peace and lawe kept[6] continuaunt
In his absence throughout all[7] this land,
And els, as I [can seyne][8] and vnderstand,
His power had been lite[9] to conquere Fraunce,
Nor other realmes[10] that well were lesse perchaūce.

¶ The peace at home, and lawe so well conserued,
Were croppe and rote of all his hie conquest,
Through whiche ŷ loue of God he well deserued,
And of his people, by North, South, Est, & West,

[1] Morteyne [2] conquere Cirry. [3] Miscreauntes. [4] kepte. [5] wronge. [6] were kepte. [7] in all. [8] conceyve. [9] litell. [10] reame.

Who

Who might haue slain ỳ prince, or downe[1] him kest,
That stode so sure in rightfull gouernaunce
For common weale, to God his hie plesaunce[2].

The.

[1] doone.

[2] *Here the Harleian MS. has the following prose Additions; which also occur at the end of the Selden MS.* Serenissimus Princeps Henricus Rex Anglie & Francie, quintus post conquestum Anglie, die Mercurii, septimo die Augusti, anno Regni sui tercio, a castro suo Porchestre, in una navicula ad mare discendit, ascendens suam navim vocatam le Trynyte, super mare, inter Portesmouth et portum de Southampton, erigens veli virgam in medium mali ut simul promptitudinem velandi ostenderet, ut signum daret navigio spe so per loca maritima ad eum quo ciclus poterant festinandi.

Et cum sequenti die Dominica omnes simul convenissent, vento amicabiliter flante, exposuit vela ventis, circiter in mille quingentis navibus; et proximo die Martis, circa horam quintam, post nonam, intravit ostium fluminis de Sayne, ubi finxit anchoras coram villula de Kitteeaus, per tria milliaria a villa de Harflete, ubi proposuit terram ascendere.

Et cum die Mercurii proximo sequenti, in vigilia Assumpcionis beate Marie, sol monstrasset pulcram auroram, inter horam sextam et septimam, premisit Iohannem Holande comitem Huntyngdon, Gilbertum Vmfreuile nominatum comitem de Kyme, Iohannem Cornewaile, Iohannem Gray, Willielmum Porter, Iohannem Stewarde, cum aliis equitibus precursoribus ad explorandum patriam si aliqua hostiliter esset prope villam de Harflete et situm pro requiescione Regis et exercitus sui.

Et cum Rex cognovisset per relacionem predictorum nobilium quod ascensus stetit clare de inimicis in naviculis et . . . terre se appulit et cepit montem proximum versus Harflete inter quendam silvam non de grossis arboribus sed ceduam in declivo vallis versus aquam de Sayne ex una parte, et diversas villulas, pomeria, et clausuras, ex altera parte, quousque totus exercitus, equi et evecciones, ac alie necessarie fuissent de navibus ad terram asportata.

Moris vero et locus ascencionis Regis et exercitus sui erat valde petrosus pro defencione inimicorum, tam saxorum grandium quam minorum lapillorum ad jactum, si Regis ascensui resistere voluissent. Et in primo ascensu Regis, ante se, fiebant magne fosse, profunde, plene aqua, ac muri magni terrei grandis spissitudinis cum turribus armati et propugnaculis, ad modum castri: et inter unamquamque turrim et propugnaculum terra dimittebatur integra non fossata ad altitudinem unius cubiti per unius hominis introitu & exitu. Et introitus et exitus predictus cum muris, fossatis, & turribus duravit, a ripibus maris usque ad mariscum versus Harflete per dimidium miliare, quam providerat Gallicana industria. Sed ex eorum vecordia seu pigricia omnino indefensatus erat. Et mariscus predictus tam structus fuit, cum per foveas aqua plenas, cum per vias obstupatas, quod durum fuit intrare mariscum.

Et cum die Sabbati sequente proxima omnia everta que itineri erant necessaria de navibus erant asportata, Rex removit se cum exercitu suo monstrando se coram villam de Harflete super latus montis, et ex deliberatione et consilio prehabito misit fratrem suum ducem Clarencie cum competenti parte exercitus sui pro obsidione ponenda ex altera parte ville. Et die Dominica sequente idem dux Clarencie monstravit se ex altera parte ville, cujus via et transitus erat in circuitu circa novem miliaria sole illius diei seronante pulcram auroram.

Et die Lune sequente Rex ordinavit obsidionem ex parte maris per navigium et ex parte vallis in qua villa de Harflete stat, et ex parte duleis fluminis currentis ad villam in batellis, per servientes suos proprios, et posuit machinas cavellas suas cum porcellis, clapers cum cuniculis, dolaos cum plovers, et alia abilimenta guerre prope villam bene munitas cum municionibus et tutamentis que Rex fieri fecit ex opere lignario et ferrario ex altis tabellis et spissis ante quamlibet portam ville pro custodia et salvacione dictarum ordinacionum & municionum, ne lederentur ab hostibus.

Etiam Rex fecit fieri fossas ex utraque parte municionum et tutamentorum predictorum altas supra terram cum fasciculis et terra edificatas in modum murorum cum fossatis pro salvacione ordinacionum hominum suorum in eisdem vigilancium et custodiencium dictas ordinaciones tam per diem quam per noctem. Et interim predicti vigilantes effoderunt continue, die ac nocte, terram, lucrantes versus bastellum ville quousque tandem venerunt in oppositum ejus, prope latus ad latus, et tunc Rex cum suis cavellis et machinis sic verberavit bastellum ville quod exarmatum fuit et diruptum infra paucos dies, quamvis hostes essent bene de lignels facilis, calce viva, aqua bulliente, ollis terreis plenis pulveribus adustivis sulphuris, ac de aliis vasibus plenis oleorum et pinguium bulliencium et plumbi bullientis que jactaverunt super insultantes.

Etiam Rex pareri fecit oppugnacionem per cuniculos in clapers, tam diebus quam noctibus, in vias subterraneis per sues, porcellos, & plovers, necnon per fasciculos ad implendum fossata, ac etiam per bastellos & fortalicios lignicos ad altitudinem murorum ville, ac per scalas, et alia instrumenta, et eam illis oppugnavit villam, ita quod cuniculi et porcelli recuperaverunt fossam exteriorem ville.

Adhuc

The. CC.xxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Henry the sixte, kynge of England and of Fraunce, that fled into Scotland without cause, on Palmesondaye the thirty and nyne yere of his reigne, and of Christ a thousand foure hundred three score and one, began to reigne the yere of Christ a thousand foure hundred twenty and twoo.

King Hēry y^e sixte.

HEnry his soōne, thē not. iii. quarters olde,
That borne was at. s. Nicholas daie afore,
At Windesore, so as ŷ[1] realme thē would,
Vnto the croune succede as he was bore,
All[1] England hole, by might [of lordes][1] thore:
The duke of Gloucester then disired
To haue the kepyng of the kyng enspired[4].

¶ The

[1] all the. [2] Of. [3] and lorde. [4] aspired.

Alioque die succedente, non immediate, Galli irrumperunt de bastello super Comites Huntyngdon et de Kyme, Iohannem Cornewaile, Willielmum Boursier, Iohannem Gray, Willielmum Porter, et Iohannem Stewarde, nobiles milites qui cum gente sua Armigera & sagittaria eos obpugnaverunt et duro prelio devicerunt, occiderunt, et fugarunt in bastellum illud recuperandum ubi Penones et Vexilla sua super muros posuerunt.

Unde Rex absque dilacione proclamari fecit communem insultum per totum exercitum, pre timore cujus assultus dominus de Gaucourte, Capitaneus ville, cum assensu nobiliorum, ville quid pro timore de penis legis Deutronomii si villa recuperaretur ab eis resistentibus desperantes de re . . . . . illa nocte inierunt de tractatum cum rege si obsidio non fuerit remota vi Francorum.

Et die Dominica proxima sequente xxij^o. die Septembris post nonam Rex Francie Dolphinus nec aliquis alius ad solvendum obsidionem se obtulit. Ascendebat Rex solium suum Regale, stratum sub uno Papilione, vestibus aureis & carpasitis in cardine montis coram villa, stipatus viris illustribus, proceribus, & nobilioribus, in multitudine & apparamentis culcioribus, tenta a dextris suis super uno hastili per Gilbertum Vmfrevile, comitem de Kyme, sua coronata galea triumphali. Venit de villa prefatus dominus de Gaucourte comitantibus eum xxxiiij^or. de nobilioribus ville, qui prius secum tractaverunt et se obligaverunt ad tractatum predictum, et Regi reddiderunt claves seipsosque simul & obcessos gracie sue; et tunc Rex fecit poni super portas ville vexilla sua et vexillum sancti Georgii, fecitque inde Capitaneum Thomam Beauforde comitem Dorset et in crastino intravit villam propria persona.

Et die Lune Rex misit haraldum, nomine Guyeñ, cum domino de Gaucourte, ad Dolphinum, ad intimandum sibi quod expectaret apud villam suam de Harflete adhuc per octo dies tunc sequentes, ab eo petens responsum infra illud tempus si vellet venire cum eo ad pacem, et dimitti sibi facere jus suum absque duricia vel effusione sanguinis multitudinis, inter seipsos, persona ad personam per duellum terminarent, et utriusque regis consilio; sed lapsis inde octo diebus sine responso, iter suum arripuit versus villam suam Calesie que distat abinde plus quam centum miliaria Anglicana, precipiens exercitui suo se in victualibus instaurare pro octo dietis.

Et die Martis, primo die Octobris, cum exercitu suo, non excedente nongentas lanceas et quinque milia sagittarios, removit de Harflete dimittendo villam de Mustrede Villers per dimidium miliare a dextris. In tribus bellis et aciebus constans, intrepidus, iter cepit, et sequenti die Veneris venit coram Castro & villa de Arkes super fluvio currente ad Depe, dimittens villam de Depe per tria miliaria a sinistris. Et die Sabbati venit per villam de Ewe, dimittens eam a sinistris per dimidium miliare. Et die Dominica venit prope villam de Abvile ubi non potuit transire aquam de Sowme propter pontes, calceta, & vias diruptas. Et die Lune iter suum cepit versus caput aque de Sowme dimittens civitatem Ambianensem a sinistris, per unam lencam. Et die Martis pertransivit lateraliter juxta aquam de Sowme versus caput aque de Sowme, & nullum transitum aut vadum ultra inveniri poterit. Et die Mercurii simili modo. Et die

¶ The bishop of Wynchester it withstode,
With all the lordes there hole of his assent,
Then would he [haue] been, as for ŷ next of bloode,
Leuetenaunt then of England and regent,
The bishop aye withstode all his entent,
That chaũceler was, by [ŷ] fifth kyng Henry made.
And so furth stode, and in thoffice bade,

¶ For cause he was so noyous with to dele,
And office would he haue and gouernaunce,
Wherfore thei made hym, for the common wele,
Protectour of the realme by ordinaunce,
[To kepe the land, fro mischief and varyaunce:]'

The duke of Gloucester protectour of Englād.

' And defensoure to avoide all distaunce.

---

die Iovis venit ad Bowes, et sic ad villam de Corby muratam, dimittendo eam a sinistris in valle ubi Rex indixit et precepit ut quilibet sagittarius faceret sibi palum vel baculum quadratum seu rotundum, sex pedum longitudinis, acutum in utroque fine, ad figendum coram se in terram unum finem et alterum finem in declino versus hostes tempore belli.

Et die Veneris Rex hospitabatur in villulis prope villam de Nedl muratam ubi nunciatam fuit Regi de duobus locis ubi potuit pertransire aquam de Sowme qua de causa premisit dominum Gilbertum Vmfrevile comitem de Kyme, Willielmum Porter, Iohannem Cornewaile et Willielmum Bourser, cum peronibus suis, custodire passagium exercitus ultra aquam predictam, qui illud custodierunt a meredie usque ad unam horam infra noctem. Et die Sabbati pertransivit Rex et totus exercitus ad duo loca predicta, ubi magnus mariscus fuit ex utraque parte aque prediete, et ad duo calceta inter mariscos pertransitus totus exercitus, qui quidem custodes passagii illud custodierunt a meredie dici usque ad unam horam noctis.

Et die Dominica sequente Dux de Orliaunce et Dux de Bourbone miserunt tres haraldos Regi quod pugnarent cum eo. Et die Lune Rex venit prope villam de Peroñ muratam, dimittendo eam a sinistris per unum miliare. Et deinde Rex venit ad aquam de Suerdes et transivit ultra. Et die Martis, ac die Mercurii hospitabatur Rex et exercitus in villulis, ubi habuerunt visum de maximo exercitu Gallicorum. Et die Iovis Rex statim removit exercitum semper equitando armiati adversum eos, et ad solis occasum Gallici hospitabantur in villulis et ortis prope Regem. Et cum Rex viderat hoc et quod quilibet clamavit et vociferavit pro famulo, amico, et socio, ut moris est, precepit exercitum suum hospita . . . vociferacione sub certa pena in villa de Agincourte propu hostes usque ad mane.

Et die Veneris, in festo sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani, surgente aurora Gallici se constituerunt in exercitu in aciebus, turmis, et cuneis, coram Rege in dicto campo de Agincourte, in via et transitu suo versus Calisiam. Et interim Rex constituit se in bello ibi prope hostes, ponens Edwardum Ducem Eboraci in acie anteriori, et dominum de Camoys in acie posteriori, pro alis dextra & sinistra. Et Rex appropinquavit versus hostes, et hostes versus eum, et per durum prelium percussum Rex habuit victoriam, ubi occisi erant Dux de Barre, Dux de Braban, Dux de Alaunson, Comites quinque, Barones et vexilla levantes nonaginta, mille quinquaginta milites, et maxima multitudo populi, secundum computacionem haraldorum ad numerum centum milia hominum: et capti fuerant Dux de Orlience Lodowicus, frater Regis Francie, Dux de Burbone, Comes de Vendisme, Arthurus de Britayne comes de Richemonde, et Comes de Ewe, ac dominus Bursigaldus Marescallus Francie, ex parte Francie; et ex parte Anglorum occisi erant Edwardus Dux Eboraci, Michael de la Pole comes Sulfolchie, juvenis, duo milites de novo insigniti, et decem alie persone.

Cumque dominus noster Rex, post finitum prelium, ex humanitate et maxima audacia, in villa de Agincourte, et in eodem loco ubi pernoctavit et requievit nocte precedente, pernoctasset. Et die Sabbati iter suum arripuit versus per illum locum ubi bellum fuit percussum, amare lamentando in corde effusionem tantam Christianorum occisorum, qui numerabantur ad centum milia hominum, non Rex non habuit ultra ix mil. de viris infirmis et sans pugnantibus. Et die Martis, in crastino sanctorum Simonis et Iude venit Rex cum toto exercitu ad Calisiam cum magno gaudio populi et letieia, ubi laudes soli Deo pro victoria faciens decantari cum maxima devocione, litera F, tunc dies Dominica Anno Domini M°.CCCC.XV°.

The kyng of Fraunce, for sorowe then dyed[1],
The quene his wife also, as was notified.

¶ The lord Cromwell lost therof nothyng,
For he had bothe theim[2] in his gouernaunce,
Fol. CC.xiv. And home then came, when buryed was the kyng,
Charles of Fraunce, with worthy[3] ordenaunce,
Quene Isabell also with purueaunce,
Accordaunt well to their royall estate,
With costage[s] greate, as was preordinate.

¶ The first daye of the moneth [of] Septembre
He gan to reigne, then was a thousand yere,
Foure hundred, as[4] I can remember,
Twenty and twoo accompted then full clere.
As I finde write in the chronicler;
But not crouned for tendernes of age,
Nor yet anoynte for dred of youthes outrage.

The duke of Bedford regēt of Fraūce.

¶ The duke of Bedford stode so furth ay regent,
The duke of Gloucester here was so protectour,
The bishop of Wynchester, by perlyament,
Was chaunceller and hiest gouernour
Of the kyng his persone and his greate socour,
His godfather and his fatheres eme,
And supportour was moost of all this realme.

¶ The regēt then of Fraunce wed Anne his wife,
The duke his suster of Burgoyn, good and faire,
The duke of Brytain hir suster knowen rife,
Had wed afore without any dispeire,
[Whiche was lady of greate repeire;]
Whiche dukes twoo were sworne and aliede
With the regent to stand strongly fortified.

The. CC.xxv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the regent ẇ lordes of Englād smote the battaill of Vernoyle in Perche, in ŷ third yere of kyng Henry ŷ. vi.

[1] so died. [2] than. [3] roiall. [4] als as.

¶ THerle

¶ Therle of Boughan, and therle Douglas,
Therle of Wigton with power of Scotland,
And lordes of Fraunce, to gether assembled was,
Wher the regent with lordes of England
At Vernoyle in Perche, as I can vnderstand,
Faught w̄ theim sore, & slewe the Scottes cruelly,
And bade theim thynke emong on[1] Bawgy.

¶ The regent had the felde and victorie
With greate honour, and laude full[2] comfortable,
Therles were ther with hym of Salisbury,
Of Suffolke also[3], that were full honorable,
The lord Wiloughby, full fortunable,
The lord Scales of greate and hie corage,
With many other of the baronage.

[¶ Therle of Ewe, and his brother manly,
Faught in that feld, and gate a worthy name,
And many mo did tho full doughtely,
I dare well saie was none therfore to blame.
All other also whiche that were worthy of fame,
I would haue wrytē, if I had knowen their mede;
But to heraldes I will commit their deede][4].

¶ Thei sleugh therles of Boughan & Douglas,
And of Wigton, of Scotland that wer there,
The lord of Enermeth of Scotland then was,
With greate people, that dedde then [there] were.
Our Englishmenne, full manly theim bere.
The regent was there that daye, a lion,
And faught in armes like any champion.

The. CC.xxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Mountague erle of Salisbury layde siege to Orleaunce, and was slayne there. *Fol. CC.xx.*

THerle of Salisbury then, Mountague,
With great power[5] layd siege to Orliaūce,
Wher slayn he was, for whō men sore gan[6] rewe;

[1] upon. [2] and. [3] als. [4] *This stanza is not in the text of the Manuscript, but forms a rubrick in the margin.* [5] power grete. [6] dide.

So manly was his knightly diligence,
He laboured euer in marciall excellence,
Vnto the tyme, as would thende of fate,
With a quarell was slayne infortunate,

¶ And buried was in Englande that yere,
With greate worshippe and hie solempnitee.
Richard Neuell had wed his doughter clere,
And erle was made, that tyme by her in fee.
The regent then, of great nobilitee,
By counsell of the duke then of Burgoyn,
Kepte Fraunce full well without any essoyn.

¶ Then died his wife, and wed then sone agayn
The countee seynt Paules, sister of Fraunce,
That leegeman was to kyng Henry certayne,
To the regent sworne, as by full greate assurauce,
With true seruice and [all] trewe aliaunce:
He kepte bothe Fraunce, and eke all Normandy,
In peace and rest, full well and worthely.

¶ Therle Richarde of Warwike kepte the kyng
By all this tyme, sith[1] the duke was dead
Of Excester, that first hym had in kepyng:
Therle Richard, in mykell worthyhead,
Enfourmed hym, but of his symplehead
He coulde[2] litle within his brest conceyue,
The good from eiuill he could[2] vneth perceyue.

The. CC.xxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the kyng was enoynted and crouned in England in the yere of Christe a thousande. CCCC. and. xxix. and of his reigne the. viii. yere: And afterwarde he was crouned in Fraunce the yere a thousand. CCCC. and. xxxi. and of his reigne the. x. yere: in whose presence the regent ceased of his office, for whiche he was wroth with the cardinall his vncle for asmuche as the kynge was there presente; therfore there shulde bee no regente.

[1] sith tyme. [2] couth.

THe

THe kyng then in his. viii. yere in Englande,
At Westmynster vpō saynt Leonardes daye,
The Sondaye then, as I can vnderstande,
And of Christ was then a thousande full I saye,
Foure hundreth and. xx. and. ix. no naye,
He crouned was with all solempnitee,
By whole assent of lordes and commontee.

¶ Then of his reigne accompte the[1]. x. yere,
To Fraunce he went, wher then at Saynt Denys,
His fathers eme, the cardinall full clere,
Hym crouned fayre, with bishoppes there full wise;
The regent was there, with suche seruice
As was due of reason [and] to hym appent,
The duke of Burgoyne, also obedient.

¶ The duke also was there[2] of Britayne,
The counte saynt Paule, and the duke Embarre[3],
Therle of Foys, with other lordes of Guyan,
The prouoste of Parys, with other great repaire
[Of lordes, knightes, and many ladyes fayre,]
The gouernours of all the great citees,
And prelates fele[4], and barons for there fees.

The. CC.xxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the lorde Cromwell was chamberleyne in Fraunce at his corona- *Fol. CC.xxi.*
cion, and discharged at his commyng home in to Englande, and the duke of Bedforde regent of Fraunce died, and then ỹ duke of Burgoyne was made regent a yere, and then therle of Warwike was made regent a yere, & died at Roan in the castell.

THe lorde Cromwel was his chamberlayn,
Who was so wise, he was[5] of great record,
His homagers as to hym did perteyne,
In Fraunce that tyme, by good and trewe accorde,
For his fees, as[6] they and he concorde:
Of Christes date, was then a thousande yere,
Foure hundreth also[7] and one and thyrty clere,

[1] in the. [2] there than. [3] Enbaire. [4] mȧny. [5] wrote. [6] than as. [7] als.

¶ The regēt died, for whō was made great mone;
Then bothe councels of Englande and of Fraūce,
Chose the duke of Burgoyn then anone,
[To regent of that lande,][1] for great affiaunce,
That kepte it well a yere in all assuraunce;
But sone thereafter with the dolphyn accorde[2],
And was his man, as then was well recorde[3].

¶ Therle Richard of Warwike then conceyued
Of the symplesse and great innocense
Of kyng Henry, as he it well perceyued,
Desired to be discharged of his diligence
About the kyng; and by his sapience,
Was sent to Fraunce, and so was regent,
And kepte it well in all establishement,

¶ Tyll[4] that he dyed out of this worlde awaye,
For whom great mone was made and lamentaciō,
For his wisedome, and for his manhode ay,
For his norture and communicacion:
He stode in grace of hie commendacion,
Emonge all folke vnto the daye he died,
Regent of Fraunce, full greately laudified.

The. CC.xxix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the duke of Burgoyn besieged Calys, and set vp his bastell there, and howe the duke of Gloucester rescowed it.

THe duke of Burgoyn then to Calis came,
And set a bastell then afore the toune,
The which therle of Morteyn, by his name,
Edmond Beaufort, as made is mencion,
With soudyours īt gatte and bet it downe:
The duke wēt home, and left the siege with shame,
When he our flete sawe saylyng on thesame.

¶ The protectour with his flete at Calys then
Did lande, and rode into Flaunders [a] litle waye,
And litle did, to counte[5] a manly man,

[1] For regente of Fraunce. [2] accorded. [3] recorded. [4] To. [5] acounte.

But

But that the siege for hym then fled awaye,
The duke distracte, sore sycke was many a daye,
For sorowe and shame, he helde hym out of sight,
Many a yere he went not out to fight.

The. CC.xxx. Chapiter.

¶ Howe kyng Iames of Scotlande besieged syr Raulfe Gray in Renkesburgh, and howe Henry Percy, erle of Northumberlande, rescowed it with seuen score thousande men.

IN ẏ same tyme [also, of Scotlād][1] kīg Iames *Fol. CC.xxii.*
To Rēkesburgh[2] cā, & layd his siege about;
Syr Raulfe Graye thē kept it frō all shames,
Agayn his sautes, ẏ then were full stoute:
Therle then of Northumberlande throughout,
Raysed vp the lande, and when he came it nere,
The kyng trumped vp and went awaye full clere.

¶ Who sawe euer afore two hostes royall
So easely without stroke discomfite,
Of diuers landes, and neither had a fall,
[And on no parte, smote no stroke perfite,]
But for the shadowes, that were imperfite,
Of our hostes so fled and sawe nothynge,
But vmbres[3] two, of our hoste[4] then commynge.

The cōceit of ẏ maker touchynge kīg Iames.

¶ But thus I deme, tho princes wer forswore,
The kyng of Scottes, the duke of Burgoyn eke,
That they not[5] durst on no grounde [a]bide therfore;
Their vntruth[e] made there hertes feynt & seeke,
Truste neuer their manhode after worth a leeke,
That vncompelled, forsworne, or[6] wilfully,
Shall neuer after haue honour ne[7] victorie.

¶ Take[8] hede, ye lordes, of these great princes two,
What came of theim in shorte tyme after this;
The kyng murthered, at home in Scotlande tho,
The duke was wod, and frantike for his misse,
Thus vengeaunce fell vpon theim bothe I wysse,

[1] of Scotland als. [2] Rokesbourgh. [3] shadewes. [4] hoostes. [5] ne
[6] beene. [7] or. [8] Taketh.

Alas a prince shulde haue suche cowardise,
To be vntrewe or false in any wise,

¶ Sith he nede nought, so strecheth ay his power,
To kepe his trouthe, and make his fo thesame,
To kepe to hym with strength fo sworde full clere,
Or els destroye his land, and all his fame,
And put hym so to foule[1] and open shame;
[For periury occupied, and lawe vnpreserued,
Caused many a man for to bee ouerterued.][2]

The. CC.xxxi. Chapiter.

¶ Howe therle of Stafforde was. ii. yere regent of Normandy, and howe therle of Huntyngdon was other two yere, and howe Richard, duke of Yorke, was regent of Normandy. vii. yere with holden, and afterwarde was made leuetenaunte of Irelande.

BVt after then therle of Stafforde went
With power strong, to kepe all Normādy,
Two yere with holde, [w̄ all lordes][3] assent,
Whiche well he keped, and full honorably
With litle losse, of places fewe sodenly
By enemyes won, that might not longe ben holde,
And home he came, when spended was his golde.

¶ [Then went therle thyther of Huntyngdon,
That kept that lād, with sad and trewe seruice,
With great power truely vnto the croune,
For all the foes and eke the kynges enemyes,
And fewe places loste, ne had no great supprise;
And home he came agayn, at two yeres ende,
When his wages were gone and all hole spende.]

[1] a foule.

[2] To make hym so alweie to kepe his trouth,
But cowardise it lett and feerfull slouth.

Than wente the erle thider of Huntyngdoun,
That kepte that londe with sade and trewe service,
With grete power truly unto the crouñ,
Fro all the foone and eke the kynges enemyse,
And fewe places loste ne hade no grete supprise;
And home he come ayeñ at two yeres ende,
Whan his wages were goone and all hoole spende.

[3] be lordes all.

And

And after hym the duke of Yorke full ying
Thether was sent, with great power royall,
And regent was of all that longed[1] to the kyng, *Fol. CC.xxiii.*
And kepte full well Normandye in [e]specyall;
But Fraunce was gone afore ingenerall:
And home he came at seuen yere ende agayne,
With mekell loue of the lande certayne.

¶ The duke of Yorke sent was then to Irelande,
Leutenaunt then[2] he was there many a daye,
And greate thanke there and loue of all the land
He had amonge the Iryshe[3] alwaye,
And [all the Iryshe,][4] beganne him to obey;
He[5] ruled that lande full well and worthely,
As dyd afore his noble auncetrye.

The. CC.xxxii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Edmonde, duke of Somerset, was made keper of Normandy.

THe kyng then made ŷ marquis of Dorset,
Edmōd Beauford, at ŷ cardinals request,
Without delay, then duke of Somerset,
And sent hym fourth anon withoute[6] reste,
To Normandye, to kepe it for his beste;
But in his tyme Fastolfe and Kyriell
Discomfyte were, in batayle sore and fell:

¶ Where. vii. M. Englyshe were ouerthrowe,
Wherfore the Frenche assembled newe eche daye,
And gate the lande ay by and by on rowe,
For whiche the duke wrote his letters ay
Vnto the kyng and his councell alwaye
For more power, & elles he myght not byde,
To kepe the lande, ŷ French were of suche[7] pryde.

¶ He coulde[8] none get, this land was thē so pylde,
Through war of Fraūce, they wolde not hī releue;
So was the lande w̄ Frenchmen wonne [& welde,][9]
With siege eche daye, and sautes fell and breue,

[1] longeth. [2] ther. [3] Englisherie. [4] and of the Irisherie. [5] And. [6] withoutyn.
[7] suche a. [8] couthe. [9] ad. . . .

The

The Frenche nought reste ŷ tyme a[1] daye to eue,
We loste more then certayne within two yere,
Then kyng Henry[2] gate in seuen clere.

¶ Then was the kyng come[3] vnto mannes age,
Wherfore the lordes wolde no protector,
Wherfore the duke loste his great auauntage,
And was no more [then after][4] defensour;
But then he fell [in a greate][5] errour,
Moued by his wyfe Elianor Cobham;
To truste her so, men thought he was to blame.

He waxed[6] then straunge eche day vnto ŷ kyng,
For cause she was foriudged for sossery,
For enchauntmentees, ŷ she was in workyng
Agayne the churche, and the kyng cursedly,
By helpe of one mayster Roger Oonly,
And into Wales he went of frowardnesse,
And to the kyng had[7] greate heuynesse.

¶ Wherfore ŷ lordes then of the kinges coūsaile,
Made the kyng to set his hye parlyament
At Burye then, whether he came without fayle,
Where in parlesey he dyed incontynent
For heuynesse, and losse of regyment;
And ofte afore he was in that sykenesse,
In poynt of death, and stode in sore destresse.

¶ When[8] of the kyng was. vii. and twenty yere,
Fol. CC.xxiiii. Then[9] he so dyed in full and hole creaunce,
As [a] Christen prince of royall bloude full clere,
Contryte in herte with full greate repentaunce,
With mouth confessed to Goddes hye pleasaunce,
Vnto the earth that is all fleshe his neste,
His body went, his soule to heauens[10] reste.

¶ And of the kyng, the. xxix.[11] yere,
In Maye, the duke of Suffolke toke the sea,
On pilgramage to passe, as dyd apere,
With brigauntes then with compassed enmyte,

[1] oone. [2] Henry the fiveth. [3] comyn. [4] after than. [5] into a foule. [6] waxe.
[7] he had. [8] Than. [9] Whan. [10] Heven. [11] the nyne and twenty.

Hym

Hym slewe and heded with [full] great cruelte,
Agayne assuraunce of the kynges proteccyon,
That worthy were the death for insurreccyon.

¶ That[1] same yere then, at the hye parlyament,
Was made a playne and [a] hole resumpcyon
Of all the landes by sad and hole aduysement,
Whiche the kyng had geuen[2] of his affeccyon,
To any wyght by patent or[3] concessyon;
Then taxe ceased and dymes[4] eke also,
In all Englande then[5] raysed were no mo.

The. CC.xxxiii. Chapiter.

¶ The duke of Yorke was made protectour and chyef of councell, the thyrty yere of kyng Henry the sixte, and the earle of Salisbury was chaunceller of Englande.

THe duke of Yorke then made was protectour,
And gouerned wel, but. ii. yere not endured,
Discharged he was ẇ passing great[6] murmour
Of cōmons hole, amonge them thē ensured,
To helpe hym so, with power auentured;
For he was set the comon wele to [a]uayle,
By his laboure and his hole counsayle.

¶ But ay the better that he to God[7] was set,
The more were other by[8] worde and dede,
The contrarye to laboure and to let,
His good purpose to pursue and to spede,
So that he had no hap for to procede;
For sotell menne[9] hym let ay at the ende,
The cōmon wele to mayntene and amende.

¶ The earle Richard also[10] of Salisbury,
So was disposed in all thynges to the same,
Whiche was the cause of theyr death fynally,
For whiche of ryght ne[11] muste folowe blame,
Their lyues well[12] kepte had bene without shame;

[1] The. [2] yeve. [3] and. [4] divers dymes. *edit. alt.* [5] longe. [6] hy. [7] goode. [8] busy in. [9] meane. [10] als. [11] nedes. [12] hadde.

For tho princes two died in their kynges right,
For the publike wele of eche Englishe wight.

¶ The. xxx. yere this was then of the kyng,
When they the kyng then had in gouernaunce,
And ruled hym well in all maner thyng[1],
And made good rule and noble ordynaunce,
Auoyding all misrule and misusaunce;
For worshyp of the kyng and of his realme,
Without[2] doubte, or any other probleme.

The. CC.xxxiiii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the earle of Northumberlande, the duke of Somerset, and the lorde Clyfforde, were slayne at saynte Albones, the thyrty and. iiii. yere of his reigne; where ỹ duke of Yorke, the earle of Salisbury, and the earle of Warwike toke the kyng & kept hym in good rule, the twenty & two daye of Maye, that was then the Thursdaye next of[3] Pentecost, the yere of Christ a thousand foure hūdred & lv.

Fol. CC.xxv.

THei were put by from all their good entent,
And straūge were hold after many a daye,
To the thirty yere and thre by hole consent,
At sainct Albones then vpon the Thursdaye,
Accompted then next afore[4] Witsondaye,
Thei slewe the duke Edmond [then] of Somerset,
For cause he had the realmes wele so lette.

¶ Therle [then] of Northumberland was there,
Of sodein chaunce drawen furth with the kyng,
And slain vnknowne by any manne ther were;
The lord Clifford, ouer busie in werkyng,
At the barres theim mette sore fightyng,
Was slain that daye vpon his owne assaut,
As eche manne saied it was his owne defaute.

¶ Therle of Wiltshire with fiue hundred menne,
Fled fro the kyng full fast that tyme a waye,
The duke of Buckyngham was hurte there then,
The kyng thei tooke and saued in good araye;

[1] of thyng. [2] Withoutyn. [3] after. *edit. alt.* [4] afore the.

To

To Westminster with hym thei tooke the waye,
And ruled hym well in all prerogatife,
As kyng of right without[1] any strife.

The. CC.xxxv. Chapiter.

¶ Howe ỹ lord Audely faught with therle of Salisbury, at Bloreheth, at Mighelmas terme, in the thirty and eight yere of his reigne.

¶ Yet were these lordes voyde fro ỹ kyng again,
The duke of Yorke [and] therle of Salisbury,
Therle also of Warwike nought[2] to layn
Without[1] cause, I can not remembre why;
But at Bloreheth the lord Audely in hie
With therle of Salisbury faught full sore,
Therle preuailed, and Audely slain was thore.

¶ The thirty yere and eight[3] of the kyng,
And[4] so he went to Ludlowe on his waye;
The duke of Yorke in Wales had shippyng,
To Ireland then he went full well awaye:
Therles of March and Salisbury that daye,
And of Warwike, as God it had purueighed[5],
To Calais went their waye no thyng denied.

The. CC.xxxvi. Chapiter.

¶ Of the battaill of Northampton, wher the earle of March & therle of Warwike preuailed & led the king to Westminster, & kept hym there, the yere of his reigne eight and thirty, and the yere of Christ a thousād foure hundred nyne and fiftie, and slewe the duke of Bokyngham, therle of Shrowisbury tresorer of England, the lord Beaumont, sir Thomas Percy lord Egremond, and led the kyng with theim to London, and gouerned hym full well and worthely, the tenth daye of Iuly.

AT Couentree the king in his parlyament
Proclaimed theim all thre for rebellours,
But afterward all three of one assent
At[6] Northampton came, as worthy warriours,
In somer after to been the kyng his socours;

[1] withoutyn. [2] not. [3] eight than. [4] Than. [5] prevailed. [6] To.

Fol. CC.xxxi.

Wher then the duke of Buckyngham theim met
With power greate, and trust haue theim[1] ouerset.

¶ Therle of Shrewesbury was with hym thore,
The lord Beaumount with hym was also,
The lord Egremount full stout in feate of warre,
Whiche foure were slain with mikell[2] people mo,
Beside Northampton on the Thursdaye tho[3],
[The third daye of the moneth of Iuly,
And in the reigne of the kyng eight and thirty.][4]

¶ Thei saued the kyng & kept hym sauf & sound;
With greate honour therle of Marche, Edward,
Therle also of Warwike in that stound,
And with hym rode so furth to London ward;
Full worshipfully[5] thei kept hym [thens forward][6]
In all state royall, as did append,
And as his menne vnto hym did attend.

The. CC.xxxvii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe the battaill of Wakefeld, wher the North partie preuailed, was the fifth daye of Christmasse, and of the kyng his reigne the nyne and thirty.

THen in the winter afore the Christemas,
The duke of Yorke, therle[7] of Salisbury,
Therle of Rutland, with theim I gesse,
With power greate for their aduersarie,
To saue theim selfes as then was necessarie,
At their owne [weld at Yool, so then had been,][8]
The robberies[9] there to haue staunchid clene;

¶ Wher thē ŷ lordes of ŷ North were assembled,
And faught with theim at Wakefeld thē full sore,
And slewe theim downe whiles thei were dissēbled,
And gate the feld that daye vpon theim thore;
And southward came thei then therfore

[1] them have. [2] grete. [3] soo.

[4] Nexte after seynt Thomas daie of Caunterbury,
In Iuyll the yere of the kynge eght and thritty.

[5] nobely. [6] than furthwarde. [7] and the. [8] at Cristemasse wolde have been. [9] robbers.

To

To sainct Albones, vpon the fastyngange[1] eue,
Wher then thei slewe the lorde Bonuile I leue;

The. CC.xxxviii. Chapiter.

¶ Howe therle of Northumberland, the lord Neuell, and the North partie, faught at sainct Albones ŷ seuẽtene daye of Feueryere, and slewe the lord Boonuile, & sir Thomas Kiryell, and many other, the thirty and nyne yere of the kyng, and the yere of Christ a thousand foure hundred & sixty, and led the king to Yorke.

ANd sir Thomas Kyriell also[2] of Kent,
With [mekell folke][3] that pitee was to se,
And spoyled fast, ay homeward as thei wẽt,
Without[4] rule into their[5] countree:
Thei sette theim nought on rule and[6] equitee,
Ne to kepe lawe nor peace in [no kynd wyse,]
Howe might thei dure long[7] in suche a guyse.

¶ But then the kyng alone left on the feld,
Came to the quene and went[8] to Yorke his waye,
With the North partie that thẽ so with hym held,
The duke of Excester with hym went a[9] waye,
The duke [of Somerset it is][10] no naye,
Therle also then[11] of Deuenshire,
And sir Iames Ormond erle of Wiltshire,

¶ The lord Moleyns, the lord Roos also,
The chief iudge[12], and sir Rychard Tunstall,
The lord Ryuers, the lord Scales his [soonne also,][13]
The lord Welles and Wiloughby with all,
Sir Wyllyam Tailboys so did befall,
And many other went to the North partie,
For to maintein [then] the sixte kyng Henry.

Fol. CC.xxxvii.

The. CC.xxxix. Chapiter.

¶ Howe Edward, duke of Yorke and erle of Marche, toke on hym ŷ roiall charge for the wele of the realme, the fourth daye of Marche,[1] the yere of Christ a thousand foure hundred and sixty; folowed kyng Henry, that

[1] fastyrne. [2] als. [3] muche people. [4] Withoutyn. [5] theire oun. [6] nor. [7] ought long. [8] toke. [9] that. [10] also of Somersett. [11] Courtenay. [12] iustice. [13] sonne tho.

refused

refused tho the rule of the land, and gaue vp Berwike to the Scottes, and fled in to Scotlād, and gaue battaill to the North partie at Feribrig, on Palmesondaye, wher kyng Edward the Fourth preuailed, the yere of Christ a thousand foure hūdred sixty and one, whiche was then the twenty and nyne daye of Marche, foure dayes after our Lady Daye that tyme.

THe duke Edward, of March thē ỹ. iiii. day,
Of Yorke full young, therle[1] of Marche was then,
By counsaill of the lordes by South menne saye,
Bothe spirituall and temporall [as mēne saie then,][2]
Vpon hym toke estate royall, and began
To reigne as kyng, and with hym reised the land
With lordes fele[3] by South I vnderstand.

¶ At [Towton feld][4] he faught on Palmesondaye,
Wher then therle Henry of Northumberland,
The lord Neuell, the lord Clifford that daye,
The lord Dacres, were dedde I vnderstand;
The kyng Henry then out of the land,
To Berwike toune ỹ stounte[5] in Scotland groūd,
With certain lordes and with the quene ỹ stound,

¶ And gaue the toune and castell to the Scottes,
By whole assent of his simple counsaill,
Whiche might well bee accompted then for sottes,
As foules that were then of no gouernaill:
In to Scotland with foule misgouernaill,
The quene Margarete, and the dukes both twoo
Of Excester and Somerset, fled also.

¶ The lord Roos and eke the lord Moleyns,
And the chief iudge[6], that called [was Forscue,][7]
And Tailboys also[8] with other eiuill capitains,
That after shall[9] full sore repent and rewe;
If thei [also well,][10] as I nowe, Scotland knewe,
Thei would not so haue hasted thitherward,
From the presence and grace of kyng Edward.

¶ Kyng Edward thus had then the victorie,
With his lordes and menne that were full[11] trewe,

[1] that erle. [2] as a man. [3] many. [4] Feribrig. [5] stondyth. [6] iustice. [7] is Fortescewe. [8] als. [9] hath. [10] aswell. [11] so.

That

That halpe hym so, and were contributorie
To wyn his right, whiche then the people knewe,
To Yorke he went, and found it not vntrewe,
To Duresme also[1] and [to the][2] Newcastell,
That to hym were as trewe as any stele.

¶ At Yorke was hedded that time and decollate,
Therle that then was of[3] Deuenshire,
And at the Newcastell so destinate,
Hedded then was therle of[4] Wiltshire;
The kyng then sette the[5] land at his desire,
Saue castelles fewe w̄ force[6] that [then were hold,]
By North and West with rebell[7] manyfold.

¶ And South he went for his disporte and plaie,
At Leycestre helde he then his great counsayl, *Fol. CC.xxxiiii.*
In the moneth that then was called Maye,
And ordeyned there for good[8] gouernayl
Of al his realme, that enemies nought it assayle;
Then in wynter Margarete that had bene quene,
Fro Fraunce so came by shippe, as then was sene,

¶ Into Scotlande with. iiii. thousande Frēchmē
Of soudyours, for whiche the kynge anone,
With hoste royall to Durisme[9] came he then,
And sent therle of Warwike agayn his fooen,
Therle of Kent also, with [good menne many one;][10]
They layde a siege to the castell of Bamburgh,
And [to] the castell also [of Dunstanburgh.]

¶ Syr Raulfe Percy, and the duke of Somerset
Delyuered theim to the kyng by poyntment;
By whiche the kyng without[11] any let,
Gaue the kepyng of theim incontynent
Vnto syr Raulfe Percy of good entent;
And Aluewike castell was kepte[12] many a daye,
To rescouse came and fet theim thens awaye.

¶ Whiche stode in stale not ferre from the castell,
But. viii. thousande to whom the castelleyns
Came anone out, as men were there to[13] tell,

[1] als. [2] so to. [3] Courtenay of. [4] als of. [5] that. [6] strength. [7] rebells.
[8] the goode. [9] Durham. [10] men good woone. [11] withoutyn. [12] holdyn. [13] doone.

With

With horse & harnes, & home rode through[1] ŷ playnes,
Into Scotlande as good & wise chieftayns:
I can well thynke it was a manly dede,
To noye theyr foes and helpe theimselfes at nede.

¶ My lorde Vmfreuile whom that[2] I dyd serue,
Sayd [to] me it was the best thyng might befall
Any chiefteyne to greue his fo[3] and ouerterue,
And kepe hymselfe harmelesse therwithall[4];
He that maye hurte his fo without[5] fall,
And passe away to his socoure harmelesse,
He is a foole to [a]byde any distresse.

¶ But when that they wer gone so home agayn,
And theyr frendes with theim from thens awaye,
Two hundreth men of commons came full fayne,
Out of Alnewike castell in symple araye,
Our men bet theim [in] agayn there alwaye,
Tyll[6] they were glad to yelde theim & haue grace,
The whiche they had without longer space.

The quenes power ŷ she [so brought fro][7] Fraunce,
Was so litle the wardeyns naught it dread,
They hight the kyng for all hir ordinaunce,
To kepe the lande for any helpe she had;
How may she ought of great power be sped?
Whē Charles doughter of Fraūce void of dower,
Despoyled was of Fraunce, fayled all power.

Kyng Richardes wife sent home again into Fraunce[8].

¶ Quene Isabel that was kyng Rychardes wife,
Deposed[9] was by kyng Henry [of] Derby,
Of her iwels[10], [as it is knowen full ryfe,][11]
And home was sent without[5] remedye,
What auayled hir kynne and progenye?
Of nought els but great[12] vexacion,
That Frenchemen made to theyr owne dampnacion.

The. CC.xl. Chapiter.

Fol. CC.xxix. ¶ The mocion & conceypte of the maker of this booke, touchynge kyng Henrye the syxte, his wife, and his sonne, to be gotten home and putte

[1] be. [2] some tyme. [3] foone. [4] therewith at all. [5] withoutyn. [6] To. [7] brought oute of. [8] *Omitted. edit. alt.* [9] Despoiled. [10] iewels. [11] and thrifte knowen rife. [12] of great.

in gouernaunce with all that fled with hym, cōsyderyng their trouth that forsoke their lyuelodes and welfare for his sake, and fro they so gotten home, that after they will be as trewe to you, and els to geue sore iudgement vpon theim.

O Gracious lord kyng Edward fourth accompte,
Consydre howe kynge Henrye was admytte
Vnto the croune of Englande, that did amounte
Not for desert nor yet for any witte,
Or might of hym selfe in otherwyse yet,
But onely for the castigacion
Of kyng Richarde[s] wicked peruersacion.

¶ Of whiche[1] the realme then yrked[2] euerychone,
And full glad were of[3] his deposicion,
And glad to croune kyng Henry so anone,
With all theyr hertes and whole affeccion,
For hatred more of kyng Richarde[s] defection
Then for the loue of kyng Henry that daye,
So chaunged then the people on hym aye.

¶ Yet kept he aye therle of Marche full ying
In erles estate, as he that was his warde,
And brought hym vp in all maner thyng,
As his estate asked and coulde[4] awarde,
And cheryshed hym in norture to regarde
As his owne sonnes duryng[5] all his lyfe,
To make[6] hym loue hym without[7] any stryfe.

¶ Thus by wisedome his sonne Henry right so
Hym cherished by good and wise counsayl,
Whiche he assigned vnto hym tho,
Of good rule that would not let hym faile,
For cause he should agayn[8] hym not preuayle,
And into Fraunce, in his hole estate,
Had hym with his brother associate.

¶ All this he did of full good policie,
To wynne his loue and kept hym in direccion
From entisement of all eiuill and folie,

[1] whome. [2] grutched. [3] to. [4] couthe. [5] endurynge. [6] cause. [7] withoutyn. [8] ayenste.

To his pleasaunce without all suspection:
This was greate witte and circumspeccion,
To rule hym thus his heighnes to obaye,
Without[1] stryfe to sitte in peace his daye.

¶ O gracious lorde, nowe of your sapience
Consydre well this sixtye yere and three,
Your kyn and ye by all intelligence
Haue been deuorced[2] of all the royaltee,
To nowe that God, of his specialitee[3],
Hath graũte[d] you grace your rightes to recouer,
[And your enemyes all to rule at ouer.][4]

¶ Considre well the benigne innocence
Of kyng Henry, that nowe is in [Scotlande,][5]
By Goddes dome of small intelligence,
For your preuayle, as men can vnderstande,
Gette hym nowe home agayn into Englande
Fol. CC.xxx. With all the meanes ye maye of sapyence,
His wyfe and sonne with [all] your dilygence.

[¶ For truste it well yf they maye passe to Fraũce,
Or power get to theim in any wyse,
Eche yere they wyl you trouble and do greuaũce,
By Scottes assent and theyr exercyse,
To brag and boste as they wolde on you ryse,
To make your people and cõmons for to yrke,
Iackes and salades ay newe and newe to wirke.]

¶ For truste it well, as God is nowe in heuen,
The Scottes wyll ay do you the harme they may,
And so they haue full ofte with odde and[6] euen,
Afore that Christe was borne so of a maye,
As yet they do at theyr power euery[7] daye;
Wherfor good lord brīg home these persons thre,
With all theyr men & geue them grace all fre:

¶ And loue them better for theyr great lewte,
That they forsoke theyr landes and herytage,
And fled with hym in[8] aduersyte,

[1] Withoutyn. [2] deforced. [3] especialte. [4] And enemyse all furthwardes to rule all over. [5] youre honde. [6] or. [7] eche. [8] for all.

To

To bydle[1] in payne, sorowe, and[2] seruage.
Good herte shulde rewe well more theyr trewe corage,
Then them ẏ wold haue gone and durste nought[3],
Consyder[4] howe thei shewed as they thought.

¶ Yf ye might get them all for any good
To be your men, and haue theyr herytage,
And[5] youre enemies that agaynst[6] you stode
Ye shulde make trewe men to your auauntage,
To passe with you in warres[7] and hostage
As trewe as they haue bene to kyng Henry,
And [mekell trewce][8] for your ryght auncetry.

¶ For yf ye myght theim get nowe euerychone,
Youre warres were done, thē might you[9] syt in rest,
Without trouble of any lande alone;
For all youre lande throughout thē might ye trest,
Yf it were hole that ye nede not[10] mistryst:
No prynce christen myght do you any dere,
But in his lande ye myght make[11] him were.

¶ Graunt Henry grace ẇ all his owne liuelode,
The duchye hole of Lancaster [that is] his ryght,
Not as it is, but of worthyhede;
Fyrste duke Henry had the noble knight
At his laste daye, that was of mikyll[12] might:
His wyfe and sonne get home by ordynaunce,
And geue them councell for theyr gouernaunce,

¶ Suche as you[8] truste wyll rule them worthely,
To youre plesaunce in all tranquillyte,
In peace and reste with all good polyce:
For better were to haue them in suretye,
Than lette theim bene with your aduersyte
With Scottes or French ẏ wold se your destresse,
And helpe to it with all theyr busynesse.

¶ And yf ye maye by no meane nor[13] treate
Get them home, ordeine then faste youre flete

[1] abide [2] and in. [3] it nought. [4] Considered. [5] Of. [6] ayenst. [7] werrys.
[8] muche trewer. [9] ye. [10] nought. [11] wele make. [12] grete. [13] or.

On the Easte sea into Scotlande in hye,
At Edenburgh, so maye it with you mete
With all vitayle and ordynaunce full mete,
And set vpon the[1] castell they bene in[2],
Escape they maye not but ye shall them wyn.

Fol. CC.xxxi.

¶ For I haue sene theyr castelles [stronge echone,][3]
That strongest [bene, and worste to get and wyn]
Amonge them all, for certayne is there none
That may bene holde out longe when ye begyn
Saue Dunbretayne, the sea aboute doth ryn
Eche daye and nyght twyce withouten doubte,
Whiche may be wonne by[4] famyshyng aboute.

The castel of Dunbretayne.

¶ With shippes by sea, & siege vpon the lande
Ye maye not fayle to[5] haue it at the laste,
All other [wyll bene][6] yelde [in]to youre hande.
So that ye haue by workemen well fore caste
Youre ordynaunce and gonnes for to caste,
With abylementes of warre suche as ye nede,
No castell elles maye[7] withstande in dede.

The tyme to beginne warre in Scotlande.

¶ Therfore in what castell that they bene in,
Go to the same withoute impedyment,
Not in wynter but in somer ye begyn,
When Iuyll moneth or Auguste is present,
That forage may begot as doth appent
Of corne and grasse for horses sustenaunce,
And fayre wether to[8] mennes hye pleasaunce.

¶ O righteous prince bring home ỹ[9] scatred men
To theyr pasture forsaken and forlore,
For of your breste shulde greate foyson[10] ren,
To nedy men of grace and helpe euermore,
Consyder howe God hath you set therfore,
And ouer the flocke to seke the scatered[11] shepe,
And laye[12] them in your folde surely to slepe.

¶ Consider nowe, most gracious soueraine lorde,
Howe longe nowe that your noble auncetrye

[1] what. [2] than. [3] everichone. [4] with. [5] but. [6] wolbe. [7] may you [8] for.
[9] thy. [10] fusyn̄. [11] strayinge. [12] sett.

In

In welth and helth hath reigned of hye recorde,
That[1] kepte lawe and peace continually,
[And thynke they][2] bene of all your monarchye
The fayrest floures and highest of enterpryce[3],
And sonest maye youre foreyne foes[4] supprice.

¶ Consider also[5], in this symple tretyse,
Howe kynges kepte neyther lawe ne peace,
Went sone awaye in many dyuerse wyse,
[Without thanke][6] of God at theyr decese,
And nought were dred wtin [ne without doutlesse;][7]
But in defaute of peace and lawe conserued,
Destroyed were right as they had deserued.

¶ Consyder also[5], moste erthly souerayne lorde,
Of French nor[8] Scottes ye get neuer to your pay
Any treaty or[9] trewce or[10] good concorde;
But yf it be vnder your banner aye,
Whiche maye neuer be by reason any waye,
But yf youre realme stande well in vnyte,
Conserued well in peace and equyte.

¶ Your marchis kepte & also[5] your sea full clere,
To Fraūce or Spaine ye may ride for your right,
To Portyngale &[11] Scotlande w your banner,
Whils your rerewarde in Englād stādeth wyght,
Vnder your banner your enemies well[12] you hight
A better treaty within a lytell date,
Then in foure yere to your ambassate[13].

¶ Remembred bene vnto youre excellence, *Fol. CC.xxxii.*
The tytles [all that][14] longe to youre regiment,
Of Scotlande hole, with all my dilygence,
That third parte is of Britayne by extent,
And owe[15] to bene at your cōmaundement,
And[16] membre of your royall monarchye,
As chronielers haue made therof[17] memorye.

¶ Englande and Wales as to their soueraygne
To you obey, whiche shuld thinke shame of ryght,

[1] Which have. [2] Whiche thynges. [3] emprise. [4] foone. [5] als. [6] Withoutyn thonke. [7] ne onte no lees. [8] or. [9] of. [10] and. [11] or. [12] will. *edit. alt.* woll. MS. [13] ambashiate. [14] beene. [15] oweth. [16] As [17] in.

To

To se Scotlande thus proudly disobeyne,
Agayne[1] them two that[2] bene of greate[3] myght,
It is a shame to euery[4] mannes syght,
Sith Iohn Baylioll his ryght of it resygned
To kyng Edward, why is it thus repugned[5]?

¶ Within thre yere theyr greate rebellyon
Ye myght represse[6] and vtterly restrayne,
And kepe them euer in youre possessyon:
For to obey youre might make them full fayne,
As kyng Edward dyd w̄ hunger and [with] payne
Them conquered hole to his subieccyon,
To byde[7] euermore vnder his proteccyon.

¶ Wherfore good lorde nowe girde you w̄ your swerde,
And set vpon the frowarde heretykes,
That erren fro [the two partes][8] of the herde,
And strayen oute as they were litargykes,
Whiche haue forget their lorde as cronnatykes[9],
Hauyng no shame of theyr peruersyte,
Nor chaunge[10] hewe for theyr falsyte.

¶ And truste it well, as God is nowe in heuen,
Ye shall neuer fynde the Scottes vnto you trewe,
Where they maye with youre enemies ay beleuen,
They wyll to you then alwaye be[11] vntrewe,
[Yet through your manhede it maye them rewe;]
For lenger then ye haue them in subieccyon,
Truste neuer truth in them ne perfeccyon[12].

The.

[1] Ayenst. [2] which. [3] gretter. [4] euerich. [5] repigned. [6] oppresse. [7] abide.
[8] two parties. [9] cromatikes. [10] chaungen. [11] beene.

[12] *Here the Harleian MS. adds,*

And as in case whan pleaseth your highnes
To Scotlonde passe I make you a kalende
Of all the waie to Edenbourgth expres,
And wher youre giste eeh nyght may well extende,
As kynge Henry fourth rode, as I well kende,
That youre highnes may haue thereof knowlage,
To comforte with youre noble high corage.

Ye may entre Scotlonde at Yareforde to Dunsparke, -	vii. Mile.
Or els fro Yareforde to Chirneside, - - -	vj. M.
Fro tho Placese to Coldyngham, - - -	vij. M.

For

The. CC.xli. Chapiter.

¶ The kynges tytle to all his landes, briefely reported, with a mocyon[1] to vnion Scotlande and Englande.

TO England haue ye right, as ye maye se
By Brutus chronycle, Saxõs & Normãs,
To Wales ỹ same, & Scotlãd also[2] perde,
Who that the gifte and right well vnderstandes
Of Iohn Bayloll, howe he into the handes
Of kyng Edwarde it gaue and resygned,
Why shulde it nowe be voyde and repygned?

¶ To

[1] monicion. *edit. alt.* [2] als.

Fro Coldyngham to Pynkerton, - - - -	vj. M.
Fro Pynkerton to Dunbarre a market toun & a castell, -	vj. M.
Fro Dunbarre to Lynton, - - - -	vj. M.
Fro Lynton to Hadyngton, - - - -	vj. M.
Fro Hadyngton to Seton, - - - -	iiij M.
Fro Seton to Abirladie or to Muskilburgh, - -	vij. M.
Fro Muskilburgh or Abirlad to Edenbourgh, wher the castell stondeth vpon an high roche of stone and a goode merchaunte toun with an abbaie of Haly Rode house, wher your flete may come to lie be you in the Scottish see, that is called the water of Forth,	vij. M.
And if ye thynke this ferr ynough ye may com homewarde fro Edenbourgh to Dalketh, a goode castell and a goode market toun, and bete doun Edmoston and Liberton in your wate, - - - - - - - -	v. M.
Fro Dalketh to Newbotell, - - - - - - -	v. M.
Fro Newbotell to Lawdre and bete it doun, - - - - -	v. M.
Fro Lawdre to Ersildon, - - - - - - -	vj. M.
Fro Ersildon to Dunburgh, and bete doun Weteslade, Crosby and Hume, -	v. M.
Fro Dunburgh loge vpon the water of Teviote, and bete doun Edenham, Kesworth and Carneton, and loge in the medowes of Carneton, - - - -	vj. M.
Fro Carneton to Berwike and gete it and amende it, and stuffe it with English men, and whiles ye lie ther and repaire it, ye may sende a power or goo youre selfe to Dunglassy at Colbrandspeche Ennerwike, - - - - - - -	xiiij. M.
Fro tho places go on and bete doun Langton Cokburn, Blakedre, Swynton, Polworth, and eume to Berwike ayen, and se it put in saufe garde, - - -	xij. M.

This rode and iournaye passeth ferre king Richard roode or kynge Henry the Fourth, and more shulde hurte the Scottes than both theire roodes dide, for they gote no place in the londe, but brent Edenburgh and the cuntrey as they come, and so may ye brynne and as ye passe and gete all theire toures & piles.

And if your wille and noble high corage
Thynketh this is ouer hull to youre puyssaunce,
Whan ye haue brente with all youre baronage
Edenbourgh toune, and ther doone youre plesaunce,
And haue that castell at youre obeissaunce,
And it please you ferther for youre comforte,
To youre highnes the waie I woll reporte.

¶ To Fraunce youre title is writen well & know,
For saynte Lowis to you by hole discente,
And Normandye all hole bothe hye and lowe
Fro Willyam Conqueroure by hole entent,
Guyen and Poytowe withall to them appent,
For Elianour the mother of[1] kyng Iohn,
Doughter and heyre to duke Willyam anon[2].

¶ To

[1] to. [2] aloon.

Fro Edenbourgh so unto Kirkeliston, - - - - - - vj. M.
Fro Kirkeliston bituene the water of Forth upon your right honde, and Pentlonde hilles on your left honde, to Litheowe Toun, and euer youre shippes in Forth, - vj. M.
Fro Lithkowe to Fawkirke upon the water of Forth, - - - - vj. M.
Fro Fawkirke to Strivelyn on Forth, - - - - - - vj. M.
Fro Strivelyn to Dunbritayn, - - - - - - xxiiij. M.
Fro Dunbritayn to Glasgewe, wher seynt Mungewe lieth shryned; a goode toun and the bishopes cee, - - - - - - xxiiij. M.

Fro the toun of Are thurgh Carrik & Galwaie to Dunfres, wher at Kirkebright youre flete myght mete you, a plenteous contrey to hostay; it longeth to the erle Douglas, - lx. M.
Fro Dunfres to Carelell, - - - - - - - - xxiiij. M.
But if it like you to take youre waie fro Dunfres to the castell of Loughmaban, and so to the Armytage a stronge castell, and gete theym ye may, - - - xxiiij. M

And if it please to youre noble highnes,
Whan at Strivelyn ye haue doone your plesaunce,
And sett the castell in all sekernes,
Ouer the brige ther, withoutyn distaunce,
Or at the forde of Trips with youre puissaunce,
Thre myle be weste ye may passe ouer Forth
Into Menteth, that lieth ther be North.

Fro Strivelyn so ye shull passe to Doun in Meneth, and gete that castell, - - iij. M.
Fro Doun Castell to Camskyuale on Forth, - - - - - iiij. M.
Fro Camskyuall to Alwaie on Forth, - - - - - - x. M.
Fro Alwaie to Culros in Fife, - - - - - - vj. M.
Fro Culros to Dunfermelyñ, - - - - - - ij. M.
Fro Dunfermelen to Ennerkenyn on Forth, - - - - - ij. M.
Fro Ennerkenyn to Abirdore on Forth, - - - - - - iij. M.
Fro Abirdore to Kenborne on Forth, - - - - - - iiij. M.
Fro Kenborne to Disarde in Fife, - - - - - - ij. M.
Fro Disarde to Coupre in Fife, a merchaunt toun upon the see side, - - viij. M.
Fro Cowpre in Fife to Faukelande Castell in Fife West, - - - xiiij. M.
Fro Faukelande Castell to Andreston Est, stondyng upon the Est see side, wher the bishope cee & castel is, - - - - - - - xiiij. M.
Fro Andreston North by the see side to the mouth of the water of Tay, - - vj. M.
Fro the mouth of Tay up̄ westwarde oñ Tay to Balmorynogh a goode abbaie, - vj. M.
Fro Balmorynogh to Lundores a goode abbaie, - - - - iij. M.
Fro Lundores to seynt Iohnestoun on Tay, a goode merchaunte toun, and the water navigall rynneth thedir for vessels of fourty tonne tight, - - - xij. M.
Fro seynt Iohnstoun westwarde to the oute Iles, is the castell of Ennermeth and other villagese many to forreye whiles ye lie at Ennermeth, - - - viij. M.
Fro Ennermeth ye shull cume ayen to seynt Iohnstoñ, and there ye may passe ouer the brage to the abbaie of Skone, wher they croun̄ theire kynge, - - iij. M.

Fro

¶ To Angeou also[1] by Geffrey Plantagenet,
Father of Henry le Fytz Empryce[2],
That of Angeou was earle withouten let,
And of Mayne also, a prynce of greate empryce,
To Irelande also[1] by kyng Henry le Fytz,
Of Maude doughter of fyrste kyng Henry,
That conquered it for theyr greate heresye.

¶ To

[1] als. [2] de Emperice.

Fro Skone abbaie to Abirnythy, wher the water of Erne rynneth into Tay, -	xv. M.
Fro Abirnythy thurgh the Crasse of Goure in Angos, the beste cuntrey of Scotlonde, to Dunde the best touñ of Scotlonde on the Este see side, - -	x. M.
Fro Dunde to Arbroth a merchaunt toun on the see coste, and to Munros a goode merchaunt touñ upon the se coste in Angos more North, - - -	xxiiij. M.
Fro Munros withyn Angos a goode merchaunte toun on the Este see side, wher youre shippes may mete you, and a goode cuntrey to hostey at ouer the water of Dye to Abirdene a goode merchaunt toun on the Este see side, wher your flete may mete you, -	xx. M.
Fro Abirdene betuene the water of Dye and the water of Dene, ye shull hostaie in the erledome of Marre and gete the castel of Kiddromy and many other castels and places, and all Gariogh, - - - - - - - -	xx. M.
Fro the water of Downe to the water of Spay ye may hostay in the erledomes of Bowgham and of Athicles, whiche shulde beene the heritage of the lorde Beaumonte and sir Thomas of Borough, and ther may ye gete the castell of Donydoure, the castell of Rithymay, Stranabre and the castell of Strabolgy, and bete the forestes of Boyne & Haynge, with fotemen in tho two erledomes with fleynge stales to releue theym to tho forestes been driven oute, - - - - - - - -	xxx. M.
Fro the water of Spay to the water of Stokforde in Roos, thorough the erledomes of Murrefe and of Roos, and ther shull ye haue the castels of Lovet, Castell Vicharde, the abbaie of Dere, the castell of Terneware, the borough of Fores, the bourgth of Elgyue, the burgth of Enernes, the burgth of Tayne, the colage of seynt Duthake in Roos, the castell of Dignevaile, and the burgh of Roos and Marky, and the paleis of the bishope of Roos, the castell of Spyny, wher the bishope of Murrefe paleis is, the burgth of Marne and the nesse of Habena, a famouse porte upon the Weste see of all Scotlonde, - - - - - - - - - -	xxx. M.

Summa, Fro Strivelyn to Catenes, as ye shull hostaie to these places, - cccij. M.

And ye wolde hostaie fro Carelele with an hooste to Dunfres, Galwaie, and be the toune of Are, Lavarke, Glasgewe, Bothvile and to Strivelyn.

And an other hooste fro Werke upon Twede to Pebles and Lauarke, and so mete at Strivelyn with the other hooste, and forrae Pentlande hilles.

And the thrid hooste fro the Yarcforde, forrcie the Mersh to Dunbarre, Hadyngton, Edenbourgth, and to Lithcowe, Faukirke, and mete at Strivelyn with the other two hoostes all togeder; and so gete all on southalfe the Scottish see, and make theym youre liege men so to Dunbritayne.

And if youre noble corage and discrecion thynke that ye woll doo more; ye may passe ouer at Forde fro Trips thre myle be West Strivelyn, and ouer at Strivelyn brige.

And so, as is wretyn afore, fro Strivelyn North thorough all Scotlonde fro cuntrey to cuntraie. And take Kenettes and Ratches with you, and seche oute all the forestes with houndes and hornes, as kynge Edwarde with the longe shankes dide.

THE MAP which here follows in the Harleian Manuscript is in three pages, but of so rude a kind as to promise nothing for the trouble of engraving. The first page extends from the river Tweed to the "water of Tay," and begins, at the lower part, with "Carelele", the felles in the

Fol. CCxxxiii.

¶ To Casteil and to Lion[1] also[2] ye been
[Thenheritour also and verie heire,][3]
By right of bloodde discended clere and clene,
Of Portyngale, wher Lusshborne is full faire,
Fro kyng Petro[4] without any dispeir ;
For tho twoo bee the verie regions[5],
That named bee Castile and Legions[6].

¶ Your

[1] Leoñ. [2] als. [3] The heritoure and als the verrey heire. [4] Petre. [5] regioun. [6] Legioun.

Marche, Werktuede*, Norham*, and Berwike*." *On the left are* " Roxburgh, Iedworth toun, the Ermytage, Iedworth Forest, Ledes Dale, Loughmaban, Anandale, Etrik Forest, Dowglasdale and Tynthowe." *Still farther on the left, between* " Forlwaie" *(the Solway Frith ?) and* " the water of Clyde," *are* " Treve, Kirkenbright, Dunfrese, Galwaie, Crawfordemore, Rilay, Conyngham, Karrik, Are, Ruglyn, Ravenser, Irwyn and Pasley." *On the right, over Norham and Berwick, we have* " Tevidale, Lawedirton, Mewros, Lawedirdale, Tweddale, Edenburgh*, Colbrondespeth, Coldyngham, Dunglassy, the Mersh, Dunbar†, Pynkirton, Lynton, Hadyngton, Seton, Lethe haven, Abirladie and Muskilburgh," *to the very bank of the Forth. Nearer the Clyde, and between it and the water of Forth we have* " Blountire, Cadioke, Newbotell, Dalketh, Lowthian, Liberton, Corstorfyn, Glasgewe†, Lanarke, Pentlande Hills, Bothvile, Strivelyn*, Kirkeliston, Lithkowe, Faukirke ;" *and at the extremity of the left,* " Dunbretayne†." *On the Clackmannan side of Forth,* " Camskynall*, Alwaie, Culros, Dunfermelyn, Ennerkenyn, Aberdore, Kyncorne, Disarde," *and* " Coupre in Fife," *appear to line the banks. Above is* " Faukelonde*." " Menteth and Blackmananshire *appear on the left, with the observation that* " betuene the Scottish see and the water of Tay," *are* " many townys." *Above are* " Ennermeth†, Seynt Iohnestoun*, Andirstoun*, the Mountz Oighels," *the* " Abbaie of Lundorres," *and the* " Abbaie of Balmoryn." *In the corner* " Leuenax and oute Isles," *with* " the Mountz Oighels, wilde Scotery." *In this page the fortified places, already marked with an asterisk, are represented by rude drawings of castles ; those marked with a † by sketches apparently intended for churches.*

The second page is divided by lines of very rude drawing into five compartments, the uppermost of which appears to continue the Map.

First Compartment.

" Thabbaie of Skone wher the kynges been crowned.

Stranavire and many other townys and villages.

" The Cras of Gower, the rede castell. Dunde on the Est see side. Arbroth and Muros on the same " see side, two goode marchaunte townys wher your shippes may mete you. All this cuntrey is goode " hostayinge and full of vitaile, corne, and catell, and many goode villages and husbonde townys, and " stondeth betuene the water of Tay and the water of Dye."

On the left of the page " Oyghels ; Stratherne ; and Angus." *And within the double line of separation, between this and the next compartment the* " Dye" *is marked.*

Second Compartment.

" The shire of Marre and of Garriogh. All this countrey stondeth betuene Dye and Doun, two waters.

Mountz. Brigheñ.

" The castell of Mundromy and many goode castels and villages to vitaile, in whiche is corne, cataill and gras grete plente be the Est see. And oñ the see side a goode merchaunte touñ Aberdene, wher your shippes may mete you oñ the Est see."

On the left " Wilde Scottys of Marre and Garioth."

Third Compartment.

" Boughan and Athels stondeth betuene Done and Speye.

" In these cuntrese beeñ the castels of Strabolgy, of Rithymay, of Dony Dowre, and many moo, and corne, gras, and all vitaile oñ the see cooste ; the fforestes of Boyne and Hayng."

On the left " Wilde Scottes of Boughan and Athelres."

Fourth

¶ Your graunsirez[1] mother duchesse Isabell,
Full lady like faire and femenine,
To kyng Petro[2] as I haue heard tell[3],
Was verie heire of theim by rightfull lyne,
To whom ye been heire as menne determyne:
By small hackeneys greate coursers men chastice,
As Arthure did by Scottes wanne all fraunchese.

¶ Though

[1] grauntesire. [2] Petre. [3] well tell.

Fourth Compartment.

" The cuntreie of Murreve.

" In this cuntreie been the castels of Spyney, of Ternweie, the burgh of Enuernes, the abbaie of Dere, the toun of Elgyne, with the collage, the bourgh of Fores, the castell of Lovet and the castell of Vrcharde, and ther is on the West see a famouse porte called the Nesse, and that cuntrey is plentevouse of vitaile."

On the left " Wilde Scottes of Murreve."

Fifth Compartment.

" Ros.

" In this cuntrey is the burgh of Rossemarky and the Bishope Palais of Ros, with a colage cathedrall of seculer chanons; the castell of Dignevale w^t^ the burgh; the burgh of Tarne with the collage of seynt Duthake, wher is plente of corne and catell."

On the left " Wilde Scottes of Ros:" *and below the Compartment,* " The water of Suther."

At the upper part of the third page " The water of Suthir" *is repeated: and in the Compartment immediately below, we have*

" Suthirlande and Catenesse.

" The castell of Dunbeke and Darnake, the Palais Cathedrall, the Burgth of Wik, Peightily, Corcady, Borworsy, Trefannok, and many goode places and villages, forestes, corne, and catell grete plente, and at the North West ende of all Catenesse, is Kentir and Kentirynough."

On the left of the page, a large space is allotted to the " Retheretz, that some tyme were northern Pightes."

Thus ends the Map of Scotland. The remainder of the page is occupied by a square frame, within which is the representation of a castle. On the sides of the frame are written

1. " Ardens guerra inter se.
Flegiton Infernall Flode."

2. " Odium sine requie.
Stix the Infernall Flode."

3. " Luctus perpetuus.
Cochiton Infernall flode."

4. " Dolor & Dolus.
Acheron the Infernall flode."

Above the Castle.

Blak been thi bankes and thi ripes also,
Thou sorowfull see full of stremys blak,
Wher Pluto kinge of Hell reigneth in wo,
In his palais of pride with booste and crak,
Neighbour to Scottes withoute any lak,
With foure flodes furiouse infernall,
Ebbynge & flowynge in the see boriall.

¶ Though scripture saieth of North all euill is shewed,
Me thynketh I can auaũte it as[1] properly,
That thei bee[2] as[1] manly, learned, and lewed,
As any folke, and as muche pain maye dry,
Better menne of warre [are not vnder the][3] skye ;
And of lyuyng, Dauid saieth in his boke
Of Scotland[4] well, who so that will it loke[5].

¶ If Scotlãd were youres to Wales & Englãd,
Who hath power to make you resistence
In any wise, in any vncouth land ;
Youre rereward then [scant in all][6] sufficience,
To kepe England surely in your absence,
Make theim Albion[7] and passe furth wher ye list
To other landes, ye nede none other trist.

The. CC.xlii.

¶ Thexcusacion of the maker touchyng defautes of this booke, and of the simplenes of it.

OF all maters I haue saied myne entent,
So as I couth espie & in all wise enquere,
Whiche if it maye your highnes well cõtent,
My hearte reioyseth to comfort your desire,

[1] als. [2] beene. [3] beth noone vnder. [4] the North. [5] *After this stanza the Harleian* MS. *has* " Transtulit Deus Celum ab Austro & in virtute sua posuit Affricam." [6] stondeth in. [7] all oone.

On the front of the building.
Odium ardens; luctus perpetuus; Dolor & Dolus.

Stix, Flegiton, Cochiton, and Acheron,
Tho been foure flodes withoutyn any rest,
Euer flowynge and ebbynge this see upon,
With wyndes & wawes of the borials nest,
That raise the flodes both be Est & be West,
Blowyng mysrule thorowe Scotlond al & sum
As scripture seith a borea omne malum.

Betuene the see of the West occion,
And the hilles of Scotlonde occident,
The wilde Scotte have their propre mancion,
Which dispose theym noone with an other assent,
And the wilder thei been withoute regyment
The soner muste thei be meked & tamed,
Wilde haukes to hande than hennys rather been reclaymed.

Mr. Pinkerton, in his Modern Geography, (edit. 1807. vol. i. p. 149.) *speaks of Hardyng's description of Scotland as " tolerably exact."*

And

And of your grace euer[more] I you require,
For to consider my losse [and] my mayme in fere,
For Englandes right as well as I couth spere.

¶ Besechyng ay vnto your royaltee,
If ought bee saied in this simple treatise,
Displeasyng to your hie nobilitee,
For to resume it in a better wise,
Hauyng my witte excused, that neuer was wise;
And thinke I would haue mēt [vn]to your plesaūce,
To whiche I lacke nothyng but suffisaunce.

¶ Please it also vnto your royaltee,
The quene maye haue a vereie intellecte
Of your eldres of greate antiquitee,
And of England, of whiche she is electe
Soueraigne lady, full worthily protecte
Vnder your rule and noble gouernaunce,
Which God ay ke[pe without variaunce.]

¶ The whiche should please her good femenite,
To reade vpon, for [her] comfort and disporte,
To se and knowe the greate nobilite
Of your eldres regalie and porte,
Whiche maye her glad alwaye and recomforte;
And if it maye please her souereingtie,
Of my labour I would reioysed bee. *Fol. CC.xxxiiii.*

¶ For women haue femenine condicion,
To know all thynges longyng to their housband,
His high worship and his disposicion,
His hertes counsaill also to' vnderstonde,
As at weddyng to her he made his bounde,
And moste of all his hertes priuetie,
And thestate of his good auncetrie.

¶ O souereigne lorde ỹ quene hath all sufficiēce
As touchyng you, but of your auncetrie,
In this treatise of all their excellence,
The quene maie se the worthy regence[2]

[1] I. [2] regency.

Of

Of this your realme and noble monarchie,
Whiche hath been kept in greate nobilitee,
By your eldres of greate antiquitee.

¶ This booke I call after my name Hardyng,
Sith God lent me that disposicion,
To enforme hym that laboured the wrytyng
By plain language of small prouision,
Through Godes grace and his supposicion,
All destitute of language and science,
And desolate of rethoryke eloquence,

¶ Moste cause was why I drew this ilke treatise,
To make your father haue had perfecte knowlage,
And you also of Scotlande in all wise,
That percell was of your eldest heritage,
And of all landes moste nere your auauntage,
To haue it whole, no more to bee dismembred,
Whiche might bee gote, as it is afore remembred.

¶ I had it leuer then Fraunce and Normandy,
And all your rightes that are beyonde the sea,
For ye maye kepe it euer[more] full sikirly,
Within your self and drede none enmytee,
And other landes, without gold, menne, and fee;
Ye maye not long re[ioyse, as hath been tolde,]
For lightter bee[1] thei for to wynne, then holde.

¶ Your auncestres haue had, beyonde the see,
Diuers landes, and lost theim all again,
Sore[2] gotten sone lost, what auaileth suche roialte,
But labour and cost, greate losse of menne & pain?
For ay before, with treason or with train,
And want of gold, was lost within a yere,
That we had gote in tenne, as dooeth appere.

¶ [How the maker of this booke reporteth the distaunce and miles of the tounes in Scotland, and ỹ waye how to conueigh an armie aswell by lande as water, into the chefest partes therof.

[1] beene. [2] sone. *edit. alt.*

NOWE

NOWE to expresse vnto your noble grace
The verie waye bothe by sea & land,
With the distaunce of tounes and euery myles space,
Through the chefest parte of all Scotland,
To conueigh an armie that ye maye take in hand,
Herafter shall folowe in as good ordre as I maye,
The true discripcion, and distaunce of the waye. *Fol. CC.xxxv.*

¶ From Berwike to Dōbarre twenty miles it is, Frō Barwyke to Dōbarre. xx.
And twelfe[1] miles forward vnto Haddyngtoune, Haddingtoūe xii. Edēburgh xii. Lythko xii. Sterlyng xii. Frō Edēburgh to Leith. i. to Blaknesse. ix. to Sterling. xiiii.
And twelfe miles frō thēse to Edenburgh I wisse,
To Lithko twelfe, and so Northwest to Bowne,
Twelfe miles it is vnto Sterlyng toune
Besouth Foorth, that ryuer principall,
Of right faire waye, and plentifull atall,

¶ Wher ẏ your nauy at Leith may rest saufly,
With all your vitayles, a mile from Edenburgh,
And after at the Blaknesse, whiles as ye ly,
At Sterlyng toune, whiche is the kynges burgh,
And wynne that shire, all whole out through:
So shall your nauy, at your necessitee,
Bee at your hand still, your army to supplie.

¶ From Sterlyng then ouer the riuer of Foorth, Frō Sterlyng to ye doune of Monteth. iiii.
Passe alongest the brydge to Camskinelle,
And if it bee broken toward the North,
Vnto the foorde of Tirps vnder the fell;
Thē spede you westward, thre miles as mēne tell,
Wher ye maye passe to the downe of Menteth,
Whiche passeth from ẏ Foorth thre miles vnneth.

¶ Then frō the downe, a waie ye haue right faire, Frō Sterlynge to Falklād. xxx.
Through out Monteth, & eke Clakmannam shire,
And so through Fiffe to Falke land to repaire,
Thirty long miles, without mosse or myre:
For so it is compted, with horse and carte to hyre,
From Sterlyng eastward, & the highe oyghylles,
Whiche some mēne call mōtaignes, & some felles.

[1] twenty. *edit. alt.*

¶ From Falkland thā to Disert towne, South East,
Twelfe myles it is, of fayre ready waye,
And from Falkland to Saynte Andrewes, East,
But other. xii. myles, wythouten anye naye,
Wher the byshoppes see is, and castell as thei say,
And at Kyngorne, and Disert may ye meete,
You for to vytayle al youre Englysh fleete.

¶ Than ride Northwest from S. Andrewes towne,
Alongest the South syde of the water of Taye,
Vp to the burgh of Saynte Ihons towne,
Right North from Fyfe, a countree freshe and gay,
And from saynt Androws. xxiiii. myles they say,
A pleasant grounde and fruitfull countrey
Of corne and cattel, with prosperitie.

¶ Which countrey of Fyfe along the Scottish sea,
And from saynt Androws, to the oyghles, they say,
Is. xliiii. myles longe of good countrey,
And somtyme in bredth. vi. myles of fayre way;
But from Logh Leuen Eastward, without nay,
Of ryght good way, briefly to conclude,
Xii. myles conteyne it dothe in latitude.

At Ennerkethen and Saynt Margarete, I hope
Your nauy maye receaue vytayle in that countre,
A longest the water of Foorth, as I can grope,
Wyth hulke, and barge, of no smal quantite,
You to supporte in your necessytee,
So that ye maye not in those countryes fayle
To haue for your armye redye vytayle.

Fol. CC.xxxvi.

¶ Thē to S. Ihons towne, vpon the water of Tay,
Within Strathren, that standeth fayre & stronge,
Dytched about, syxtene foote depe, I saye,
And. xx. foote on breadthe ouerwhart to fonge,
Yt is Northest. xx. myles full longe;
And nere to Scone abbay, within myles thre,
Wher alwayes thei crowne their kinges maieste.

Whyche water of Tay is so nauygable,
From the East sea to Saynt Ihons toune,

For

For all suche shippes as bee able
Fortie tunne of wyne to cary vp and doune,
For vitallyng and keping of the toune;
Vnto the whych so floweth the water of Taye,
That all the dytches it fylleth nighte and daye.

At the whych toune passe ouer the brydge ye shall
With al your armye, hostyng through that land;
Wher in Angus, that countree pryncypall,
The Kerfe of Gowry doth lye I vnderstand,
A plentifull countree, I you warrande,
Of corne and catell, and all commoditees,
You to supporte in your necessytees.

Betwyxt the mounthes and the water of Tay,
Whych some do cal mountaynes in our lāguage,
Passe eastwarde with your army daye by daye,
Frome place to place with small cariage,
For your nauy shall you mete in that viage,
At Portincragge, shorte waye from Dunde,
With vitailes to refreshe your whole armye;

Beside the stuffe and vitaile of that lande,
Which ye shall fynde in the countre as ye go,
And market made alwayes to your hande,
Of all theyr vytayles, althoughe they bee your fo.
Now from S. Ihons towne, the soothe to say is so,
Xviii. myles it is to the towne of Dundye,
The pryncypall burgh, by Northe the Scotyshe see.

¶ Than ryde Northeast all alongest the see,
Ryght from Dumber to Arbroith as I mene,
Than to Monrosse, and to Baruye,
And so through the Meernes to Cowy as I wene,
Then. xii. myles of moore passe to Aberdyne,
Betwyxt Dee and Donea goodly cytee,
A marchaunt towne and vniuersytee.

¶ Of the whych waye. xxx. myles there is,
Of good corne lande, and. xx. large extente,

Full of catell and other goodes I wysse,
As to moore lande and heth dothe wele appente,
From Brichan cytee to the orient,
Where doothe stande vpon the see,
A goodly porte and hauen for your nauye.

¶ Where that the same may easely you mete,
To vitayle your armye, whersoeuer ye go,
Ouer all the mountaynes, drye mosses and wete,
Wher the wild Scottes do dwel, than passe vnto,
That is in Mare and Garioth also,
In Athill, Rosse, Sutherland, and Chatnesse,
Mureffe, Lenox, and out ysles I gesse.

¶ And when ye haue that lande hole conquered,
Returne agayne vnto Striuelyne,
And from thence to Glasco homewarde,
Twenty and foure myles to S. Mongos shrine,
Fol. CC.xxxvii. Wherw̃ your offeryng ye shall frō thence decline,
And passe on forthwarde to Dumbertayne,
A castell stronge and harde for to obteine.

¶ In whiche castell S. Patryke was borne,
That afterwarde in Irelande dyd wynne,
About the whyche floweth, euen and morne,
The westerne seas without noyse or dynne,
When forth of the same the streames dooe rynne,
Twyse in. xxiiii. houres, without any fayle,
That no man may that stronge castell assayle.

¶ Vpon a rocke so hye the same dothe stande,
That yf the walles were beaten to the roche,
Yet were it full harde to clymbe with foot or hand,
And so to wynne, yf any to them approche,
So strong it is to get without reproche:
That without honger and cruell famyshemente,
Yt cannot bee taken to my iudgemente.

¶ Than from Glasgo to the towne of Ayre,
Are twentie myles and foure wele accompted,

A good

A good countree for your armye euery where,
And plenteous also, by many one recounted,
For there I was, and at the same I mounted,
Towarde Lanarke towne. xxiiii. myles,
Homeward trudging for feare of Scottish giles.

¶ From the towne of Ayre in Kyle to Galloway,
Through Carryet passe vnto Nithysdayle,
Where Dumfryse is a pretye towne alwaye,
And plentifull also of all good vytayle
For all your army, wythout any fayle;
So that kepyng this iourney, by my instruccion,
That realme ye shall bring in subieccion.

¶ Then from Domfrise to Carlill, ye shall ride
Xxiiii. miles of veray redy waye;
So maye ye wynne the lande on euery syde,
Within a yere, withouten more delaye:
For castelles there is none, ẏ withstande you may,
Nor abide your seage against your ordinaunce,
So simple and weake is their purueiaunce.

¶ And yf ye like, good lorde, at home to abide,
With litell cost your wardens ye may sende,
Charging theim all, with hostes for to ride,
In proper persone, through wynter to thende,
With morow forraies they may them sore offend,
And burne Iedburgh, Hawike, Melrose, & Lāder,
Codingham, Donglasse, & the toune of Dombarre.

¶ Then send an hoste of footemen in
At Lammesse next, through all Lawdendayle,
And Lāmermore woddes and mossis ouer rynne,
And eke therwith the Stowe of Weddale,
Melrose lande, Etryke forrest, and Tyuydale,
Lyddisdale, Ewysdale, and the Ryngwodfelde,
To the Creke Crosse, that ryden is full selde.

¶ The wardens then of bothe the marches twoo,
To bee their stayle and eke their castelles strong,

Then to reskewe from enemies wher euer thei go
With fleyng stayles, to folowe theim ay emong,
Les nor then foes theim suppresse and fong,
And euery night to releue to the hoste,
Fol. CC.xxxviii. And lodge together all vpon a coast.

¶ And also than at the next Myghelmesse,
The West warden to Domfryse ryde he maye,
Four and twentie myles from Carelyl as I gesse,
And than passe forthwarde through Galowaye
To Carricke after, into good araye,
And then from thence to the towne of Ayre
In Kile, that countree, plentifull, and fayre.

¶ Nexte than from Ayre vnto Glasgew go,
A goodly cytee and vniuersitee,
Where plentifull is the countree also,
Replenished well with all commoditee;
There maye the warden of the East marche bee,
And mete the other twayne as I wene,
Within tenne dayes, or at the moost fyftene.

¶ The thyrde army from Barwyke passe it shall
Through Dumbarre, Edenburgh, and Lythko,
And then to Sterlyng, with their power al,
And nexte from that vnto Glasgo
Standyng vpon Clyde, and where also
Of corne and cattell is aboundaunce,
Youre armye to vittayle at al suffysaunce.

¶ Thus these thre armies at Glasgew shal mete,
Well arayed in theyr armour clene,
Which hōward frō thēce thei shal returne cōplete,
Four and twentie myles to Lamarke so shene,
To Pebles on Twede, is syxtene myles I wene,
To Soltray as muche, thā twētie miles ẇ spede,
From thence returne they shal to Wark on Twede.

Within a moneth this lande maye bee destroyed,
All a South forth if wardens wyll assent,

So that our enemies shal bee sore annoied,
And wasted bee, and eke for euer shent:
If wardens thus woorke, after mine intent,
They maye well quenche the cruell enmitee
This daye by South all the Scottishe see.

¶ Now of this matter I haue sayed mine intent,
Like as I could espye and diligently inquire,
Whiche if it maye your highnesse well content,
It is the thing that I hartely desire;
And of your grace no more I dooe require,
But that your grace will take in good parte,
Not only my peines, but also my true harte.]*

* *The whole of this Section from p. 422. is omitted in the Harleian MS.*

A

CONTINUACION

OF THE

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND,

Begynnyng wher John Hardyng left,

Y^t^ IS TO SAIE

FROME THE BEGYNNYNG OF EDWARD THE FOURTH

VNTO

THIS PRESENT THIRTY AND FOURE YERE OF OUR MOOST REDOUBTED SOUEREIGNE LORDE KYNG HENRY Y^e^ EIGHT.

GATHERED OUTE OF

THE MOOST CREDIBLE AND

AUTENTIQUE WRYTERS.

TO THE READER.

FOrasmuche, moost benyng reader, as this former autour, Ihō Hardyng, wrote no ferther then to kyng Edward the fourth, in whose dayes it should apere ẏ he departed out of this world, & also consideryng the length of ẏ tyme sence, and the manifolde goodly historyes, battailles, [decres and statutes,][1] with the discēt and lyne of the kynges of England sence that tyme, I thought it not onely my dutie to labour ẏ knowledge of thesame historyes, to thētent to adioyne & annexe the same herunto, but also it should bee a greate offence in me to suffre you to bee depriued of so many fruitefull & necessarie thynges. Wherfore I haue here, to the vttermost of my poore wit, gathered and set foorth vnto you thesaid histories, not in metre, like as Iohn Hardyng hath dooen before, partely because I would therby declare a dyfference betwene the former wrytyng of Iohn Hardyng and this my addicion, but specially that these excellent storyes should nether in sence nor woordes bee defaced of the eloquence and greate grace that the autoures of thesame haue all readie geuen theim, and therfore haue I wrytten theim vnto you in prose and at length: ẏ whiche thynges, howe muche ẏ more that thei shall delyte and please you, so muche the more glad shall I bee of my peynes taken.

[1] and decrees. *edit. alt.*

EDWARD THE FOURTH[1].

AFTER that Edward had vāquished & put to flight Henry the sixte, beyng then verie ioious and proude[2], (partely thorowe ŷ victorie that he had gotten, and partely for that the commons began to cleaue vnto hym, and to take his parte, and lykewise did the states of the realme) then departed he with all conuenyent spede to London, and ther assemblyng his counsaill together, was shortely after proclaimed[3] kyng at Westminster, ŷ nyne and twēty daye of Iune, and was called Edward the fourth of that name after Wyllyam the Conquerour, and this was in the yere of Christ his incarnacion a thousand foure hundred three score and one. And the self same yere kyng Edward held his parliamēt again, in the whiche first the realme was sette in good ordre and all thynges wholy redressed, whiche was very good & expedient for the commen weale, for ŷ it had not been looked to all ŷ tyme that ciuile battaill did continue. And also thorowe his decree & will, all ŷ statutes that kyng Hēry ŷ sixt had made, was vtterly abrogated & of no vertue or strength. Finally[4] his twoo brethren ŷ wer younger then he, George was made duke of Clarence, and Rychard duke of Gloucestre, and Iohn[5], the brother of Rychard erle of Warwike, was made marques Montacute[6], and [Henry Burcherie, the brother of Thomas bishop of Caunturbury, erle of Essex, and Wyllyam Faucounbridge erle of Kent, & this][7] Henry Burchire beeyng a noble manne & moost puissaunte in feactes of warre, had gyuen hym to mariage the suster of Rychard duke of Yorke, called Elizabeth; and for this cause chiefely, that thesaid Rychard might haue his assistaūce and helpe of hym in all maner of aduersitie that should chaūce, either by battaill or other wise, and that he did after that kyng Edward the soonne of thesame Rychard had made hym erle of Essex, tothend ŷ bothe the father & the soōne might at all tymes bee a sure fortresse and defēce for hym. And he had be-

The first yere.

[1] Kyng Edward the fourth. [2] elated *ed. alt.* [3] proclaimed and crowned. *ed. alt.* [4] Finally at this parliament. *ed. alt.* [5] sir Ihon Neuell. *ed alt.* [6] made first lorde Mountagewe, and at the laste he was created marques Mountagewe. *ed. alt.* [7] *Omitted in the other edition.*

gotten of this Elizabeth in laufull mariage foure menne children, ỹ is to saie Wyllyam, Thomas, Iohn, and Henry, and one doughter, called Isabell, the whiche liued but a shorte space, the whiche soonnes vsed greate diligence in bryngyng matters to passe, & in weightie affaires and busynes very laborious, in aduentures and ieopardies manly and bold, and in forseyng thynges very circumspect, but specially Wyllyam the eldest had all these qualities. This Wylliam maried Anne a mayden discēdyng of high parentage and of moost pure virginitie, the [doughter of Iames Lusshcburne erle of sainct Paule,][1] by whome he had Henry nowe erle of Essex, also Cicile and Isabell doughters; the whiche Isabell died before she was ripe to mariage, and ỹ other was maried to Walter Ferryse[2]. But to come to that I spake in the begynnyng.

Fol. iii.

Howe Hēry ỹe duke of Somersette lefte kyng Hēry the. vi. and fled to kyng Edward, and after repented & fled againe to Hēry the. vi.

When all thynges chaunsed thus luckely to Edward, and that all was as he would haue it, Henry the duke of Somerset, fearyng that kyng Henry should goo to wracke and take the woorse, fled to kyng Edward, of whome he was after the moost gentle sorte intertayned; but sone after it repented hym of his deede, for in the meane season kyng Henry had gotte a greate power of Scotish menne, & vnwittyng to Edward gat Duresme, the whiche thyng after hearde, the duke of Somerset fled priuely to hym with a greate compaignie of ỹ kyng his frēdes folowyng after; and so many for desire of lucre and vaūtage did turne to hym, that Henry was thought to haue as greate an armie as his enemie had. The whiche armie he made menne thynke to bee the greater, for ỹ he did spoile and destroye townes and feldes where soeuer he came, & so, by long burnyng and wastyng, he came to a village called Exham, where as he buckeled[3] with Iohn marques[4] Montacute, whome he mette there, and there fightyng very sharpely, as often tymes it had chaunsed before, was putte to flight, losyng the greatest noūbre of his hoost, & he hym self with a fewe mo went in all the hast to Scotland, and the residue fled some one waye and some an other to saue their liues. Ther was taken there prisoners, Henry duke of Somerset, Robert duke of Hungerforde, and [Thomas Rosse,][5] the whiche duke of Somerset was putte to death by and by for that he had chaunged his mynde so sone and went to ỹ other partie; the other were had to Newe castell, and ther beyng for a season were putte to death in like maner, wherby other should haue no trust of any victorie, when their capitaines were dedde & gone. Albeit kyng Edward nowe might thynke all thynges to be wel, and him selfe strong enough agaynst the power of hys enemy, for that he had gotte suche a vyctorye, yet dyd he wyth all dylygence prouyde that Margarete, kynge Henrye the. vi. hys wife, shulde at no

The discomfiture of Henry the sixt.

The duke of Somerset taken & beheded.

[1] doughter of Iaquet duches of Bedford, by Rychardle earle Ryuers, doughter to Iames of Lusshenbrough erle of S. Paule. *ed. alt.* [2] lord Ferryse. *ed. alt.* [3] encountered. *ed. alt.* [4] lord. *ed. alt.* [5] Thomas lorde Rosse, syr Thomas Wentworth, & syr Thomas Husse. *ed. alt.*

haude

hande be let into Englande, for feare of wynnynge mennes hartes to her. Wherefore he made bulwarkes & sure fortresses on euerye parte and coastes of hys realme, that there myghte be no landynge, and dyd wryte to all theim of the Southe partes that they shulde in nowyse take in anye woman, or helpe anye, for yf anye so dyd he shulde be taken as an enemye & an hyghe traytoure to the crowne, as they were agaynste whome he dyd fyghte.

And of that parte that is nygh to the Scotish bancke he layed watches, that none shoulde goo oute of the realme to kynge Henrye. But kynge Henrye hym selfe was neuer in anye greate feare whatsoeuer chaunced, in so muche that he came in to England in a dysguysed apparel, and then beinge knowen and taken of certayne spyes sone after he had come in, was caried to London to king Edwarde, and there layde in holde. After whose attachynge and imprysonmente, the realme was set in more quyetnes. Wherfore Edwarde nowe beynge out of all feare and daunger of hys enemyes, dyd wholy set hym selfe, the foure yeres after ensuynge, to the reformatyon and redressynge of hys publyke weale, and to the recompensynge of hys souldyers for their paynes did deuyde[1] and geue the landes of theim that were wyth kynge Henrye to hys owne[2], and so wyth geuynge large and ample rewardes dyd get the fauoure of all hys people as well the laye as the nobles, and vsynge suche vrbanyte and clemencye[3] to all kinde of men, that he had throughlye wonne the hartes of all men[4]: the whyche gentylnes and fryndely familiaritee he dyd euer after vse. Also as for the lawes of the realme he dyd alter and mend some, and some he made newe, besydes that he coyned monye as wel golde as syluer, the whyche at this daye is currante. The whyche golde was royals and nobles, and the syluer was grotes, so that in hys tyme thys kinde of coyne came vp.

The takynge of Hēry the syxte.

Fol. iiii.

The coynynge of royalles & nobles

And after that hys realme was in thys state, he made a proclamation that yf anye manne beyng a traytoure or rebellyon hertofore to hys grace, & wyllyng to submyt hym selfe wholy to hym, shuld haue his pardon, and other that wolde not, shuld die, and suffer according to the lawes. The which kyndnes and natyue loue dyd cause hym to haue the good wyl and herte of his commons so much that it is euydent he was al the dayes of hys lyfe a conqueroure, through the helpe and ayde of thē, in so much that hys enemyes were euer shamefully put to wrack, as it shalbe shewed more playnly hereafter: and also not contented[5] wyth the frendshyppe of hys owne countree menne, dyd wynne and procure the loue of foren and straunge princes, and made theim to bee of kynred[6] wyth hym, whereby

[1] accordyng to the olde prouerbe, the ploughman that laboureth ought first to eat of the fruit, he dyd deuide, &c. *ed. alt.* [2] owne seruauntes *ed. alt.* [3] familiaritie *ed. alt.* [4] (more than his estate required) *ed. alt.* [5] satisfied. *ed. alt.* [6] affinitie *ed. alt.*

that

that they myghte (yf nede shoulde so requyre) ayde and socour him, or, at the least, not bee iniurious or noysome to hym; so that he maried hys syster lady Margarete to Charles the sonne of Phylyppe duke of Burgoyne, throughe which maryage he had greate helpe at the insurrection that chaunsed in thys his natiue countree, and after that sente Rycharde the erle of Warwyke embassadoure into Fraunce, the whyche shoulde desyre for hym to wyfe, a mayden called Bona, the syster of Carlotta[1] the quene of Fraunce, and the doughter of Lewes duke of Sauoye, whyche after dyd marye Iohn Galeot duke of Mylayne, the whyche busynes dyd cause cyuile battayle to bee. For in the meane tyme that the earle wente in to Fraunce, and had spoken wyth Lewes the kynge, wyth whom the ladie Bona was, and wayted vpon the quene her syster, Edwarde chaungynge hys mynde, maryed ladye Elyzabeth, the doughter of Rycharde the earle of Ryuers, which was maryed before to syr Iohn Gray knyght, by whome she had two chyldren, Thomas and Rycharde; of the whyche maryage, for the humylytie or basenes of stocke that the lady was of, he wold no prynce or kynges to haue knowne of it, no not so muche as her owne father Rycharde the earle: for the whyche cause, when it was blased abrode, euerye man dyd meruayle greatelye, kynges and prynces were dyspleased and grudged at it, and sayde playnelye that it was not for hys honoure so to dooe, and beganne to reproue the foresayde maryage shamefullye, and for that he was led rather by blynde Cupyde, than by anye reason, they dyd incessaūtlye reproue the same. And ether thys was the [cause of the sedycion][2] whyche afterwarde dyd ryse betwyxt kynge Edwarde and the earle of Warwycke, or els the pryuie enuye and malice whiche was in both theyr hertes nowe brastynge out, wherby an occasiō or quarel might be picked. For Edward after that he had got his kyngdome (as it was openly knowne) by the erle of Warwykes meane and helpe, begonne to suspect hym for that he was in such authoritee, so that he woulde haue plucked somewhat frome him & diminished his powre, wherby he myght haue ruled all thynges at his owne pleasure both in hys owne countree, & in other nacions: so that a man may see, it ofte chaunceth ẏ frendes will geue very seldome condygne rewarde to a mans deseruinges, yea, & eftsones when a greate benefite is bestowed or cōferred vpon theim, thei will, like ingrate persons, nothyng cōsider it. Of this ẏ earle of Warwycke was not vnknowing, ẏ whiche although he loked for better thankes & a more ample benefite at his hādes, yet neuertheles he thought best to dissēble and cloke ẏ matter, vntill such oportunitie might be had, wherby he myght, considering the wylfulnes of the kynge, exprobrate vnto hym the pleasures ẏ he had done for him. [And it is verye true and euidēt[3], that king Edward dyd make serche in his house for a thing that touched much

Fol. v.

[1] Carlot. *ed. alt.* [2] smoke that kyndled the fyre. *ed. alt.* [3] not vntrewe. *ed. alt.*

his

his honestie, wher the earle in dede was a man that loued women well, and had great fantesie to their company.][1] But what soeuer it was, ether euell wyll or desire of the empire that theyr league shuld bee infringed or broken, after that the earle had sure knowledge, by the letters of hys frendes, that the king had got him a wife priuely, and ẏ al ẏ he had done with king Lewis in his embassad for the ioyning of this newe affinitee was but frustrate and in vain, he was so ernestly moued with it, that he thought best that the kynge shuld be deposed frō the crowne, and as one not worthy of such a kingly offyce. But to oure purpose, the earle of Warwyke beyng then sore vexed and moued wyth the kynge, least ẏ in this his furoure hys intēt beyng rashely gone aboute shulde bee broughte to no good ende, he determined so lōge to suffer & beare suche iniuries, vntyll suche tyme that he myghte brynge his matters to passe as he wolde haue thē; whiche shortly after came into Englande, and salutyng the kynge, dyd hys message vnto hym, makinge hym selfe to bee ignoraunte of that maryage. And after that, the earle throughe the licence of the king went into his shyre of Warwike, partly to take his pleasure, and partly for the preseruation of his safetie and helth, whyche was the yere of oure Lorde God a. M. CCCC.lxvii. and the. vi. yeare of the reygne of kynge Edwarde: in the whiche yeare, George Neuell, brother to the earle, was made archebyshoppe of Yorke, after the dyscease of Wyllyam late archebyshoppe before him, beeynge the. lii. byshoppe that had possessed that rome; and Phylyppe duke of Burgoyne dyed the same yeare, and Charles hys soonne was made duke, a manne bothe for manhode and valyantenes in warre moste exellente. Thys Rycharde, as we sayde before, was in hys shyre of Warwycke, and there callynge to hym George the archebysshope of Yorke, and Iohn Montacute marques, hys brethren bothe, and after long communycation had of many thinges, the space of. ii. or. iii. dayes, at length gettynge meete occasion to speake of the kynge and hys doinges, dyd shewe hys mind to theim, desyrynge theim, by all the wayes that he coulde possyble, to take kynge Henry hys part, and to helpe him to the crowne, saiynge after this wyse and maner: "Brethren, it is not of anye lyghtenes of mynde, but of playne iudgemente that I am moued to speake of kynge Edward and king Henrye. Thys Henrye is a very godlye manne, and loueth theim that bee hys faythfull subiectes, and doth cōsyder also who taketh paynes for him, whyche hathe a soonne[2] borne by nature to bee of greate worthynes, prayse, and free lyberalitee, by whome euerye manne maye perceaue muche [godlynes,][1] whyche helpeth[4] hys fa-

The sixt yere.

Fol. vi.

[1] And it is not vntrue that the kyng dyd attempt to do an act in the erles house which was bothe against the erles honour and honestee: whether he wolde have violated the erles niece or another damosel in the erles house, all men knewe not, for the king was a man that loued both to see and feele a fayre woman. *ed. alt.* [2] called Edwarde. *ed. alt.* [3] towardnes. *ed. alt.* [4] studieth thus to helpe. *ed. alt.*

ther, nowe beynge in thraldome and captiuitee, as muche as in hym lyeth. And as for kynge Edwarde, he is a man full of contumelye and ingratytude, geuen all to pleasure, euell wyllynge to take anye paynes, and promotynge rather theim that come of nought, than noble and auncient men; wherefore I thyncke it wyll come to passe shortlye, that eyther he wyll destroye all nobilitee, or elles nobilitee destroye[1] him. But before al other, we shulde fyrste enterprise to reuenge oure cause whych haue fyrste taken hurt at hys handes: for he (as I am sure you knowe it bothe) after that he was kynge, dyd fyrste pryuelye gooe aboute to defyle oure dygnitee, and then after dyd openly intende our confusyon and losse of honoure, as thoughe he was not broughte to that dygnitee by vs, [and not we][2] by hym: and therfore, euen nowe of late when I went ambassadour to Fraunce, I was had in no regard, whereby the estimation whiche all kynges haue conceaued of vs[3], partely gotten by our auncetours, & partly by our owne trauailes & peines, shal nowe be extynguished vtterly, & nothinge sette by." And by these persuacions he wonne his brother ỹ archebishoppe his hert, & brought him to be of his minde, but he could not so sone nor easelye persuade the lorde marques, for at ỹ first he would by no meanes be moued to worke treason at any hād against kyng Edward; but at the last, whē the earle had promysed him the helpe & powre of many noble prynces, he was cōtented to kepe warre. The which marques, as he was vnwilling to consent to this at ỹ fyrst, so dyd he at the time of warre holde more of king Edwardes side thē king Henryes, as it shal appere more plain hereafter, the which was both destruccion to him & his. ii. brethren. After this ỹ earle of Warwike, a man of greate wytte, perceauing George the duke of Clarēce, brother to kīg Edward, to beare no great good wyl toward his brother ỹ king, what so euer the matter was, first to proue hym and to knowe his minde, begāne to complain a lytle of the king his doinges; then after that the duke was in the same tale wyth hym again & shewed him also what iniuries he had taken at his brothers hand, he beyng somwhat bolder to speake, brake his mynde more at large, desiring him to folow his coūcel, & that he should not think this to be done of any rashnes[4], [shewed hym how warely through his pollicie all his matters were wroughte,][5] & desired him ỹ he would cast[6] ẅ him selfe how to bring such a weyghtie matter [to passe, wherby al thinges may be prouided before hand;][7] to whom, after many great promises, he offered his daughter, then of ripe age, to be maried to him. The duke, throughe the councell and greate desieryng of therle of Warwike, was contented to dooe all thynges as he would haue hym. After ỹ therle had this communicacion with the duke,

Fol. vii.

[1] must destroy. *ed. alt.* [2] but we promoted. *ed. alt.* [3] oure famelie. *ed. alt.* [4] lightenesse. *ed. alt.* [5] he declared to hym how secretly, how vigilantly, and with what exployte through his policie al his matters wer compassed. *ed. alt.* [6] study and caste. *ed. alt.* [7] so well foreseen and prouided for to some good ende and conclusion *ed. alt.*

he

he purposed to goo to Caleis, of the whiche toune he was then chief capitain, and wher his wife and doughters wer then inhabityng; but to thend that this sedicion might bee the soner begonne, where with all Englād was sore troubled a greate tyme, he had apoincted that sone after he was gone to Caleis his brother tharchebishop & the lord marques should make an insurreccion in Yorke[1], wher by the battaill might bee begonne while he was so farre frome theim.

When all these thynges were prepared for, and his counsaill well alowed and taken, he went streight with ŷ duke of Clarence to Caleys; and ther, after that the duke had promised by an othe that he would euer bee true, he maried lady Isabell, the erles eldest doughter, ŷ whiche, whē it was dooen, thei bothe consulted together ŷ more spedily for ŷ ŷ insurreccion was made in Yorke as it was commaunded and appoincted; the whiche cōpaignie begōne first to spoile with out all mercie or respect of any thyng. For ther was at Yorke an old and a riche hospitall of sainct Leonard, where the poore and impotent persones wer harboured & the sicke menne comforted, and this hous was founde of ŷ charitee of the coūtree, whiche did geue yerely certain[2] of wheate, as ŷ first fruites of all their corne, to the sustenaunce and mainteynyng of theim; to the whiche noumbre of grayne certain housband menne of the countree did refuse to gyue any part, through the counsaill of therle of Warwikes compaignie, saiyng plainly that the poore and sickely people had it not, but thei that had ŷ rule and gouernaunce of the hous: and after that, the procters of the hospitall claimyng it as dewe vnto theim, sought for their right. And for that cause greate tumulte was, and muche conspiracie made, so that within fewe dayes there was gathered aboute a fiftene thousand, whiche compaignie came towardes Yorke; but after ŷ it was knowne in the citee that suche a compaignie of menne had risen, the citezens watchyng euer for feare, was in doubte whether thei should mete theim and trie it in open felde, or tary in the citee and kepe theim frome the walles. But the lord marques, chief of that coūtre, did put theim streight out of all feare and doubte, the whiche takyng good deliberacion and aduisement, mette theim cūmyng at the gates of ŷ citee, where, after a sharpe cōflicte, he tooke Robert Hulderne duke[3], and by and by chopped of his hedde, the whiche whē he had dooen, he receiued into the citee at ŷ midde night all his souldiours that wer there. The people beyng nothyng abashed at the death of their capitain, but rather the more eger & fearce, consideryng that thei could not ouercome Yorke without ordinaunce, whiche thei lacked, wēt streight forth to[4] London. And as for that the lord marques putte to death ŷ duke and capitain of ŷ cōmons, beyng also one of his cōspiracie, did it

[1] Yorke-shire. *ed. alt.* [2] a certaine *ed. alt.* [3] their leader and capitain. *ed. alt.* [4] toward. *ed. alt.*

for this intent, that either he would not bee aknowen faultie of this cōmocion, or els that he had vtterly determined to holde with kyng Edward, of whom, as it dooeth after appere, he did get perfect amitie. But after the
Fol. viii. kyng knewe the mynd and purpose bothe of therle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence his owne brother, & also certefied by dyuerse mēnes letters that the armie was drawyng nigh to London, he sent by and by Wyllyam Harberte, whome he made twoo yeres before duke[1], with a greate power of Walshe menne, commaundyng hym, if he could conueniently, bydde battaill to his enemies. The erle makyng hast towardes Northampton, hard saie that the Northrenmenne had gotte it, where also he [sette his tentes,][2] and the next daye folowyng fought ẘ theim, in the whiche battaill he was putte to flight in a momēt, and cleane discomfited. The Yorkeshire menne beyng glad of this victorie, wer streight couled & went no ferder; but hauyng their handes full of spoyles & prayes went backe ward again, lookyng when the erle of Warwike would come, the whiche shortely after came from Calais with the duke of Clarence his soonne in lawe to the hoost, & commēdyng highly the capitaines, and reioisyng gladly that thei had ŷ victorie, did spedyly prepare an other armie: yet kyng Edward beeyng nothyng abashed ŷ therle of Pēbruch had so eiuill sped, sēt hym forth again with a greater armie, whiche he had readie at all tymes what so euer should chaunce, & he hym self [he] did folowe with a small cōpaignie, and that he might bee readier for all thynges, in his iourneye did[3] encrease his armie ẘ many that came to hym of his secte, saiyng that his entent was to destroie ŷ route of misliuers and flagicious persones, and then therle of Warwike perceauyng that his aduersaries came vpon hym, sent in all the hast to ŷ duke of Clarence whiche was nigh by hym with an hoost that he would bryng his armie in all the hast to hym, meanyng ŷ bataill was at hand. The duke, when he hard it, came streight to therle. So thei bothe commyng together went to Banberie, where thei perceaued their enemyes tētes wer pitched, & there, buckelyng together, tooke the erle of Penbruch prisoner, and killed and discomfited all his menne, and emonges other of his nobles ther was killed Rychard the erle of Ryuers the father of Elizabeth the quene, & his soonne Iohn Woduile. And towardes euenyng kyng Edward drewe nigh, and heryng of the death and soden betyng doune of his menne, taried at a toune fiue myle frome that place. Therle of Warwike went to his chief toune with all his hoost, and there within twoo dayes caused therle of Pēbruch, with certain other states taken at ŷ tyme, to bee behedded. In the meane season there begonne awaie to bee foūd for peace, for the whiche letters wer wrytten too and fro, & herauldes sent from the kyng to therle and frome the erle to the kyng again, wherby the kyng trustyng

[1] erle of Penbroke. *ed. alt.* [2] pitched his feld. *ed. alt.* [3] he did. *ed. alt.*

verely

verely that all was pacified, was lesse ware of hym self, and feared lesse his aduersaries; the whiche thyng when it was knowen and shewed to the erle by certain spies, he went furth in a night as priuely as he could with a strong power to the kyng his tentes, & ther killyng theim ẏ kepte watche, tooke the kyng vnware[1], & brought hym to Warwike: and to the entent the kyng his frendes might not knowe wher he was, conueighed hym priuely from thens in the night to a toune in Yorkeshire called Middelame, and there to bee kepte fast in hold[2]. But yet the kyng could bee in no place nor prisone but that shortely it was knowen; the whiche caused *Fol. iv* many menne to bee sorie & lament his chaunce: [but he hym self, after that he was in prisone, spake faire to the kepers of the castell, and with muche intreatyng and greate promises made, did so tempte and corrupt theim that he was dimissed, althoughe][3] the rumour was that the erle was willyng to it, the whiche might bee of likelyhood if therle had gyuen ouer fightyng; but suche was ẏ ciuill fortune of kyng Henry, wherby a manne maye perceiue that he could neuer haue his purpose, seyng mannes strength nor policie is not able to ouercome, for therle with all his frēdes did ventre their bodyes, and spent their substaūce to haue brought Henry to the royall dignitee, for because he knewe suerly that as long as Edward reigned, neither could he nor yet kyng Hēry beare any rule; and yet neuerthelesse thei lette hym goo when he was in holde. And when kyng Edward was deliuered he went streight to Yorke, and there beyng honorably receiued of his citezens, taried for the space of twoo dayes to gette hym an hoost of menne. But when he could not haue a worthy compaignie, consideryng ẏ he should goo to London emong the middest of his hoost, went frome Yorke to Lancastre, & there found Wyllyam Hastynges[4], lord chamberlain, of whō he hauyng greate helpe came safe to Lōdon. But therle of Warwike and the duke, after thei had perceiued kyng Edward to bee deliuered throughe the meanes of false traitours[5], & that all thynges that thei had appointed was to none effecte, was[6] greately moued with anger and sorowe, and by and by callyng together all their chief frendes, consulted howe thei might begynne battaill again; the whiche whē the kyng was taken and in hold, was ended and dooen. And thus dooyng, there was[6] certain that, for veray angre and for the loue that thei had to warre, offred theim selfes to fight of freshe for nothyng, ẏ whiche moued ẏ chief capitaines to be ẏ more earnest. Also[7] kyng Edward was as wyllyng to fight as thei were, wherby he might either bryng theim by force of armes to quietnes & peace, or els destroy and kylle theim

[1] unware, at a place called Wolney. *ed. alt.* [2] In hold under the kepyng of the archebishop of Yorke which well entertained hym and serued hym like a prince. [3] But the kyng hym self spake faire to the archebishop, and as the fame went, corrupted ether the bishop or his seruauntes. So that one daie he had licence to go a huntyng, and by the waie ther met with hym sir William A Parre, sir Thomas Abowrgh, the lord Haward, and diuerse other of his seruauntes, with suche a multitude, that the archebishop nor all his frendes durst not folowe the escape. *ed. alt.* [4] lorde Hastynges his. *ed. alt.* [5] traitours as they called them. *ed. alt.* [6] were. *ed. alt.* [7] And. *ed. alt.*

euery mother soonne, that the realme might bee in a better state: for thorowe their sedicious rebellyng the people wer greately impouerished, seyng that the churches and houses of menne were spoiled and robbed, and menne slain in euery place, ẏ corne & grasse also destroyed that was of the grounde, and many other mischiefes dooen, the whiche dooe chaunce eftsons in battaill, the consideracion wherof it pitied many menne to see the cōmen weale in that case, the whiche wēt dayly and hourely aswell to therle as to the kyng for atonemēt, desieryng & counselyng theim bothe that thei would rather kepe peace & haue the loue of all menne for their quiet lyuyng, then to liue in angre and enuie, fightyng one with an other, to ẏ vndooyng of all the realme, wher as it wer a wicked deede to kylle the father, but yet a greate dele more wicked to destroye the whole bodie of the commen weale, whiche is the father of all menne, and by the whiche euery manne is maynteyned & kept. By this greate entreatyng of noble menne, therle and the kyng gyuyng feyth one to an other, peace was had for a tyme, wherein the
Fol. x. erle and the duke went bothe to London with a small compaignie of menne in comparison to the daunger that thei wer in, and at Westminster was with the kyng for the reformacion and stablishyng of all thynges, and for peace to bee had, wher the kyng and thei beeyng at greate woordes, nothyng was determyned or ended. Therfore the kyng for the [vowe that he had made,][1] departed and said lytle, and the erle with the duke also went to Warwike, and in Lyncolne shire gotte vp a newe hoost, and made sir Robert Welles, the soonne of Rychard Welles, graūde capitain, a noble manne of warre. These tydynges commyng to London moued the kyng veray sore, whome he thought would rather haue kepte peace thē warre; but the more ẏ it was shewed to hym, vnlokyng for it, ẏ battaill was at hande, ẇ so muche ẏ sooner & more spede he gathered an armie, & at the same tyme sēt dyuerse messēgers and haroldes for [Rychard Welles:][2] and thesame Rychard beeyng often so sent for, made his excuse that he was sicke & diseased: but afterward whē his excuse was not admitted, he thynkyng to purge hymself sufficiētly before the kyng, came to London, bringyng ẇ hym sir Thomas Democke his brother in lawe: and whē he was there, certain of his frendes certified hym that ẏ kyng was sore moued with hym, whiche for feare of the kyng did take sentuarie at Westminster, & his brother also, mindyng to tary there vnto suche tyme as ẏ kyng his anger wer couled & apeaced. But kyng Edward trustyng to pacifie all this tumulte without bloddeshede, promisyng those mēne his feith ẏ he would not harme thē, caused theim bothe to come out of sentuarie. [Then the][3] kyng callyng Rychard to hym, warned hym to byd his brother[4] Robert that he should leaue of warre, and goo frome the erle. And in the meane season the kyng went foreward ẇ his

[1] promisse that he had made to suffer theim safe to goo and safe to returne. *ed. alt.* [2] Richard lorde Welles. *ed. alt.* [3] The. *ed. alt.* [4] sōne. *ed. alt.*

hoost

hoost against his enemies, bryngyng with hym this foresaid Rychard & Thomas, and beeyng but frome Stamforde, wher his enemies did lie the space of twoo dayes iourney, was informed ỹ Robert kepte ỹ armie still, nothyng moued with ỹ letters of his fathers wrytyng; for the whiche the kyng beyng sore greued, caused bothe Rychard and Thomas, euen there cōtrarie to his promise, moost shamefully to haue their heddes chopped of[1]. [Robert, whē he sawe the kyng drawe nigh, and hard that his father & sir Thomas Democke was put to death, stoode first in a doubte whether he should fight or no, for because it was ieoperdeous to ventre vpon suche a greate power before ỹ erle came; yet at the last for the stoute courage and manly boldenes that was in hym[2], thei went together and fought sore long, and many menne killed on bothe sydes: and at the last whē the fore named Robert encouraged his menne that wer ready to geue ouer, was coumpassed about of his enemies & taken, and also sir Thomas Delalāt with many mo, the whiche capitaines beyng taken, all ỹ hoost was putte to flight & driuen awaye[3]. The kyng beyng glad of this victorie, cōmaunded Robert[4] & sir Thomas Delalant with many other to bee put to death at ỹ same tyme & place; and in this battaill ther was kylled, as mēne reported, tenne thousand menne. The erle at this tyme beeyng at his owne toune of Warwike, and commyng shortely to his armye at Stamforde with his power, was enformed that the battayle was foughte quickelyer then he looked for, and that his men had the worse parte: although he might now be discouraged, yet he made as thoughe he passed not and would not beleue, to the entente that he myghte the more enbouldē certaine of his compaigny, then despayryng and geuyng theimselfe to flight, beganne to make a newe hoste, and with many faire promyses did wowe his brother in lawe Thomas Stanley[5] to take his parte. But when ỹ said Thomas would by no meanes fight or rebell agaynste kyng Edwarde, then seeyng it was tyme to gooe one waye, and he mistrustyng that he was not able to resiste the power of hys enemyes, fled wyth the duke of Clarence (his soonne in lawe) to Excetre: and whē he had taried there two or three dayes, seyng that he lacked al thynges necessarye for warre, purposed to gooe to Lewes the kyng of Fraunce, with whom at his ambassate into Fraunce, [was veraye well acquaynted and beloued,][6] trustyng ether to haue some helpe of the kyng[7], or els to incense hym wholy to fight against hym[8], and so toke shippe at Dartmouth, both he and the duke with a greate nombre of theyr familie, and sayled with ỹ wynde to Normandie, where the chiefe lord of that towne entreteyned hym most

[1] And wrote flatteryng letters to syr Robert Welles, willyng him to submyt hymselfe, and promisyng pardon; but he seyng afore his eyes howe the kyng deceyued his father, studied whether he should fight or no, &c. *ed. alt.* [2] and for the reuengyng his fathers death *ed. alt.* [3] This feld was called Loscote feide, because the Lyncolneshyre men cut their jackes and coates of defence, and in their shyrtes ran away *ed. alt.* [4] Robert Welles. *ed. alt.* [5] lorde Stanley. *ed. alt.* [6] for the marriage of kyng Edward, he was very wel acquaintel & beleued. *ed. alt.* [7] French king. *ed. alt.* [8] kyng Edward. *ed. alt.*

royally,

royally, & in al ỹ hast certified ỹ kyng Lewes of his cōmyng thither. And ỹ kyng meruailyng greatlye at ỹ noble actes that ỹ erle had doen, was mynded thorowly to helpe hym in all ỹ he could; & [when he knewe][1] ỹ he was lāded in Fraūce, was glad of it, & sent to hym certayn of his nobles, to shewe hym that he did wishe to haue an occasion wherby he might helpe hym, & at this time would gladly dooe for him, desieryng hym to come to Ambassy[2], where the kyng laye: (which Ambassy[2] is a manour place of ỹ kynges set vpō the ryuer syde of Loire[3]:) & the duke also his sonne in law, and that it should not bee for his losse or harme.

The. ix. yere. This was ỹ. ix. yere of kyng Edwardes reigne when the erle fled to Fraunce, and of our Lorde a [M.CCCC. and. lxxx.][4] But this greued kyng Edward that thei wer fled, for because many of ỹ people and cōmunaltee was desyrous to see hym, and thought that the sonne had been goone from theim, and out of this[5] worlde, when he was absent. And in suche estimaciō and honour was he had of the people, ỹ thei worshipped & honoured none but hym, or at the least none more then hym, in so muche ỹ his only name was euery mannes song & voyce, especially of the cōmē people when they made triumphe abrode in ỹ stretes; wherby the moste parte helde of the earle his syde, and bare hym more fauoure in theyr hartes then kyng Edward. Wherby[6] ỹ kyng was in feare and daunger both of his owne countremen ỹ wer in his realme, and of theim that were abrode in Fraunce; but before all other he did prouide for ỹ erle his cōmyng. And first he sente to Charles [the] duke of Burgoin, his brother in law, desiryng him ỹ he would manashe[7] Lewes the kyng, ẇ whom he had made a league of peace, not to aide the erle of Warkwike or ỹ duke his sonne in lawe, neither ẇ mony nor with mē: the which Charles[8] wrote to ỹ kyng of Fraūce, & thretened hym many thynges if so that he mainteyned or helped theim. And when the kyng of *Fol. xiii.* Fraūce had red his letter, aūswered[9] again & saied ỹ he might lawfully & would, sauyng his league & truce, helpe his frēds ỹ wer valiaūt & noble men as the earle was; and settyng nothyng by all his thretenyng & braggyng wordes, sayd it shoulde bee neither greate peyne nor coste to hym. Whē these tydynges came into England, ỹ kyng was veraye sorie, & for that cause searched priuely in his realme who wer frēdes to his enemies, and for feare by ỹ reason of the examinaciō of theim ỹ wer prisoners & in his hand, some did take sentuarie, and some came to ỹ kynges side. And emonges theim the lord marques Montacute offered hym self to the kyng again, to helpe hym in his warres; whom the kyng gladly receaued, for because that by him mo would leane to his side. In this meane season ỹ erle of Warwike & the duke went to Ambassy[2] wher the kyng of Fraūce was, & by the way the people came veraye thicke to see hym, because they harde so muche

[1] knowyng. *ed. alt.* [2] Amboys. *ed. alt.* [3] Leyre. *ed. alt.* [4] [1470?] [5] the. *ed. alt.*
[6] Wherfore. *ed. alt.* [7] monysh. *ed. alt.* [8] duke Charles. *ed. alt.* [9] he answered. *ed. alt.*

speakyng of his noblenesse: & when he came there, the kyng receaued hym moste gently, to whō shortly after the erle did breake his mynd, and shewed the cause of his commyng, to whome the kyng promysed all that he coulde dooe for hym to the vttermoste extente of his power. Sone after quene Margarete the wife of Henrye ỹ. vi. came to theim, with her sōne prince Edward and the earle of Penbruck, and also of[1] Oxēforde, the whiche a lytle before sayled ouer to her. After they cōmuned together, as concernyng ỹ safegard of their bodies, a league was made thorowe the kyng of Fraunce his counsel. And first lady Anne, the doughter of the earle, was maried and despoused to prynce Edwarde the quenes soonne. Also the erle and the duke promysed faithfullye ỹ they woulde not geue ouer vnto suche tyme that kyng Henrye the. vi. or Edwarde his soonne were proclaymed kyng of Englande; & after kyng Henry, that the erle and the duke should ouersee and gouerne the realme, by the wyll and apoyntmente of the quene Margarete and her sonne prince Edwarde, vnto suche tyme that the forenamed prince wer of lawfull age and habilitee: the whiche they promysed faythfully to obserue and dooe as they wer apoynted. And, besydes these, many other condicions were made, aswel for that reason did so require, as the busynes ỹ was at that tyme. When this league of truth & faithfulnes was thus made, the kyng Lewes holpe the erle with mēne, harnes, and nauie[2], that he might the surer go to[3] Englāde; and Rhenate[4] also, the father of [ỹ] quene Margarete, gaue hym mēne & harnyse to his power. So that he hauyng no small nombre of men, did take shippe at Saynemouth, & ther tariyng, hard word from Englād by letters that he should come ouer in all the haste, & that there were so many ỹ would take his parte ỹ he shoulde haue no nede to bryng any with hym, for they wer redy in harneyse at the water side, willyng to helpe hym in al ỹ they could, and not they onely, but many noble men & princes would helpe hym both ẇ mony, men, & harneyse, & with all ỹ they could dooe. When he had receaued these letters, he purposed to go forth and take the oportunitee of the tyme; and because that ỹ quene was not redy to set forth, he & the duke[5] of Oxēford, and ỹ duke[5] of Penbruch, went before ẇ parte of ỹ hoste & nauye, to trie what chaūce thei shuld haue, that[6] if all thinges should chaunce well, the quene and the prynce *Fol. xiii.* should folowe and come vnto Englande. Therfore the earle and the duke thanking the king as highly as they coulde, for that he had doone so much for theim, dyd take their leaue, and sayled vnto Englande with all their armie. Then the duke of Burgoyne, not contented that the earle shoulde bee holpen of the king of Fraūce agaynst king Edward, prepared a great nauye of shippes aboute the costes of Normandye, that he might take hym cōming towardes Englande; [yet neuerthelesse the earle][7] escaped all daun-

[1] therle of. *ed. alt.* [2] shippes. *ed. alt.* [3] into. *ed. alt.* [4] Rene. *ed. alt.* [5] erle. *ed. alt.*
[6] so that. *ed. alt.* [7] whiche nauy was dispersed by tempest, so that the earle. *ed. alt.*

gers,

gers, and landed safe he and all his menne at Dartmouth, frome the whiche place he sayled to Fraunce halfe a yere before.

After that the earle came to lande, he made a proclamacion in king Henry the. vi. name, that all they that were of lawfull age shoulde make battayle agaynst Edwarde duke of Yorke, whiche agaynste all ryghte and lawe at that tyme had[1] the crowne; the whiche when it was doon, it cannot be spoken howe soone it went aboute all ŷ realme, that he was come and had made this proclamacyon, at the whiche also is not to be expressed howe many thousandes of menne came to hym. The earle hauing all this power & greate armie, went streyght to London, whome when Edwarde perceyued to drawe nighe, he fledde for the tyme, trustyng to haue hym at some vauntage; but at the laste he was dryuen to that ende, that he had no myndе to get any hoste to resyst his enemies, but beyng in greate daunger of his owne lyfe, fled[2] w̄ the duke of Gloucestre his brother, vnto a towne nighe the sea called Lye[3], and there taking shippe, sayled into Flaunders, to Charles [the] duke of Burgoyne, with greate daunger and parell of his lyfe, by the reason of the boisterouse & cruel winde. Elizabeth his wyfe beyng then greate with childe, dyd take sentuarye at Westmynster, where she was broughte in bedde with a man chylde, whose name was Edward. After that the earle knewe of the goeing awaye of kyng Edward, he made haste to London, and hearing of the tumulte and busynesse that was in Kente, and that all the villages and suburbes there were spoyled piteously, a lytel before the goeing awaye of ŷ kyng, pacified theim and sette all thinges in good ordre agayne: by the doing of the whiche benefyte, he was the more louingly accepted of theim all, and that doon, came to the Towre, & there deliuered kyng Henry the. vi. out of prisone, & geuing hym his robe of maiestye, broughte hym to Poules, the people reioysing on euery syde, and there thanked God for that it had chaunsed as they wolde & desired; and this was the yere of our Lorde a. [M.iiii.C. foure score and one,][4] that kyng Henry beganne to reigne, so that king Henry, so often vanquyshed, began to reigne nowe, likely shortely after to faule againe; the which fortune chaunsed to hym by many mennes opinions, because he was a very simple and innocent man, and ŷ he had rather in godlinesse & vertue excell other, then in honoure and rule: so ŷ for the loue ŷ he had to religion[5], he loked for no dignitee or honoure, whiche chaunseth to fewe that wil not seke for it, or regard & kepe it when they haue it. But his enemies saide he was a
Fol. xiiii. coward, & had not the herte or manlynesse to bee a kyng, or meete for that offyce: so that who soeuer despiseth that the cōmune people alloweth & marualeth at, is accompted for a mad man; contrariwyse, he ŷ doeth agree to theim and in their tale, he is a wise man, where in dede suche wisdom (as

[1] had usurped. *ed. alt.* [2] passed the washes, a daungerous passage, & so fled. *ed. alt.* [3] Lynne. *ed. alt.* [4] [1471?] [5] Christes religion. *ed. alt.*

it

it is comēly saide) is foolishnesse before God. Also some saide, it was the will of God ẏ it should so bee, for his graundfather Henry the fourth gotte it by violencye and force of armes, so ẏ it coulde not bee longe enioyed of hym, but that faute of the graundesire did redounde on the nephewes[1]. But nowe to ẏ matter.

After this king Henry held his parlyament at Westmynster, the. xxvi. daye of Nouembre, in the whiche Edwarde is declared openly traytoure to his coūtree, bycause he had taken ẏ crowne to him, and all his goodes geuen away, & in like maner al theirs ẏ did take his parte, and so iudgement was geuen on theim to dye. Furthermore, all ẏ decrees, statutes and actes of ẏ forenamed Edward were broken & of none effecte. And then ẏ earle of Warwike, as a man ẏ had deserued much of his coūtre, was made gouernoure ouer all ẏ realme, to whō he did take ẏ duke of Clarence as felowe to hym; so by ẏ meanes ẏ realme was brought to a new state, cleane transformed & altered. To this parliament came the lorde marques Mountacute, the which excusing his treason ẏ he did take kyng Edward his parte, & saing it was for feare of death, had his pardone. Truely yf this man had taken kyng Edwardes part, & had stand to his side manly, he had not been so sore an enemie, and hurted so much his frendes, as he was being a false fained and coloured frende; for those thinges that we be ware of, and knewe before to bee pernicious, doo lesse hurte vs. But nowe quene Margarete being in Fraunce, prayed euery daye from that time the earle went into England, for the victorie; the whiche when she knewe was obteined, by the king[2] his letters that came to her, shortely after did take shyppe towardes England; but thorowe ẏ sharpnesse of the wether and greate tempestes, she was constrayned to lande[3], and to differre her iourney to an other tyme. At the same tyme Gaspar, the earle of Penbruch, went to Wales to his earledome, where he founde lorde Henry the earle of Richemonde, his brothers sonne, a chylde of ten yere olde, & there kepte prysoner, but lyke a noble man of ẏ erle Willyam Harberte his wyfe, whome we spake of before, that [Edwarde had made hym erle,][4] and then after taken in batayl, was beheadded [at the cōmaundement of the earle of Warwike.][5]

This is that Henry, the whiche when Richard the thirde, brother to Edward, was ouercome and vanquished, had the gouernaunce of the realme; of whome this is to bee beleued, that after that he came to his kingdō, sent as one by God to quench and put awaye the greate sedicion and stryfe that was betwixte Henry and Edwarde, seyng that he minded nothyng so muche as that, whome lady Margarete, the onely doughter of Iohn the fyrste duke of Somerset, dyd bryng forthe, beyng but fourteene yeres of age; the whiche althoughe she was maryed after to Henry[6] the duke of Buckingham his sonne, King Henry the. vii.

[1] breyre. *ed. alt.* [2] the kyng her houbande. *ed. alt* [3] lande again. *ed. alt.* [4] that kyng Edward had made erle of Pẽbroke in dispite of erle Iasper. *ed. alt.* [5] at Babery. *ed. alt.* [6] Henry Stafforde. *ed. alt.*

and after that to the earle of Derby, yet she neuer broughte forthe chylde
Fo'. xv. after, as thoughe she had doone her parte when she hadde borne a manne chylde, and the same a kynge of a realme. Gasper, the earle of Penbruch, tooke thys chylde Henrye from the [earle Harberte,][1] hys wife, and brought hym soone after to London to king Henry the syxte; whome when the kynge had beeholded, longe holding hys peace and maruailing at the goodlye wytte of the chylde, sayde in thys wyse to the nobles that were at that tyme present, "Loo, thys is he, thys is he I saye, to whome both wee and oure
The prophecye of Henrye the vi. of kyng Henry the vii. aduersaries shall geue place to in possession:" and by thys he prophecied that the self same Henry shuld in tyme to come, as it chaunsed in dede, haue the kyngedome and rule of all the realme. And nowe Edwarde althoughe he was oute of his countree, yet dyd he not dyspayre but that he shulde haue mattre and redy occasion to recouer his kingdome; for the duke of Burgoyne partlye had promised hym both greate ayde and socoure, and partly the priuy frendes that he had in Englande dyd councell hym by letters, sente from tyme to time, ẏ he would hasten his iournay homward: and incontinētly after very many fled to hym oute of Englande, eyther for feare of the lawes that they had offended, or elles for sorowe that the worlde was so turned that they could not haue theyr wyll, as they had before, in accomplyshynge theyr couetouse myndes and desyres, and caused hym to make the more haste homewarde. And kynge Edwarde, beynge rauished with their golden promises, thoughte nothyng more payneful or wretched then to tary one daye lenger, and nothyng more pleasaunt thē to go of his iourney, and so takynge no moo wyth them then two thousande harnesed menne, at the sprynge of the yeare, sayled into Englande, landynge in the coastes of Yorkeshyre, at an hauen towne called Rauinsport[2], and there settynge forthe all hys menne, dyd reason wyth hys captaynes and consulte to what place they shoulde fyrste goo, for it was ieoperdious, consydering the small companie that he had, to take anye waye forthe. But after longe delyberation, they were all agryed that some certayne knightes and horsemen of that smal compaignie shuld bee sent, one to euerie quarter to the townes that wer nyghe, to the intente that they myghte drawe the hartes & myndes of the people to king Edwardes syde. But it is not lykelye that kynge Edwarde, beyng a wyse manne, durst be bolde, or would in any wyse come into England with such a small power, excepte he had knowen surely that he should haue had great helpe at hys commyng; the whych is a plain token that the duke of Clarence and the lorde marques had[3] procured hys fauoure, promysinge him all their helpe that they coulde make: for the tryall of the whych ther was manifest tokens that dysclosed and bewrayed all their falshed[4], [for they][5] priuilie wēt about[6] to know mennes myndes and to what parte they

[1] the lorde Herberte erle of Penbroke. *ed. alt.* [2] Rauenspurre. *ed. alt.* [3] had secretly. *ed. alt.*
[4] entent. *ed. alt.* [5] thei that kyng Edwarde had sente. *ed. alt.* [6] aboute the townes. *ed. alt.*

would declyne: and the nexte day after came to kinge Edwarde, and shewed him that the common people dyd stande stiflye of kynge Henrye his syde, and woulde defende hys quarell as ryghte and iuste at al times, and that they had nomore nede nowe to make anye tumulte, in so much that no manne would (althoughe eftsons desired and prayed,) go to king Edward, yea, and *Fol. xvi.* that noman woulde, for feare of the earle of Warwike, heare anye thinge spoken of that matter, whose myndes after that kinge Edwarde had throughlye serched and knowen, he chaunged his mynd and purpose, & wher as before he claymed the crowne, then he publyshed abrode that he woulde haue but hys ryghte, that was his landes and heritage of [Yorke shyre.][1] And at that worde it cannot be well spoken howe redily mē wer willinge to helpe him, consideringe that he claymed nothinge but hys ryghte, in somuch ẏ very pytie dyd moue manye, althoughe they woulde not helpe hym, yet at no hande to resyste him. And kynge Edwarde reconsilyng him selfe to the common people by these meanes, toke hys iournye towarde Yorke, and wente to Beuerlay. The earle then beinge at Warwik, after that he knew ẏ king Edward was landed about York, streyght sent a post to his brother lord Mōtacute[2], then liyng that winter at Pomfreit ẇ a great army, to shewe him what daunger mighte ensue yf king Edward got ẏ towne of York, & bed theim yf his enemies drewe nigh, ether to mete with thē in plain felde, or elles to bete theim from the towne, vnto such tyme that he came wyth a greater host which he prepared then in all the hast he coulde. And because he knew not surely which way his enemies wolde come, he fyrst sent to euery towne in York shyre, and to Yorke it selfe, certayne postes, to bid euery man be in [his] harnesse ready, and that ẏ citezins should shut the gates surelye that kynge Edward myght haue no accesse. In the meane tyme, king Edward came peaceably, and wythoute the resistaunce of anye man towardes the towne[3] of Yorke: of whose commyng when the citezens were certified, they made sure the gates, and standynge in harnesse for the defence of it, dyd sende twoo of the aldermen to warne the kyng thē comming nyghe, that he dooe not enterpryse to farre or put hym selfe in ieopardie, for they were mynded to dryue him and all hys awaye wyth all the power they myghte. When Edwarde had heard theyr myndes, he was in so greate feare & agonie that he could not tell what to dooe, for yf he shuld haue goone back, he feared that the common people, as men gredye of a praye, woulde persue him, and yf he should goo forth he was in daunger of the Yorke shyre men, leaste they shoulde sodenlye faull vpon hym, and take hym: and therefore seyng that he was not able to match theim in battayle, thought to mollyfie theim with fayre wordes, and so beganne to entreat after the most lowlye and gentle maner the messaungers, that they woulde in hys name shewe the cytezyns that he came not to clayme the

[1] the douchie of Yorke. *ed. alt.* [2] marques Montagewe. *ed. alt.* [3] citee. *ed. alt.*

crowne, but hys herytage and ryghte of [Yorke shyre,][1] and therfore that they woulde helpe theyr lorde and duke of Yorke, and yf that he myghte be receaued through theyr meanes, he wolde requyte theyr kindenes, and remember theyr benifyte as longe as he lyued: and by suche fayre speaking and flatterie, he dimissed thē and folowed straighte after to the gates with his companie. The citezins beynge somwhat moued wyth thys answer, for that he entended no harme agaynst kyng Henrie, they spake wyth
Fol. xvii. hym from the wall, and badde hym to go frome thence, and yf he would go quickely he should take no harme. But he speakyng veraye gentely to euerye one of theim, & callyng some by name, moost gentely did desire theim ẏ he might come into his owne toune. And so passyng all the daye in that cōmunicacion, at ẏ length the citezens partely ouer come ẅ his moost gētle speakyng & large promises made, fell to this poincte, ẏ if Edward[2] would swere to handle his citezens after a gentle sorte, & hereafter bee obedient to kyng Henry his cōmaundement, thei would receiue hym in to ẏ citee, and helpe hym ẅ all ẏ power that thei might. Edward beyng glad to here this, the next daye after, early, a masse was said at ẏ gates, wher he receiuyng the sacrament, promised feithfully vpon his othe ẏ he would obserue bothe the thynges afore named, & so was receiued in to the citee. Neuerthelesse it was so ferre vnlike that he would obserue one[3] of theim that he minded none other thyng then ẏ he might depriue [the kyng][4] of his croune, as here after shall appere more euidēt. So ẏ oftē tymes we se noble men, aswell as the laye people, thorowe ambicion & filthy couetousnes, thei forgettyng God & all godlynes, dooe swere greate othes in promisyng thynges, ẏ whiche entendyng, before thei make their othe, to breake it shortely after. Yet suche persons oftymes haue their rewardes of God at one or other tyme, as this Edward had; so that some tyme the punishment falleth on the nephewes for the offence that the vncle had cōmitted. But of this thyng I will speake more in Rychard the third, in a place wher a manne maye see that ẏ progenie of Edward wer punished for this offence. When Edward[2] had thus framed his matters, he, forgettyng ẏ othe ẏ he had made, did se ẏ the citee was strōgly kepte, and gettyng hym an army together, thought he wold not lynger his busines, bycause he harde his enemies made no greate preparaūce or haste, but tooke his iourney towarde London, & in his goyng did purposely goo out of his waye ẏ led hym to Pomfret, wher ẏ lord marques was, & toke on ẏ right hand, within lesse thē. iiii. miles of his enemies. And whē he perceiued ẏ thei made no skyrmishe nor mocion, came in to the right waie again when he was past theim, [& wēt to Notynghame;][5] but this greued the Yorke shire mēne that he should deceiue theim so vnhonestly & otherwise then did become a kyng or noble manne. After that it

[1] the duchie of Yorke. *ed. alt.* [2] he. *ed. alt.* [3] any one. *ed. alt.* [4] kyng Henry. *ed. alt.*
[5] And wente to Notyngham, and ther proclaimed hym self kyng. *ed. alt.*

was

was knowen that kyng Edward came wout all daunger of his enemies to Notyngham, then came there to hym many noble mēne vpon this consideracion ẏ the lord Moutacute either would not entre vpō his enemies as though he had agreed with theim, or els durst not come out of his tentes[1], for that he was not able to matche ẇ theim. Therfore menne thought better to take Edwardes part, consideryng ẏ his power was so greate, then to hold with kyng Henry, and bee in daunger of their liues, and losse of all their goodes & landes. Edward[2] reioysyng at this, went to Lecestre, & hearyng that therle was at his toune of Warwicke, & therle of Oxenford with hym, hauyng a greate armie, and that thei bothe entended to [bryng hym to theim,][3] prōcentyng their purpose, wēt awaye ẇ his hoost, either wyllyng to fight, or els ioyne in frendeship and loue with his brother duke of Clarence, with whome then commyng frō London ẇ an hoost of mēne, *Fol. xxiii.* he thought to speake before ẏ he came to therle & his cōpaignie, fearyng leste ẏ he woul not stand to ẏ promise ẏ he made, for ẏ he was variable & incōstāt. In ẏ meane tyme therle of Warwike was very heuie & sore moued ẇ ẏ lord marques, because he would neither kepe the kyng from Yorke as he was bed, nor yet when thei came before his nose, would not proffer theim ones to fight; & therfore cōsideryng ẏ his enemies multiplied more & more, in his gooyng towardes hym made an hoost, & sent for ẏ duke of Clarence to come to hym, then hauyng an hoost at London; whō whē he perceiued to linger, & as a man doubtyng whether he should kepe battaill or peace, to haue no mind of settyng forth his mē, mistrusting also ẏ he was by some traine allured to followe his brethren and take their partes, tooke his waye to Couētrie, to thende that there he might meete his enemies. Then Edward came to Warwike and from thens to the erle, and pitched his tentes[4] by hym, and the next daie after had battaill to therle, the whiche erle durst not come oute, for feare that the duke of Clarence whome he thought had deceiued hym; which duke in deede came, as it was shewed after, with a greate power of menne. The whiche when Edward perceaued, he made towardes hym; & that it should not bee thought to bee a made guyle, sette his hoost in araye as though he would fight, and so did the duke. But when thei came in sight, Richard duke of Gloucestre, as one that should take vp this matter, firste spake with the duke priuely in his eare, and then came to Edward, and did the same to hym; and at the laste peace was proclaimed, wherby euery manne puttyng doune their weapons, Edward[5] & his brethrē embraced louyngly one an other. After this Edward[5] made it bee proclaimed that ẏ duke with all theim that came with hym should bee perpetuall frendes, & that thei three should loue like thre brethren as thei wer in brotherly loue for euer. Neuerthelesse God dooeth not seme to haue forgiuē this Edward his offēce of periury, although euē nowe fortune fauored hym: for yet

[1] fortresse. *ed. alt.* [2] King Edward. *ed. alt.* [3] ioyne in one a gainst hym: he *ed. alt.*
[4] felde. *ed. alt.*

it were long he was again vexed ẅ werre, beside ẏ plage & distrucīō of his children after his death. When thei wer thus come together, thei minded to proue if ẏ erle wold come to theim also & hold ẅ theim; to whō ẏ duke of Clarēce sēt certain of his frendes, ẏ whiche first shuld excuse ẏ he had done, & thē desire hym if ẏ he would [to] bee at one with kyng Edward; whose mynde whē therle heard, he vtterly detested hym, & with muche cursyng cryed oute of hym ẏ he had, contrary to his feith & othe made, fled to kyng Edward: and to his cōmaūdemēt & biddyng ẏ he sēt, he made none other aunswer but this, that he had rather bee like hym self, thē like a false & periured duke: so ẏ he appointed vtterly neuer to leaue battaill before that either he wer killed and ded, or his enemies ouercomed. After this, Edward[1] hauyng suche a strong power of mēne, went boldely to London, wher after [that] it was knowen that the duke of Clarence had taken his parte, and that all the brethren were come in to one knot, the citezens were in suche [a] feare that thei could not tell what to dooe; but at the lengthe they were dryuen for feare to take kyng Edward his parte. At the same tyme there came letters from the earle to kyng Henry, to ẏ duke of Somerset, to ẏ archbyshop of Yorke, and other of the kyng his counsel, ẏ they should kepe the citee from their enemies handes for the space of. ij. or. iij. dayes, & he would come streyght with a great armye of mēne. They defended the citee as strongely as they coulde, but it was to no purpose: for ẏ citezens cōsyderyng ẏ kyng Henry was no greate warryer, and ẏ he had but small policie in the feates of thesame[2], and contrary wise that kyng Edwarde was a man that of hym selfe coulde rule a realme maruelous well, and suche a man that woulde not onelye preserue hym selfe and all his, but also defende theim from all maner of iniuryes and harmes that shoulde chaunce, thought best to leane on his syde. And at his commyng to London, the people coulde by no thretenyng or strayt cōmaundement be otherwyse kepte backe, but that they would mete hym then comyng, & salute hym altegether as kyng & ruler of the realme. At whose commynge in, the duke of Somerset and certayn other fled away, and made the beste shifte euery manne for hym selfe that he could to escape his hādes, sauyng that kyng Hēry taryed poste alone in the bishoppes paleyce besyde Powles, where standynge lyke a desperate manne, and not knowynge what to dooe, was taken of kyng Edward, and cast into pryson agayn in the towre.

Fol. xix.

This Edward came into London the. xi[3]. day of Apryll, halfe a yere after that he hadde sayled into Flaunders, and callyng his councel together, did highly commende the citezens for ẏ faythfulnesse that they bare to hym, and in especiall the aldermen, ẏ they caused the people to do their obeysaūce to hym, & also sharpelye rebuked other of the cytie whom he knewe to haue lent monye to kyng Henry, and for ẏ cause woulde haue made

[1] the kyng. *ed. alt.* [2] chivalrie. *ed. alt.* [3] ix. *ed. alt.*

theim

theim paye mony to the preparyng of an hoste for hym; but at the last he bad theim bee without all feare, promysyng theim their pardon & safetie of life: thorowe the whiche gentlenesse he gatte the fauoure of the cōmen people wonderfully. The erle considerynge that battayll should be shortelye, folowed his enemyes in great haste, to the entente that yf his enemies had any stoppe or lette by ŷ waye, he myght fight & buckel with theim before they came to Lōdō. But now after that he had pursued theim long, and came a good waye of his iourney, worde was brought ŷ Edwarde[1] had gottē London, & imprisoned the kyng. The erle then perceauyng that the victorie & ende of fightyng should be tryed in this one batayle, rested at Saynt Albones, partely to refreshe his men, and partely to take some counsayl. In this hoste there was the duke of Excester, the erle of Oxenforde, the duke of Somerset, and the lorde Mountacute marques, brother to the earle[2], whom the earle perceaued to bee very vnwyllyng to fight, and that agaynst kyng Edward, and therfore he had no trust to hym; yet the loue ŷ[3] betwixte brother and brother diminished the suspicion: but whatsoeuer he thought eyther of hym or of other, he hymselfe was euer out of feare and daunger, and so came from Saynt Albones to a toune that is halfe waye betwyxte London and that, aboute a tenne myle frome London, called Barnet, and this tonne standeth on a hyll wh re there *Fol. xx.* is a goodlye playne, and here the earle entended to pitche his battayle. And Edward hearyng of this, prepared his armye, and adioyn d a greate power of young menne to theim, and so with bowes, bylles, speares, and arowes, and all maner instrumentes apperteynyng to warre, he had so furnysshed his menne, that he thought to make riddaūce of theim at that tyme for all, and fynishe battayle that was so longe holden: and so came with this his armye to mete his enemies. And that he might bee the redier to fight with theim wheresoeuer he mette theim, he had foure wynges that they could escape hym at no hand. And he brought with hym to battayle also Henry then prisoner, to the entente that his aduersaries might bee the more discouraged at the sight of hym, or els, if fortune fauoured hym not, he might neuerthelesse bee saued by him. After [the] noone he pytched his tentes at the forenamed Barnet nighe to hys enemyes; but that he myghte not fyghte that daye, he defended hys tentes veraye strongelye, for the longer he taryed the better it was, by reason of the daylye concourse of noble men and commen people to hym, and the woorse for the earle, for that he was farre from his frendes.

There they lodged that night, and by breake of day ŷ earle of Warwike begā to araye his armye of this sorte. Fyrste the lorde marques and the earle of Oxenforde was set on the lefte syde wyth certayn horssemen, and he hymselfe with the duke of Exceter on the ryght syde; in the myddeste

[1] kyng Edward. *ed. alt.* [2] *The other edition adds,* Which came to the erle by his letters for his excuse. [3] that was. *ed. alt.*

betwixte

betwixte theim bothe he setteth the duke of Somerset with all the archers. And thus araiyng theim to this battayl, beganne to exhorte theim that thei would fight lustely and lyke hardye menne, reuengyng the quarell of their countree, for that he had moste falsely possessed ỹ croune. In like maner did kyng Edward, whiche after that he had set theim in ordre, encouraged theim to fight lykewyse, and to remembre that thei inuaded rebelles, traytours, and sedicious persons, whiche entended nothynge but the vtter destruccion and losse of theyr countree. When daye came, the trompettes beganne to blowe on bothe sydes, as the tokens and signes of the battayle. And firste the bowe men shot, & then drawynge nere tryed it with sweorde. Edwarde trustyng thorowe the multitude of his mē to haue the better hād, did stāde stiffely to theim, enbouldenyng his souldiours in all that he coulde, whose power the erle moste manfully resisted. And so by long cōtinuaunce of battail, many men wer slayne, in whose places succeded euer fresher & fresher. At the length the erle perceauyng his mē to bee ouerthrowen by the kyng his great power, drewe nigh with his foreward, & constreyned the kyng to geue backe a litle. Then Edward[1], seeyng that, brought freshe men to aide ỹ other, so that thother mē wer beten downe very sore to ỹ groūde; and Edwarde[1] beeyng werye of this longe fyghtynge, (for they fought from mornyng to none,) caused theim that wer without the battayl, then standyng for the defēce of Edward[2], yf such nede should be, to fall vpō their enemies, & beare theim downe w̄ their great power. The erle then seyng freshe mē to come vpō theim, was nothing afeard, but trusting & loking surely for the victorye, dyd comforte & encourage his menne, then almoste discomfited, moost manfully, desiring theim to beare oute this laste brunt lustely, and the victorie should redounde to theim: but they being weryed with longe continuaunce, were nothing moued at his wordes. Then he him self moste valiauntly came among the myddest of his enemyes, and there kylled and slewe many of theim, where he hym selfe at the laste was striken downe, and his brother lorde marques then folowing hym; after whose deathe all the other fled, & so were taken moste parte of theim. And this was the ende of the earle, whose stoutenesse of stomack made hym bee in lyke peryll and ieopardye at many other times, at dyuerse and sundrye suche conflictes and warres. There was killed of both partes more then ten thousande menne, and so many taken prisoners that they could not be noumbred. The duke of Somerset and the earle of Oxforde, entendyng to take their waye to Scotlande, dyd chaunge their mindes, bicause it was so farre frō theim, and fledde streight to Wales to [the earle][3] of Penbrucke: and so euery man to saue their liues fledde, some one way, and some an other. The erle of Exeter skaping very hardely, tooke the sentuarye at Westminster, and there remayned. When Edward had gotte

Fol. xxi.

[The earle of Warwike slain.]

[1] kyng Edward. *ed. alt.* [2] the kyng. *ed. alt* [3] Iasper earle. *ed. alt.*

this

this victorye, he went to London after the moost triumphyng fassion, hauyng Henry with hym as prisoner. The deed corps also of the earle and the lorde marques were brought to Poules, and there laye for the space of. ii. dayes, that euery manne might see theim to bee deed, and that no man after, fainyng ẏ he was aliue, myght sowe sedicion againe in reuenging his quarel. Yet the kyng was not so glad at ẏ death of therle, but he was as sory for the losse & destruccion of ẏ lord marques, whome he dyd esteme and take for his great frende. After this, quene Margaret hearing ẏ Edward[1] was come into Englande, & had done much hurte in ẏ realme, purposed to come into England, & her soonne also prince Edward, ẅ a great armye of chosen & picked Frenchmen, & so to land at Waimouth; but for ẏ greate tempest ẏ was on the see, she could not come so soone as she woulde: but after she had landed, & heard that kyng Edward had conquered all, & her husband to be takē prisoner, as destitute of all his frendes, and that ẏ erle with his brother lord marques was slaine in felde, and all their army discomfyted and slayne & putte to flight, she began like a piteful & desperate ladye to mourne and lament the fate & calamitee of her husband, ẏ whiche she did nowe see to haue chaūsed, and sowith this great feare & agonie she was in that case that she had rather dye then lyue. The quene mighte haue thought ẏ this euell had chaunsed to her for the putting to death of ẏ duke of Gloucestre, of whose deathe, althoughe peraduēture she was not giltie, yet she offēnded in that she dyd not saue suche a good man: for yf he had liued and had the dominion of the publike weale, king Henry had neuer been in suche trouble. But nowe (to leaue of this) ẏ quene despering bothe of her owne life & her sōnes also, went therby to a monastery of the Charterhouse monkes at a place called Bewe lieu, in Englishe called Faire place, & ther taking sentuarie, remained *Fol. xxii* with her soonne. And when it was knowen that she was there in sentuarie, there came to her the duke of Somerset, & his brother the erle of Deuonshire, whiche man euen frome the beginnyng had taken the other parte, whose returning after redounded to his euell and destruccion; also the erle of Penbroke[2], Ihon Wenlocke[3], & Ihon Longstrother, [capytaines and rulers of the Rhodes.][4] The quene being in sorowe & miserye, was somwhat comforted at the sighte of her frendes, ẅ whome she talked and shewed the cause ẏ she came no rather, desiryng theim to prouyde for the safegard of her soonne, & to helpe her nowe, and ẏ she would, if the wether serued, goo to Fraunce againe, and bryng ẅ her, God willing, at a more better & mature time, a greater power of mē. The duke began to putte her in good comforte, & would in any wise ẏ she should set her mind whole vpon batail, & nowe to fight against Edward[1] whē he was bothe vnprepared, & also not furnyshed of men ẏ were hable to fight, considering ẏ great batell

[1] kyng Edward. *ed. alt.* [2] lorde Iasper. *ed. alt.* [3] lord Wenlocke. *ed. alt.* [4] lord of Sainte Ihones. *ed. alt.*

that he had ẏ therle of Warwike, in ẏ which his men were sore hurted & weryed all together, & ẏ it myght be their chaũce now to haue ẏ better of hym, although he discõfyted therle & his hoste; for because ẏ victorie turneth oftentymes from one to an other in a momẽt & short space. Furthermore he shewed her ẏ the most part of ẏ nobilyte bare theyr good mindes & hertes to kyng Henry, & if so bee ẏ she would bee a capitaine, as she had bene in tyme passed, he promised her a great army of his owne costes and charges, and that he woulde make other noble menne to take her parte, and defende her at all times. The quene mistrusting and fearing yet muche of her owne soonne, aunswered & saied that she allowed his counsell well, yf so that she only might bee in daunger, and not her sonne; and therfore fearing that when they fought most earnestly for their countree, her soonne might bee destroied or caste awaye, she thought best either to putte of and differre the battayl to an other time, or elles to sende her soonne into Fraunce, & there to bee kepte vnto suche tyme ẏ they had some better successe in their warres. And truely the mother was not withoute a cause so louing to her chylde; for that her [owne] husbande was a prisoner and a captiue persone, and therfore as one caste awaye, so that nexte after hym she loued mooste tenderly this her soonne. Also that they might goo ẏ more wisely aboute their entente, the quene counsayled theim all to laye their heedes together, and caste all the waies howe to conuey their businesse, and then yf they would fight she promised theim both her helpe and good councell. Then the erle[1] saied it was no nede to waste any more wordes, for he & all they woulde fight stoutely agaynste their enemies, and therfore they woulde doo that with all their might and power that they had determined and apointed vpon. So they all gathered their armye, euery manne for his parte oute of his owne countree & shire. The quene brought now in good hope of warre, saied "wel be it," & streight went by ẏ councell of ẏ duke to Bathe, looking and tarieng there for the armye; but to what place so euer she went, she would be aknowen to none, to thentent ẏ her aduersaries might not knowe vnto
Fol. xxiii. such time that she came wher she woulde bee. Edward hearyng that the quene was come, and that the duke of Somerset had prepared an hoost to ayde her, sente certayne spies to viewe of what number the armye was; and when they had shewed hym the nomber, (but yet not knowyng whether they wold goo,) the kyng apoynted to mete them before they came to London. And gathering his armie went to Oxforde shyre, and there pytched hys tentes at Abyngton, encreasinge hys nomber and army as much as he could; but perceauyng that they wer at Bathe, and there taryed purposely to multyply and enlarge their company, came to Malebrydge, xv. myles frome Bathe, & so hasted to come to thẽ before they

[1] the erle of Deuonshire. *ed. alt.*

did

did go to Wales, as he suspected, whether in dede thei entended, to the erle of Penbruck[1], hauyng theyr a great bonde of men. From which toune of Bathe the quene fled, and frome thence to Brystowe; and wyllinge to goo by Glouceter, sent spyes before to knowe yf she myght haue passage: to whome aunswere was broughte that she coulde not, nor that thei of the towne would by anye meanes geue her place. She hearynge of that went from Bristowe to Teukisbury; and ther the duke pytched hys battayle agaynst the wyll and aduise of many other captaynes, whych counsayled hym to tarye the erle of Penbruches comyng. Where Edwarde[2] dyd take the quene, and kylled or at the least imprysoned euery one almoost that came with her. And of the nobilitee there was killed the earle of Deuonshyre, Iohn Wenlock captayn of the Rhodes, and the brother of the duke of Somerset, wyth manye other moo; and taken prysoners the quene Margaret & her sōnne prince Edward, ỹ duke of Somerset, ỹ lord of S. Ihons, & more then. xx. knyghtes besyde thē: and all these wer behedded. ii. dayes after in ỹ selfe same towne, sauyng only the quene Margaret and her soonne Edwarde. Shortelye after prynce Edwarde was brought before the kyng, and there asked wherfor he did inuade hys realme? which answered boldly and sayde, "To recouer my kyngedome as heritage by my forefathers and progenie, dew to me." At the which wordes Edwarde sayde nothyng, but thrustyng hym from hys syght wyth hys hande, who the duke of Clarence and Glouceter and ỹ lorde Hastynges dyd kyll mooste cruelly at hys departyng. Hys mother the quene was caryed to London prysoner, and frō thence, raunsomed, was had to Fraunce, where she lyued in perpetuall sorowe and care, not so much for her selfe, or her husband, as for her onely sonne Edwarde, whome both she and Henry her husband trusted should lyue and possesse ỹ croune. When kinge Edward had thus ouercome them, he went to London, and ther for iii. dayes caused procession to bee through euerye place after the moost solempne and deuoute fassyon. And here was the last ciuile battaile that this king kept, which was the yere of our Lord. M. iiii. C.lxxx. and. xi[3].

After that kynge Edwarde was returned backe after the subduynge of hys rebelles, one Fauconbrydge, the earle of Kente hys basterde, a stoute harted manne, beynge admyrall of the sea, that none shoulde passe betwixte Calysse and Douer to ayde or socoure kynge Edwarde, by the appoyntemente of the earle of Warwyke, then after dryuen to nede and *Fol. x iii.* pouertee, beganne to bee a pyrate and rouer in the seea: in so much that he had throughe hys robberye and shamefull spoylynge gotte vnto hym a greate nauye of shyppes, and at the laste landed in Kente; and there getting to hym a greate multitude of Kentyshemenne, wyth the assistence

[1] *The other edition adds,* vncle to therle of Richemonde. [2] kyng Edwarde. *ed. alt.* [3] [1471?]

of theim and hys ryotouse compaignye of shyppemenne, came to London, and sayde wyth a lowde voyce, they woulde defende kynge Henrye and restore hym to hys crowne. But the people and cytezyns of London perceauyng that quene Margarete was ouercome in battayle, woulde geue theim no passage; but wyth greate myghte and vyolence enforsed Fawconbrydge[1] to geue backe, and to take shyppe, and kylled and toke prysoners the better parte of his menne. Shortely after the same Fauconbridge landing vnware at Southampton, was taken and behedded. But to speake of the[2] earle of Penbrucke; whē he had knowne that the quene was taken at Tewkesburye, where she had waged battayle, then goynge of hys waye to her, turned backe agayne to Chepstey[3], and there lamentyng greatly both his owne chaunce, & also the euell fortune ẏ kinge Hēry had, dyd breath alitle & deliberate ẇ him selfe what wer best to be done. In the meane time king Edward sēt one Roger Vaughā to take ẏ erle by some train or guile; but the erle certified of it, did take ẏ self same mā & hedded hī: so ẏ he was killed ẏ intended to kyll. From that place ẏ erle went to his toune, Pēbrucke, wher he was besiged of Thomas Morgan then sēt frō the king, that he could get oute by no meanes; but on the eyght daye one Dauid, the brother of the forsayde Morgane, his moost assured frende, conueyed him awaye, which then went to a toune by the sea syde called Tinby, and there takynge shyppe into Fraunce wyth the lorde Henrye his nephewe, by the earle of Rychemonde his brother, [by chaunce][4] came to Britaine, and there, shewing the duke the cause of hys comminge, committed him selfe wholy into his handes. The duke entertayned the earle and all his company after ẏ most best maner that he could, & made of theim as though they had bene hys brethren, promysing to theim sure passeporte & saueconduite ouer ani place that he had rule or gouernaunce of. Nowe kinge Edwarde, after that hys realme was pacified and these great tumultes apeaced, he tooke his iourny into Kente, and there setting his iustices, caused inquisicion and serche to be made of this busines and insurrection by ẏ basterd and his adherentes; for the which offence manye were put to death, and suffered execution moost sharply accordīg to their merites. And, not long after, to thentent ẏ king Edward myght bee out of al daūgers & assaultes of his enemies, Hēry[5] ẏ was depriued not lōg before of his crowne, was also spoiled of his life, ẏ is, was killed. And as the report & fame went, the duke of Glouceter was suspected to haue done ẏ dede, which sticked him ẇ a dagger. And when he was dead, his corps was brought vnreuerētly frō the towre through ẏ stretes of ẏ citee vnto Poules[6], & ther lay all ẏ daye, &

[The death of kyng Henry vi.]

[1] the basterde. *ed. alt.* [2] Iasper. *ed. alt.* [3] Chepstow. *ed. alt.* [4] and so by chaunce. *ed. alt.*
[5] kyng Henry. *ed. alt.* [6] *The other edition adds,* with bylles and glayves.

on

on the morow folowing conueyed & caried to ỹ abby or blak freres[1] at Chertessey, & ther was buried, and shortely after had to Wīdesore castell, *Fol. xxv.* & laied in ỹ newe chapell of. S. George in a solēpne toumbe. This Henry reigned. xxviii. yere[2], and after he had repossessed his kyngdome but halfe a yeare. He lyued vnto he was. lii. yeres of age, and had by his wife, quene Margaret, one soōne called Edward[3].

Nowe to the entent ỹ Edward the kyng might liue in quiet after this manne his death, he went aboute to serche all the rebelles, that thei might bee weeded out of the compaignie of menne as pernicious and vnprofitable to the publique weale. At what tyme he tooke tharchebishop of Yorke, brother to therle of Warwike, and sent hym prisoner to Guynes, wher he long remained in holde, but after dimissed, dyed shortely for thought and pensifulnes of mynde. [Also he attached][4] the erle of Oxenford, the whiche, from the ceason of Barnet felde, had holden sainct Michaelles Mounte[5], [&] by his cōmaundement was had to a castell beyond ỹ sea called Hant[6], wher he remained prisoner ỹ space of xii. yeares. Furthermore, vpō cōsideraciō ỹ no rebelles or traitours might haue any refuge to straūge coūtres, he had made a league w̄ the kyng of Scottes of peace & amitee to bee obserued & kepte for ỹ space of. xx. yeares. Yet he was not out of all feare: for ỹ therle[7] of Pēbruck & of Richemond wer with ỹ duke of Britain, wher thei had moost honorable intretainmēt, cōsideryng also ỹ the young erle of Richemōd would clayme ỹ croune ī tyme to come[9] he was in ỹ more feare: for ỹ whiche matter, he sent priuie ambassadours to ỹ duke, promisyng hym ỹ, if he would restore & deliuer vnto their hāde bothe therles, he should haue an ample & large porciō of monye for so dooyng: but ỹ duke, to make a short tale, would by no meanes deliuer theim out of his handes, but so kepte theim that thei neuer might bee in any daūger of their enemies through hym. Edward[10] therfore in this his thirtene yere of his reigne, whiche was the yere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred three score and thirteen, helde his parlyament at Westminster, wher first he caused all the statutes and actes of his, whiche wer abrogated by Henry the sixt. to stand and bee of good effecte; then the goodes of these traitours to be bestowed & gyuen abrode: also the banished menne ỹ fled as rebelles and false to their countree to bee brought in, & that if any grudge or euill will wer betwixt any one or other of the nobilite, that ther it should bee forgottē & turned to loue: & lastly, that certain mony should bee payed to the kyng towardes ỹ greate charges of his werre. When he had thus studied & determined to liue quietly & set his realme in good ordre, Charles ỹ duke of Burgoin sēt for aide to hym

[1] monkes. *ed. alt.* [2] xxxvij. yeres, vi. monethes and viii. daies. *ed. alt* [3] Edward whiche was slain at Tewkesbury. *ed. alt.* [4] And there also. *ed. alt.* [5] *The other edition adds*, Submitted hym self, his life only saued. [6] Hammes. *ed. alt.* [7] therles. *ed. alt* [8] mistrusted. *ed. alt* [9] *The other edition adds*, as next of blud to kyng Henry the sixt. [10] kyng Edward I. *ed. alt.*

againt

against Lewes ỹ Frēche kyng, so ỹ he could neuer bee at rest, but one thyng or other shuld disquiet hym, for he could not deny hym helpe, consideryng ỹ benefites ỹ he had receiued of hym at diuerse & sūdry tymes before ỹ, & ỹ he nowe fought against his dedly enemie, whiche aided the erle of Warwike bothe ẇ menne & mony to come against hym. Wherfore he assēblyng his coūsaill together, & shewyng theim the matter, sent woord to the duke ỹ he would kepe one piece or parte of a battail agaīst ỹ kyng; for in deede at ỹ same tyme there was mortall battaill betwixt
Fol. xxxii. the duke & Lewes ỹ kyng[1], & because that the same Lewes was a very harde manne & churlishe, & also hurtefull aswell to his frēdes as to his foes, many Frēchmen, abhorryng his cōdicions, did consent to hold with ỹ duke; and emong many other, one Lewes of Lucēburge[2] did apoinct ẇ the duke to dooe mischief to hym one waye or other: so ỹ the kyng was bothe in daūger of his owne coūtree menne, & also of the duke beyng a straūger. The duke shewed this to kyng Edward, ỹ he might the soner allure & entise hym to battaill. And vpō this, kyng Edward toke his voiage to Fraūce, takyng besides his tribute[3] ỹ he had, certain mony of ỹ lordes & commons of the realme, which thei of their owne gētlenes gaue vnto hym, to ỹ sustenaūce & maintenyng of his armie. And for ỹ the kyng called that tribute & leuiyng of mony beneuolēce, whiche neuerthelesse was giuen ẇ an eiuill will of many one, but he vsyng suche gētle fassions towardes theim, & praiyng theim so hartely of their assistaunce, ỹ thei could none other wise dooe but geue it hym. Whiche whē he had, he gathered his armie, whiche was. xx. M. & went to Caleys ỹ. iiii. daye of Iuly; whō Charles ỹ duke did mett, & reioysyng gretely at his victory did instantly desire hym that he would sticke stoutely to this battaill, ỹ he might haue of ỹ Frenche kyng ỹ he had lost by hym. But when Lewes ỹ kyng hard that Edward came ẇ his armie, he encreased the nombre of his people as muche as he could, & the more nigher the daunger that he was, the sooner & hastely he came vpon theim. And with this armie he sent foorthe Robert of Stoteuill, a noble capitain, to the coostes Atrebatium[4], to resyst the power of the Englishe menne, and the kyng hym self taryed at Siluanect, castyng ẇ hymself what waye he might make a league of peace betwixt ỹ duke & ỹ kyng of England & hym. Heryng therfore that ỹ king was gone [to Atrebates,][5] he sēt ambassodours to hym for peace, whose myndes when ỹ kyng had knowē, although he had foūd but litle frēdship at his hādes in tymes past, yet consideryng ỹ all his substaūce & treasure was wasted in ciuile battail, & that he was not hable to maintein a newe hoost if nede shuld be, nor yet vnneth sustein theim whom he had vnder his bāner, thought best euē for pure necessite to leane

[1] Frenche kyng. *ed. alt.* [2] erle of Sent Pole, and constable of Fraunce. *ed. alt.* [3] aide. *ed. alt.*
[4] of Amyas. *ed. alt.* [5] towarde Amyas. *ed. alt.*

to peace, & growe to atonemēt ẅ Lewes ẏ kyng[1]; the whiche thyng he might dooe also sauing his honour, cōsideryng ẏ bothe ẏ duke & [Robert of Lucēburge][2] aforenamed had not dooē accordyng to their promise: so ẏ, at the desire of ẏ ambassadours, he went to speake with the kyng at Pinquinake, a toune in [Ambiā shire, wher noble mēne dooe assēble together,][3] & there found ẏ kyng. [Thē bothe ẏ kynges][4] after due salutaciō, either to other had long communicaciō, & at the last a peace was cōfirmed & stablished for many yeres; for ẏ agremēt wherof ẏ Frēche kyng gaue vnto Edward[5], toward his charge & cost., lxxv. M. crounes, & from thēs forth yerely l. M. crounes. After ẏ truce[6] made & mony paid, kyng Edward wēt to Caleis & from thēs to Englād. In this battaill none was slain, sauyng onely ẏ duke of Exceter; ẏ whiche māne was in sētuary before, & cōmaunded to folowe ẏ kyng, was put to death[7] cōtrary to ẏ promise made. This was the yere of our Lord. M.CCCC. lxxv. frome that tyme foorth Lewes ẏ kyng payed duely his raunsome[8] to Edward, [vnto the laste yere before he dyed, at what tyme he denyed the paymente, as though he knewe before his laste dayes.][9] But the duke of Burgoyne and [Roberte of Lucenburgh,][10] after they had knowen that Edwarde had made a league wyth Lewes the kynge, they freted sore with hym, and wrote sharpe letters of thretenyng and tauntyng hym, saiyng, that he was the cause that they reuenged not theimselfes of [the kyng;][11] whose fyrye and thundryng wordes the kyng no more passed vpon then [of] the turnyng of his hād: and as for Lucenburgh[12] he was taken prysoner, and for his proude [and malicious writyng][13] behedded at Lutece[14]. Fol. xxvi.

Thus kyng Edward beyng in quietnes both in his countre and abrode also, although he mighte wel thynke hymself to lyue so perpetually, for ẏ he had been so great a conquerour, yet consideryng ẏ the erle of Richemōde was of nigh affinitee to Hēry the. vi. he was [not] out of feare & daunger. Therfore he thought ones to attempte the duke of Britayn agayn, with giftes, promyses & faire wordes, that he might haue ẏ erle, who he thought to rule as he would, after that his auncestrie[15] was geuen. The ambassadours came to the duke with a great substaunce of mony, & that their request might bee the honestier, they shewed the duke that they came to desire the erle of hym that he mighte marye the kynges doughter, so that by affinite al euil wyll & grudge might be forgotten, and sedicion vtterlye reiected, although they entended not so to cause al suche thynges to bee forgotten, but by the death & kyllyng of hym. The duke, after

[1] French kyng. *ed. alt.* [2] therle of S. Poule. *ed. alt.* [3] the territorie of Amyas. *ed. alt.* [4] Then both the kynges mette on a brydge with a grate betwene them, so yt one might se and speake with another and, &c. *ed. alt.* [5] kyng Edward. *ed. alt.* [6] peace. *ed. alt* [7] by drounyng, and cast ouer a shyp by sir Thomas Seut Lyger, whiche after maried his wyfe contrary, &c. [8] tribute. [9] vnto the same yere that he died. *ed. alt.* [10] therle of Saint Polle. *ed. alt.* [11] kyng Lewes. *ed. alt* [12] the constable. *ed. alt.* [13] malicious writyng and other treasons. *ed. alt.* [14] Paris. *ed. alt.* [15] answere. *ed. alt.*

longe

longe and muche denying theim, at the laste, thorowe muche entreatyng and also great rewardes that was brought, gaue the earle to theim, sendynge a letter to the kynge in prayse and commendation of hym, not thynkynge that he commytted the lambe to the woulfe, but the soonne to the father. The ambassadours was verye glad that they had got hym, and sayled[1] into Englande in all the haste they coulde; but the earle knowynge well that he wēt to hys death, for sorowe and care that he conceaued in hys mynde, was caste in an agewe. When he was goone, one Ihon Chenlet, suche a man as could not bee found agayne in al the countre, & in great fauour ẇ the duke, hearing of ẏ dede, being very sore moued therwith, wēt to the dukes place, & coming before his grace, stode lyke a man strykē with some sodeyn dysease, very pale & holding his head downe. The duke maruayling at hym, enquyred what the matter was. To whom he sayde, "O moost noble duke, my time is at hande, & thys palenes bētokeneth death without remidy. That I would God yt had come before this day, & then it should not haue greued me so much; and thys all cometh to me through a deed ẏ you haue done of late, which wil ether cause me to lose my life, or els to lyue in moost miserie & wretchednes as one wery of thys present lyfe. The noble actes ẏ you haue doone, moost noble prynce, haue enhaunsed your fame & glory to the fardest part of the world; but this one thing me thynke, (I praye you pardō me what I saye,) is a great blemyshe to your dygnitee, that, forgetting the promyse that you made so faythfully haue geuen the innocēt erle of Richmounte to be destroyed & pitefully killed emonge wretched knaues & hangmen. Wherfore they ẏ loue you, of whom I am one, cannot but lamente to see you dyshonored by this great fault of periury." Whē he had sayd, the duke answered, "Hold thy peace, man, I praye the, ther is no such harme shal chaunce to him; Edwarde the kinge woulde haue him to mary his daughter." Then sayd Iohn, "Beleue me, mooste excellente and redoubted prynce, this Henry is nowe almoste famyshed and loste, & yf he once goo out of your countree, he is but cast awaye and paste all recouerye." At these wordes ẏ duke was persuaded; through the whych he commāūded one Peter Lādoson[2], hys receauer, to take the same Henry frō the ambassadours. The sayd receauer pursued the Englyshe ambassadours to Maclonium[3], and there holdyng theim wyth long cōmunication, made him to be conueyed into a sētuary, whych was then almost ded through that feuer and thought whych he was caste in; and so, after that he was emended, broughte hym to the duke. The ambassadours then beyng spoiled and deceaued, both of theyr pread and mony that they brought, desyred ẏ same receauer that they might not goo home in that wyse; whyche receauer promised that he woulde eyther kepe

Fl. xxviii.

[1] prepared. *ed. alt.* [2] Landoys. *ed. alt.* [3] Saincte Malo. *ed. alt.*

hym

hym in sentuary, or eles cause hym to be imprisoned at the duke his place, so that they should neuer neede to feare hym.

In all thys tyme Edwarde[1] beynge desyreous to knowe what became of the earle, was enfourmed that he was taken prysoner, but after that escaped theyre handes, where at the kinge was verye angrye; but when he knewe that he should bee kepte in holde, was well pleased, & then dyd take no thought, and liued after, & that most welthy, sparing no expēses nor cost in kepyng his house. Neuertheles he dyd fall into one great offence in this time: for sodēly he cōmaunded his brother the duke of Clarence to be killed & drowned in an hogshhed[2] of malmesey; and the cause of hys death was, as men report, through a certaine prophecie, which sayd ẏ, after kyng Edwarde, one shuld reigne, whose name begā wyth a. G. which prophecye, some sayde, was completed & fulfilled when the duke of Glouceter, ẏ after hym had the kingdome, dyd reigne: some holdeth[3] another opinion of this his death, saiyng ẏ, at what time ẏ olde malice dyd breke out bewixt thē both, ẏ duke, through his sisters councel, woulde haue maried lady Mary, ẏ[4] duke of Burgoyn his only daughter, which mariage ẏ kyng did infringe & stoppe, as one enuiyng of his brothers felicitee or good chaunce[5]. After that they both beryng in theyr mindes mortall hatred, one of the sayde duke hys seruauntes was accused of wicheraft & charming, for which offence he was put to death. The duke, seyng ẏ, could not but speake & resist againste [the kyng his cōmaundement,][6] and therfore was committed to prison, & ther beyng was killed, and proclaimed after as a traytour to the kyng[7]; for whose death after ẏ the king was verye sory, and whan anye man had kneled to hym, and asked pardon for an offender, he would saye, "O infortunate brother, that noman would aske thy pardon."

And this duke had. ii. children, one, lady Margarete that was after maried to Richard Pole, & an other, Edward, whome the kyng made earle of Warwyke; but this childe folowyng the fate and destenie of his father, was after putte in prisone, & [there priuely][8] put to death. And these thinges were doone in the yere of oure Lorde a thousand foure hundreth and foure score, and the. xix[9]. yere of the reigne of kyng Edward; and two yeres then after folowing the kyng died: before ẏ whiche yeres he beganne to bee very harde and couetouse in getting monye, and also very diligent in marking & attaching his lordes that did offend[10]. In this time the kyng of Scottes willed his soone Iamy to be maried to the kynges doughter lady Cicile, which was the yonger, that should haue been maried to Charles the kyng his soonne of Fraunce; but it chaunced not, thorow

Fol. xxiii.

The. xx. yere

[1] kyng Edwarde. *ed. alt.* [2] but. *ed. alt.* [3] heble *ed. alt.* [4] Charles. *ed. alt.* [5] *The other edition adds,* For by that mariage he had bene duke of Burgoyne and earle of Flaunders. [6] that doyng as he thought mumous, and therefore, &c. [7] *The other edition adds,* and attainted by parliament. [8] after *ed. alt.* [9] [1479.] [10] *The other edition here adds.* But now he left that and fel to gentines.

Lewes the kyng that brake his promise bothe in geuing his seruice and payeng his raunsome[1], the laste yere of his reigne. Likewise the kyng of Scottes seing that Lewes the kyng was false of his promise, he thoughte he might bee so bolde too, and so breaking league of amite, sette vpon the Englishe men. At the which Edward[2] was sore vexed, and entended batayl against hym; yet after that he knewe ỹ it was not by his wyll, but thorowe the councell and euell disposed mindes of his lordes, woulde haue borne it in good worthe, had not kyng Iames owne brother[3] streight vpon that prouoked hym to fighte. Furthermore, suche was the nature of the Scottishe kyng, that, when he had sette his minde vpon a thing, no manne coulde turne hym; and because that no manne mighte reproue hym in any thing, he promoted laye people & menne of basse bloude to his counsell, putting to deathe or banishyng euermore the nobilitee. Emong whom this duke of Albanie his brother, consydering the condicyons of the king, fled to ỹ kyng of Englād, at what time he was sent into Fraūce, & ther counsailed ỹ kyng to fight against hym. The king willing to reuēge his olde iniuries, vpon many consideraciōs gathered, entēded no lesse by ỹ helpe of the saied duke of Albany then to kepe open warre, so ỹ he did send the duke of Gloucestre, ỹ erle of Northumberlād, syr Thomas Stanley, & this duke of Albany, ẅ a great power of men against ỹ Scottes. The king knowing of their cōming, went to Barwyke with his army to kepe theim from the borders; but perceiuing that he was not hable to resist their great power, fled backe in ỹ night to Edinbrough, & ther taryed for his enemies. And ỹ duke of Gloucestre folowing, burned and spoyled all the way; & when he was somewhat nighe his enemies, perceiuing also that none of the Scottishe lordes came to the duke of Albanye, mistrusted that some deceyte or crafte was wrought, & so laboured to haue peace, whiche gotten, he went backe to the castell of Barwike, that sir[4] Thomas Stanley had wonne a lytell before. And the duke of Albany, ỹ authoure of this warre, for ỹ he had but lytle thankes of England for his so dooing, fled into Fraunce, & there was kylled running at the tylte in Parys. After this businesse Edward[2] assembled his counsell together, & willed theim to prepare batayle againste the Frenche kyng, for that he had neyther payde nor woulde paye his raunsome[1], nor yet geue his soonne in mariage to his doughter, as he promised; to the setting forth of ỹ which batayl, certaine mony was exacted of the prestes & religiouse men to be payde. At the which time ỹ kyng was sodēly sickened, & shortly after died at Westminster, ỹ. ix. day of April, then being. l. yeres of age, & reigning xxiii. after the date of oure Lorde a. M. iiii. C.lxxx. and thre, whose corps was after conueyghed and had with great pompe and solempnitee to Windesore,

ed. xxx.

[1] tribute. *ed. alt.* [2] kyng Edward. *ed. alt.* [3] *The other editions adds here,* Alexander duke of Albany. [4] lord. *ed. alt.*

and there buried in saint George his chapell : whiche kyng had by his wyfe the quene ten children, & of theim lefte aliue behinde hym Edward prince of Wales, and Richard duke of Yorke, and one bastarde called Arthure, and fyue doughters, Elisabeth, Cicilie, Anne, Catherine, and Brigyde : whiche after were maryed all, sauyng that ladye Brigide was a nonne. This Edward was a goodly man of personage, of stature hyghe, of counte- naunce and beautee comely, of sight quicke, brode brested, and well sette in euery other parte conformable to his bodye, of a pregnant wytte, stomake stoute, & haulte courage, of perfect memori of such thinges as he conceaued in his braine, diligent in his affaires & weighti busines, in auentures bold and hardy, againe his aduersaries fearce & terryble, to his frendes liberal & bounteous, hauing in all his warres most prosperous & lucky succesſe, & eschewing[1] all pleasure & sensualitee, to ỹ which he was by nature most prone vnto ; for ỹ which cause, and for the lowlines and humanite ỹ is in hym ingendred by nature most plētifully, he bare him self honestly amōg his priuate persons otherwise thē the degre or dignite of his maieste required : wherfore the fame ranne that he was poysened[2]. A lytell before his death, it was saied that he gaue hym selfe to auarice, whiche before, as you see, vsed greate liberalytee ; yet[3] the realme whiche thorowe ciuile sedicyon was greatly impoueryshed, he made ryche and plenteouse at his death daye.

* The description of Edward the fourth.

Also he gaue spiritual promocions to the moste excellent and famous clerkes, and made theim of his councell ; other of the laye sorte whome he loued, he did not enriche with possessions, but with monye and other lyke goodes : the whiche many prynces, hauyng no respecte of the honoure, dooe not alwayes obserue. By the whiche suche giftes & rewardes he had so farre wonne the hartes of the people, that after his deathe many menne dyd lamente the losse of his grace.

¶ EDWARD THE FYFTH'.

Ed. xxxi

WHen Almightie God had called to his mercye the noble prince kyng Edwarde the fourth of that name, Edward his eldest sonne, prynce of Wales, began his reygne the. ix. daye of Aprill, in ỹ yere of oure Lorde a. M.CCCC.lxxxiij. and in the. xxij. yere of Lewes the. xi. then Frenche kyng Whiche younge prince reigned a smal space and lytle season ouer this realme, other in pleasure or libertee ; for his vncle, Richard duke of

[1] not eschewyng. *ed. alt* [2] *The other edition adds*, which was not trewe. [3] but *ed. alt.*
[4] kyng Edward the fifth. *ed. alt*

Gloceter, within. iij. monethes, deprined hym not only of his croune and regalytie, but also vnnaturally bereft hym his naturall life: and for the declaracion by what craftie engine he first attempted his vngracious purpose, & by what false colourable & vntrue allegaciōs he set forth openly his pretensed enterprise, & fynally by what shamefull, cruell, and detestable acte he perfourmed the same, ye muste fyrst consyder of whom he and his brother descended, there natures, condicions, & inclynacions, and thē you shall easely perceaue that there could not be a more crueller tyraunt appoynted to acheue a more abomynable enterpryse.

There father was Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, whiche began not by warre, but by lawe, to chalenge the croune of Englande; puttyng his clayme in the parliamēt holden ỹ. xxx. yere of kyng Henry the. vi., where ether for right or for fauoure his cause was so set forthe and anaunced, that the bloodde of the sayd kyng Henry, although he had a goodly sonne, was clerely abiected, and ỹ croune of the realme by autorytee of parliamente entayled to the duke of Yorke and his heyres after the discease of the sayd kyng Henrye the. vi. But the duke not entendyng so long to tary, but myndyng vnder the pretexte of discencion growen and arysen within the realme, and of couenauntes made in the parliament not kepte but broken, to preuēte the tyme and to take vpon hym the gouernaunce in kyng Henryes life, was by to muche hardynes slayne at the battayle of Wakefylde, leuynge behynde hym three sonnes, Edwarde, George & Richard. Al these three as they wer great estates of byrthe, so were they greate and statelye of stomake, gredy of autoritee, and impaciēt parteners of rule and authoritee. This Edward reuēged his fathers death, and deposed kyng Henry the. vi. and atteyned the croune and sceptre of this realme. George duke of Clarence was a goodlye and well feautured prince, in all thynges fortunate, yf ether his owne ambiciō had not set him against his brother, or thenuie of his enemies had not set his brother agaynst hym; for were it by the quene, or ỹ nobles of her bloode, which highly maligned the kynges kynred, (as women cōmenlye, not of malyce but of nature, hate suche as theyr husbandes loue,) or wer it aproude appetite of the duke hym selfe, entendyng to bee kyng, at the leaste wise, heynous treason was layde to his charge; and finally were he in faute, or were he fautelesse, attaynted was he by parliament, and iudged to deathe: and thereupon hastely drouned in a butte of malmesey, within ỹ towre of Londō. Whose death kyng Edward, although he commaunded it, when he wyste it was done, pyteouslye he bewayled and sorowfullye he repented it. Richard duke of Gloucestre, the. iij. sonne, of whiche I muste mooste entreate, was in witte and courage eguall with the other; but in beautee and lyniamentes of nature farre vnderneth both: for he was lytle of stature, euill feautered of lymmes, croke backed, the lift shulder much higher then the right, harde fauoured of vysage, suche as in estates is called a warlike vysage,

Fol. xxxii.

The descripciō of Richarde the tyrde.

vysage, and amonge commen persons a crabbed face. He was malycious, wrothfull and enuyous, and as it is reported, his mother the duches had much a dooe in her trauayle, ẏ she could not be delyuered of hym vncutte, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as men be borne outwarde, and as the fame ranne not vntothed: whether that men of hatred reported aboue the truthe, or ẏ nature chaunged his course in his begynnyng, which in his life many thynges vnnaturally cōmytted, this I leue to Goddes iudgemēt. He was none euell capitayn in warre, as to whiche his disposicion was more enclyned to then to peace. Sōdry victories he had & some ouerthrowes, but neuer for defaute in his owne person, either for lacke of hardynes or polytike order. Fre he was of his dispences, & somwhat aboue his power lyberall, ẅ large giftes he gatte hym vnstedfast frēdship; for whiche cause he was fayn to borowe, pil, & extorte in other places, which gat hym stedfast hatred. He was close & secrete, a depe dyssymuler, lowly of coūtenaūce, arrogāte of herte, outwardly famylyer where he inwardly hated, not lettyng to kysse whome he thought to kyll, dispiteous, and cruell, not alwaye for enyll wyll, but after for ambycion and to serue his purpose, frende & fooe wer all indifferent where his anaūtage grewe, he spared no mānes death whose lyfe with stode his purpose. He slewe in the towre kyng Henry the. vi. saiyng, "Nowe is there no heyre male of kyng Edward the thyrde, but we of the house of Yorke;" whiche murder was done without kynge Edwardes assent, whiche would haue appoynted that bocherlye office to some other rather then to his owne brother. Some wise mē also wene ẏ hys drift lacked not in helpyng forth his owne brother of Clarence to his death, whiche thyng in all apparaunce he resisted, although he inwardly mynded it; and the cause thereof was, as men notynge his doynges and procedynges did marke, because that he longe in kyng Edwardes tyme thought to opteyne the croune, in case that the kyng his brother whose life he loked that euyl dyet would sone shorten, should happē to disease, as he did in dede, his chyldrē beyng yoūg; and then, if ẏ duke of Clarence had lyued, his pretensed purpose had been farre hyndered: for yf the duke of Clarence had kept hym self true to his nephewe the yong kyng, or would haue take vpō him to be kyng, euery one of these castes had been a troumpe in the duke of Gloucesters waye. But when he was sure that hys brother of Clarence was dead, then he knewe that he might woorke without ieopardye. But of these poyntes there is certentie[a], and whosoeuer deuyneth or coiecureth maye as well shote to ferre as to shorte: but this cōiecture afterward toke place (as fewe dooe) as you shall perceaue here after. But afore I declare to you howe this Rychard duke of Gloucestre began his mischeuous imagened & pretenced enterprise as apparantly shalbe opened, I must a litle putte you in remēbraūce of a louyng and charitable acte no lesse profitable thē amiable to ẏ whole cōmynaltie (if it had been so *Fol. xxxvii.*

[a] no certentie. *ed. alt*

inwardely

inwardely thought as it was outwardly dissimuled) whiche kyng Edward did liyng on his deathe bedde not long before he dyed; for in his life, althoughe that the deuision emongest his frendes somewhat greued & yrked hym, yet in his helth he lesse regarded & tooke hede to it, by reason ẏ he thought ẏ he was hable in all thynges to rule bothe parties, were thei neuer so obstinate: but in his last sickenesse (whiche cōtinued longer then false & fantasticall tales haue vntruly & falsely surmised, as I my self that wrote this pamphlet truly knew,) whē he perceiued his natural strēgth was gone, & hoped litle of recouery by the artes of al his phicysyans, whiche he perceaued onely to prolong his life. Thē he began to consider the youth of his children, howe be it, he nothyng lesse mistrusted then that that happened; yet he wisely forseyng and consideryng that many harmes might ensue by ẏ debate of his nobles, while ẏ youth of his children should lacke discrecion and good counsaill of their frendes, (for he knew well that euery part would woorke for their owne cōmoditee, and rather by plesaunt aduise to wynne theim selfes fauour, thē by profitable aduertismēt to do ẏ childrē good;) wherfore, liyng on his death bed at Westminster, he called to hym suche lordes as thē wer aboute hym, whō he knewe to be at variaunce, in especiall the lord marques Dorset, soonne to the quene, & the lord Hastynges, against whō ẏ quene especially grudged for ẏ fauor ẏ the kyng bare hym, (& also she thought him familier ẇ the kyng in wāton cōpaignie,) hir kynne bare hym sore, aswel for ẏ ẏ kyng made hym capitain of Caleys, which office ẏ lord Riuers, brother to ẏ quene, claimed of ẏ kynges former promise, as of diuerse other giftes whiche he receaued ẏ thei loked for. And when these lordes, ẇ diuerse other of both parties, were come vnto ẏ kynges presens, he caused hymself to be raised vp ẇ pillous; & as I cā gesse saied thus or muche like in sētēce to theim:

The exhortacyō of kynge Edward made to hys lordes a lytle before he dyed.

"My lordes & my dere kynsmē & alies, in what plight I nowe lye you se & I perfectly[1] fele, by ẏ whiche I looke ẏ lesse while to liue ẇ you, therfore ẏ more depely I am moued to care in what case I leue you, for suche as I leue you, suche are my children like to fynd you, whiche if thei shuld fynd at variaūce (as God forbid) thei theim selfes might hap to fall at werre, or their discresiō wuld serue to set you at peace: you se their youth, of whiche I rekē the onely suerty to rest in your concord. For it suffiseth not all you to loue theim, if eche of you hate other, if thei wer mē, your feithfullnes might hap to suffice; but childhod must be mainteined by mēnes autorite, & slipper youth vnderprōpted ẇ elder coūsaill, whiche thei can neuer haue except you geue it, nor you geue it except you agre: for wher eche laboureth to breake that other maketh, & for hatred eche impugneth others coūsail, ther must nedes be a lōg tract, or any good cōclusiō can forward. And ferther, while eche partie laboreth to be chief

Fo. xxxiii.

[1] partely. *ed. alt.*

flaterer,

flaterer, adulaciō shall thē haue more place thē plain & feithfui aduise, of whiche must nedes ensue ỹ euill bringyng vp of ỹ prīce, whose mynd i tēder youth infecte shall redily fall to mischief & riot, & drawe doune this noble realme to ruyne. But if grace turne hym to wisdome, (whiche God sēd hym,) thē thei which by euill meanes pleased hym best, shall after fal farthest out of fauour: so ỹ at ỹ lēgth euell driftes driue to naught, & good plain wayes prosper & florishe. Great variaūce hath euer bē betwene you, not alwais for great causes. Some tyme a thyng right wel entēdid & miscōstrued, hath been turned to ỹ woorse: or a smal displeasure doeē to you, ether by your owne affeciō, ether by instigaciō of euill toēges, hath been sore agrauate: but this I wot well, you had neuer so great cause of hatred as you haue of loue, because we be men, & ỹ we be all Christē mē. This I will leaue to prechers to tell you, & yet I wot not whether any prechers wordes ought more to moue you, thē ỹ his gooyng by & by to ỹ place ỹ thei all preche of. But this shal I desire you to remēbre, ỹ the one part of you beyng of my blod, ỹ other of my alies, & eche of you ẇ other either of kynred or affinite, whiche is ỹ very spirituall affinitie & kynred in Christ as all partakers of ỹ sacamentes of Christes Churche, the weight of whiche cōsanguynite, if we did beare, as would to God we did, then should we more be moued to spirituall charite then to fleshly cōsanguinyte. Our Lord forbid ỹ you loue ỹ woorse together for ỹ self same cause ỹ you ought to loue ỹ better; & yet ỹ oftē happeneth, for no wher fynd we so dedly debate as emōgest theim whiche by nature & lawe moost ought to agre together. Suche a serpent is ambiciō, & desire of vayne glory & souereingtie, whiche emōgest estates when he is once entered he crepith foorth so ferre till ẇ deuision & varyaunce he turneth all to mischief: first longyng to bee next to ỹ best, afterward egall ẇ the beest, & at the last chief, & aboue ỹ beest. Of whiche immoderate appetite of woorship, & the debate & discencion ỹ grewe there by, what losse, what sorowe, what trouble hath ẇin these fewe yeres growen with in this realme, I praye God as well to forget, as we well remēbre, whiche thyng if I could aswell haue forsene, as I haue ẇ my more pane thē pleasure proued, by Goddes blessed lady, (ỹ was his commō othe,) I would neuer haue wonne the curtesyes of mennes knees with the losse of so many heddes: but sith thynges passed can not be called agayn, muche more ought we to bee ware by what occasion we haue taken so great hurte before, that we eftsones fall not into ỹ occasion again. Nowe bee these greues passed, and all is quiet, thanked bee God, & likely well to prosper in welthfull peace, vnder your cousins my children, if God send theim life, and you loue and cōcord: of whiche. ii. thynges ỹ lesse losse wer thei, by whō all though God did his pleasure, yet should this realme alwayes fynd kynges, & paraduētur as good kynges as thei. But if you emōgest your selfes, in a childes reigne, fall at debate, many a good manne shall innocently perishe, & happely

& happely he & you also, or it is long, fynd[1] peace & quiet again. Wherfore in these last woordes ỹ euer I looke to speake to you, I exhort and
Fol. xxxv. require you all, for the loue that you haue borne to me, and for ỹ loue that I haue borne to you, & for the loue ỹ our Lord bereth to vs all, frō this tyme forward all greues forgottē, eche of you loue other, which I verely trust you wyll, yf you any thyng regarde God, or your kynges affinitee, or kynred, this realme, your owne coūtre, or your owne suretie & wealthe." And there with al, the kyng for fayntnes no longer endurynge to syt vp, layde hym downe on his right side, his face toward theim; and ther was none presente ỹ could forbeare wepyng; but ỹ lordes cōfortynge hym ẇ as good woordes as thei could, & answeryng for ỹ tyme, as they thought should stande with his pleasure: and there in his presence (as by theyr wordes appeared) eche forgaue other, and ioyned theyr hādes together, when as it after appeared by theyr dedes there hartes were farre asōder. And so with in a fewe dayes thys noble prynce dysceased at Westmynster the. ix. daye of Apryll, in the yere of our Lorde a. M.CCCC. lxxxiii. after that he had reygned. xxii. yeres one moneth and. viii. dayes, & was ẇ great funeral pompe conueyed to Wyndsore, leuyng behynd hym. ii. soonnes, Edwarde the prynce, (of whom this story entreateth,) a chylde of xiii. yeres of age, Richarde duke of Yorke. ii. yeres yonger then the prince, and fiue doughters; Elizabeth which, by Goddes grace, was maryed to kyng Henry the. vii. and mother to kyng Hēry ỹ eyght, Cycile, not so fortunate as fayre, fyrst wedded to ỹ vycoūt Welles, after to one Kyne and lyued not in great wealth, Brydget professed her selfe a close nonne of Syon, Anne was maryed to lorde Thomas Hauwarde, after erle of Surrey, and duke of Northfolke, Katheryne ỹ yōgest doughter was maryed to lorde Willyā Courtney, sonne to ỹ earle of Deuōshire, which lōgtyme tossed in ether fortune, somtyme in welth after in aduersitee, tyl ỹ benignitee of her nephewe kyng Hērye ỹ. viii. brought her into a sure estate, accordyng to her degre & progeny. This kyng Edward was suche
The description of Edward ye fourth. a prince of gouernaunce and behaueour in the tyme of peace, (for in tyme of warre, eche must be others enemye,) ỹ ther was neuer any kyng in this realme, in attaynyng the crowne by warre and battayle, so hartely beloued with the more substaunce of his people, nor he hym selfe so specially fauoured in any parte of his life, as at ỹ tyme of his death; whiche fauoure and affeccion yet after his death, by the cruelte, myschefe, & trouble of the tempestous world that folowed, highlye towardes hym more encreased. At suche time as he died, the displeasure of those that bare hym grudge for kyng Henry ỹ. vi. sake, (whō he deposed,) was wel assuaged, & in effect quenched within ỹ space of. xxii. yeres, (which is a great part of a mans life,) and some wer reconsiled & growen into his

[1] to fynd. *ed. alt.*

fauour,

fauour, (of ẏ which he was neuer straũge,) when it was with true harte demaunded. He was goodly of personage & princely to beholde, of hert couragious, politike in councell, and in aduersitee nothyng abashed, in prosperitee rather ioyful then proude, in peace iuste & mercyfull, in warre sharpe and fearce, in the felde bold and hardie, & yet neuer thelesse no farther then reason and policie woulde aduenture; whose warres whosoeuer circumspectly & aduisedly considereth, he shal no lesse cõmend his wisdome & policie where he auoyded them, then his manhode where he vanquished theim. He was of visage full faced & louelie, of bodie mightie, stronge & cleane made, with ouer lyberall and wãtõ dyet he waxed somewhat corpulẽt & bourly, but neuerthelesse not vncomely. He was of youth greatly geuen to fleshely wantõnes, from ẏ which health of bodie in great prosperitee & fortune with out an especiall grace hardlye refrayneth. Thys faulte litle greued his people, for neyther coulde any one mannes pleasure stretche or extende to the displeasure of veraye many, nor a multitude bee greued by a priuate mannes fantesie or volupteousnesse, whẽ it was doẽ wout violẽce: and in his latter dayes he left al wild daliaũce & fel to grauitee, so ẏ he brought his realme into a wealthie & prosperous estate, al feare of outwarde enemies were clerely extinguished, & no warre was in hande, nor none toward, but suche as no mã looked for. The people wer toward their prince not in a cõstrayned feare, but in a true louyng and wylfull obedience emongest theimselfe, and ẏ commons wer in good peace. The lordes whome he knewe at variaunce, he in his death bed (as he thought) he brought to good concord, loue and amytee: and a lytle before his death, he left gatheryng of mony of his subiectes, whiche is the only thyng that draweth ẏ heartes of Englyshmẽ frõ their kynges & princes, nor nothyng he ether entreprysed nor toke in hãd, by ẏ which he shuld be dryuẽ thereunto. For his tribute out of Fraũce he had a litle before recouered & obteyned; and ẏ yere before he dyed he recouered the toune of Berwike against ẏ kyng of Scottes. And albeit ẏ all ẏ tyme of his reigne he was so benigne, courteous, and famylyer, that no parte of his vertues was estemed more thẽ those high humilitees: yet that condycion in thende of his last dayes decayed not, in the whiche many princes, by a longe cõtinued souereingtie, declyne to a pronde porte & behaueoure from theyr condicions accustomed at their begynnyng: yet lowlynes and gentlenes so farre forth in hym encreased, that the sõmer before he died, he beyng at the Haueryng at the Bowre, sente for the mayre and aldermenne of London thyther only to hunte and make pastyme, where he made theim not so hartie but so famylyer and frendlye chere, and sent also to theyr wyues suche plentie of venyson, that no one thyng in many dayes before gatte hym eyther mo heartes or more hartie fauoure emongest the commen people, whiche often tymes more esteme and take for greate kyndnes a lytle courtesye, then a greate profyte or benefyte. And so this noble

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prynce deceassed, as you haue hearde in that tyme when his lyfe was mooste desyred, & whē his people moste desyred to kepe hym. Whiche loue of his people & their entiere affeccīō towarde hym, had bene to his noble chyldren (hauyng in theim selfes also as many gyftes of nature, as many princely vertues, as much good towardnesse as their age coulde receaue,) a meruelous fortresse and a sure armoure, yf the deuysion and dissencion of their frendes had not vnarmed them & left them destitute, & the execrable desyre of souereingtie prouoked him to their destrucciō, which, if either kynd or kyndnesse had holdē place, muste nedes haue beē their chiefe defence. For Richarde duke of Glouceter, by nature their
Fol. xxxvii. vncle, by office their protectoure, to their father greatly beholden, and to theim by othe and allegeaunce bounden, all the bandes broken and violated that bynde manne and manne together, withoute anye respecte of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contryued to bereaue theim not onely of their dignytee and prehemynence, but also of their natural lyues and worldely felicytee.

And fyrste to shewe you that by coniecture he pretended this thing in his brothers lyfe, ye shall vnderstande for a trueth that the same nyght that king Edward died, one called Mistelbrooke, long ere the daye sprange, came to the house of one Potier dwelling in Redcrosse strete without Creple gate of London, and when he was with hastie rapping quickely let in, ŷ saied Mistelbrooke shewed vnto Potier that kyng Edward was ŷ nighte deceased: "by my trueth," quoth Potier, "then wil my master the duke of Gloucetre be kyng, and that I warrāt the." What cause he had so to thinke, harde it is to say, whether he being his seruaūt knewe any such thing prepensed, or otherwise had any inkling therof; but of all likelihode he spake it not of naughte.

But nowe to retourne to the trewe history, wer it that the duke of Gloucetre had of olde sore practised this conclusyon, or was before tyme moued therunto and put in hope by the tender age of the young princes his nephewes, as oportunitee and likely of spede putteth a manne in courage of that that he neuer entended, certen it is, that he being in the Northe partyes for the good gouernaunce of the countrey, being aduertised of his brothers deathe, contriued the destruccion of his nephewes with ŷ vsurpacion of the roiall dignitee & croune; and for asmuche as he well wyste, and had holpe to maynteine, a long continued grudge and harte burnynge betwene the quenes kynred and the kynges bloodde, (either parte enuiyng others authorytee,) he nowe thought (as it was in dede) a fertherly beginning to the pursute of his entent, and a sure grounde & situacion of his vnnaturall building, if he might, vnder the pretence of remēbring of olde dyspleasures, abuse the ignorannce & angre of the one partie to the destruccion of ŷ other, and then to wynne to his purpose as many as he coulde, and suche as coulde not bee wonne might bee loste, or they looked

looked therfore. But of one thing he was certaine, that if his intent wer once perceaued, he should haue made peace betwene both parties with his owne bloodde; but all his intente he kept secrete tyll he knewe his frendes, of ẏ whiche Henry the duke of Buckingham was the fyrste ẏ sent to hym after his brothers deathe a trusty seruaunt of his called Persall', to the cytee of Yorke, where the duke of Gloucetre kepte the kyng his brothers funeralles. This Persall' came to Iohn Ward, a secrete chaumberer to the duke of Gloucetre, desiryng that he in close and couerte manier might speake with the duke his maister: wherupō in the deed of the nyght the duke sente for Persall', (all other beyng aduoyded,) whiche shewed to the duke of Gloucetre that the duke of Buckingham his maister in this newe worlde would take suche parte as he woulde, & woulde farther wayte vpon hym with a. M. good fellowes ẏf nede were. The duke sent backe ẏ messanger with great thankes, and diuerse preuey instruccions by mouthe, *Fol. cxxxiii.* which Persall' did somuche by his trauaile that he came to thè duke of Buckyngham his maister into the marches of Wales, & eftsones with newe instruccions met with the duke of Gloucetre at Notingham, whiche was come oute of the Northcoūtrey with many knightes & gentylmenne to the noumbre of. vi. C. horse & more, in his iourney towarde London. And after secrete meting and cōmunicacion had betwene hym & the duke of Gloucetre, he retourned with suche spede ẏ he brought the duke of Buckingham his master to mete ẁ the duke of Gloucetre not farre from Northampton with. iii. C. horsses; & so they twoo came together to Northampton, where they fyrst beganne their vnhappy enterprice: and so the duke of Buckingham contynued stil ẁ the duke of Gloucetre till he was crouned kyng, as ye shall plainly perceaue hereafter.

The younge kyng at the deathe of his father kepte housholde at Ludlowe, for his father had sente hym thyther for iustice to bee doone in the marches of Wales, to the ende that, by the authoritee of his presence, the wylde Welshemenne and euell dysposed personnes shoulde refraine frome their accustomed murthers and outerages. The gouernaunce of this younge prynce was cōmitted to lorde Anthony Wooduile, earle Riuers, & lorde Scales, brother to the quene, a wise, hardye and honourable personage, as valyaunte of hande as pollitick of counsell, and with him were assocyate other of the same partye; and in effecte euery one as he was nere of kinne vnto the quene, so was he planted nexte aboute the prynce.

That dryfte by the quene semed to bee deuysed whereby her bloodde myghte of ryghte in tender youth bee so planted in the prynces fauoure, that afterwarde it shoulde hardely bee eradicated oute of the same.

The duke of Gloucetre turned all this to their distruccion, and vpon that grounde sette the foundacion of his vnhappy building. For whome soeuer

[1] Persiual. *ed. alt.*

he perceaued to bee at varyaunce with theim, or to beare toward hym self any fauoure, he brake vnto theim, some by mouthe, some by writing, and secrete messengers, that it was neither reason nor yet to bee suffered that the younge kyng their maister and kinsmanne should bee in the handes and custody of his mothers kinrede, sequestred in maner frome their company & attendaunce, of which euery one ought hym as faithfull seruice as they, and many of theim of farre more honorable parte of kynne then his mothers syde, "whose bloodde," quoth the duke of Gloucetre, "sauyng the kynges pleasure, was farre vnmete to bee matched with his[1]; whiche nowe to bee remoued frome the kyng, and the least noble to bee lefte aboute hym is," quoth he, "neyther honourable to his maiestie nor to vs, & also to hym lesse suretye, to haue the noblest and mightiest of his frendes frome hym, and to vs all no lytle ieopardye to suffer, and specially oure well proued euel willers to growe [in too][2] too greate authorytee ẇ the king in youth, namely, whiche is light of belefe and soone perswaded. Ye remembre that kyng Edward hym self, albeit he was both of age and discrecion, yet was he ruled in many thinges by ẏ bende more then stoode either ẇ his honoure or oure profyte, or wyth the commoditee of anye manne elles, excepte onely the immoderate aduaūcemente of theim selues, whiche whether they thristed[3] sore after theyr owne wele or no, it were harde I-thynke to gesse. And yf some folkes frendshype had not holden better place wyth the kynge then anye respecte of kynred, they myghte (paraduenture) easely haue trapped and brought to confusyon some of vs or thys, & why not as easly as they haue done some other or thys as nere of the blood royall: but oure Lorde hathe wroughte hys wyll, and thanked be hys grace that perell is past. How beit as greate is growing if we suffer this young kynge in his enemyes handes, whyche wythoute his wyttinge myghte abuse the name of hys commaundemente to any of our vndoing, which thynges God & good prouysion forbyd, of whych good prouysion none of vs hathe any thynge the lesse nede for the late attonemente made, in which the kynges pleasure had more place then the parties heartes or willes, nor none of vs is so vnwise ouersone to truste a newe frende made of an olde fooe, or to thynke that anye onely kyndenes so sodenly contracted in an houre, contynued scantlye yet a fortnyght, shoulde be deper set in our stomackes then a longe accustomed malice many yeres rooted."

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With these perswasions and wrytinges, ẏ duke of Glouceter set a fyre theim whiche wer easye to kindle, &, in especyall, twayne, Henry duke of Buckyngham and Wyllyam lorde Hastynges and lorde chamberlayn, both menne of honour and of great power, the one by lōg successiō from his aunceters, the other by hys offyces and the kynges fauoure. These two not bearynge eache to other so muche loue as hatred both to the quenes

[1] us. *ed. alt.* [2] into. *ed. alt.* [3] trusted. *ed. alt.*

bloodde,

bloodde, accorded together with the duke of Glouceter that they would remoue frome the kyng all his mothers frēdes, vnder the name of theyr enemyes.

Wherupon the duke of Glouceter beynge aduertysed that the lordes about the kyng entended to brynge him to London to hys coronation, accōpanyed wyth such a nomber of theyr frendes that it shoulde be harde for hym to bryng hys purpose to passe wythoute the assemblinge and gathering of people and in maner of open warre; wherof the ende he wyst was doubtefull, and in the whyche, the kynge beynge on the other syde, he shoulde haue the name and face of rebellion.

He secretelye, therefore, by dyuers meanes, caused the quene to be perswaded that it was nether nede and shoulde also bee ieopardeous the kinge to come vp so stronge; for as nowe, euery lorde loued other and none other thynge studyed for, but the tryumphe of his coronation and honoure of ẏ kyng. And the lordes aboute the kyng should assēble in the kinges name much people, they shuld geue the lordes betwyxte whome and theim there had bene some tyme debate, [to feare]' and suspecte leaste they shoulde gather thys people, not for the kynges sauegarde, whom no man impugned, but for theyr destruccyon, hauynge more regarde to theyr olde varyaunce then to theyr newe attonemente: for the whyche cause they on the other part myght assemble men also for theyr defence, whose powres *Fol. xl.* she wyste well farre stretched, and thus should al the realme fall in a roare: and of the mischiefe that thereof shoulde ensue, (whiche was lykly to be not a lytle,) the most harme was lyke to fal where she leaste woulde, and then all the worlde woulde put her and her kynred in the blame, saiynge that they had vnwyselye and vntruely broken the amytie and peace whyche the kynge her husbande had so prudently made betwene her kinred & hys, whyche amytee hys kinne had alwaies obserued.

The quene, beyng thus p.rswaded, sente worde to the kynge and to her brother, that there was no eause ner nede to assemble anye people; and also the duke of Glouceter, and other lordes of his bēd, wrot vnto the kinge so reuerently, and to the quenes frendes there so louyngely, that they nothing earthlye mystrustyng, broughte the young kyng toward London ẁ a sober compaignie in greate hast, (but not in good spede,) til he came to Northāpton, and frō thēce he remoued to Stony Stratford; on whyche daye the two dukes and theyr bende came to Northampton, faynynge that Stonye Stratforde coulde not lodge theim all, where they founde the earle Ryuers, entendynge the nexte mornynge to haue folowed the kynge, and to bee wyth hym earely in the mornyng. So that nyght the dukes made to the earle Riuers frendly chere; but assone as they were departed verye famylier wyth greate curtesie in opē syghte, and the erle Riuers

[1] an occasion to feare. *ed. alt.*

lodg[illegible]d

lodged, the. ii. dukes, with a few of theyr pryuye frendes, fell to councell, wherein they spente a greate part of the nyght; and in the dawning of the daye they sente about pryuely to ther seruauntes in theyr lodgynges to haste to horsebacke, for theyr lordes were in manerredy to ryde: wheruppon all theyr seruauntes were ready or the lorde Ryuers seruauntes wer awake. Nowe had the dukes taken the keyes of the ynne in to theyr possession, so that none shoulde yssue oute wythout their concente. And ouer thys, in the hygh way toward Stony Stratforde, they set certaine of theyr folkes that shoulde cause and compell to retourne again all persons that were passinge frome Nōrthampton to Stony Stratforde, sayinge that the dukes theim selfes woulde be the fyrst that should come to the kynge from Northampton, thus they bare folkes in hande. But when the earle Ryuers vnderstode the gates closed, and the wayes on euery syde beset, nether hys seruauntes nether hym self suffered to goo oute, perceauinge so great a thing wythoute his knowledge, not begon for noughte, comparyng thys preasent dooynge wyth the laste nyghtes chere, in so fewe houres so great a chaūce[1], marueleously myslyked it. Howbeit, syth he could not get awaye, he determined not to kepe him self close, leaste he shoulde seme to hyde hym selfe for some secret fear of hys owne faute, wherof he saw no such cause in him selfe; wherfore, on the suretie of hys owne consience, he determyned to go to thē, and to inquire what thys matter myghte meane. Whome assone as they saw, they beganne to quarell wyth hym, affyrmyng that he pretended to set dystaunce betwene the kyng and theim, to bryng theim to confucyon, whyche should not lye
Fol. xli. in his powre; and when he began (as he was an eloequēt manne) in godly wise to excuse hym self, thei would not here his aunswer, but tooke hym by force and putte hym to ward. And then he mounted on horsback and came in[2] Stony Stratford, wher the kyng was goyng to horsbacke, because he would leaue ŷ lodgyng for theim, for it was to strayte for bothe the compaignies. And when thei came to his presence, thei alighted and their compaignie aboute theim, and on their knees saluted hym and he theim gētely receaued, nothyng erthely knowyng ner mistrustyng as yet. The duke of Buckyngham saied aloude, "On afore gentlemenne and yomenne, kepe your roumes;" and therwith in ŷ kyng his presence thei picked a quarell to the lord Rychard Grey, the quenes soonne, and brother to the lord marques, & halfe brother to the kyng, saiyng, "that he and the marques his brother, and the lorde Ryuers his vncle, had cōpassed to rule the kyng & the realme, and sette varyaūce betwene thestates, and to subdewe and destroye the noble bloodde of the realme." And toward thaccomplishment of thesame, thei saied, "ŷ lord marques had entred into the toure of London, & thence had takē oute treasure, and sent mēne to the sea; whiche thynges

[1] chaunge. *ed. alt.* [2] into. *ed. alt.*

these

these dukes knewe well were dooen for a good purpose & as very necessary, appointed by ŷ whole counsail at Londō; but somewhat thei must haue saied: vnto the whiche woordes the kyng aunswered, "What my brother marques hath dooen I cannot saie, but in good faith I dare well aunswer for myne vncle Ryuers and my brother here, that thei bee innocent of suche mattiers." "Yee, my leege," quoth the duke of Buckyngham, "thei haue kepte ŷ dealyng of these matters farre from the knowledge of your good grace;" and foorthwith thei arrested the lord Rychard, and sir Thomas Vaugham, and sir Rychard Hawte, in the kyng his presence, & brought the kyng and all to Northāpton, where thei tooke ferther counsaill in their affaires. And there thei sent from the kyng whom it pleased theim, and set aboute hym suche seruauntes as better pleased theim then hym. At whiche dealyng he wept, but it booted not. And at dynner the duke of Gloucester sent a dyshe from his owne table to the lorde Ryuers, praiyng hym to bee of good chere, and all should bee well; he thanked hym, and prayed the messenger to beare it to his nephiewe, the lord Rychard, with like woordes, whom he knewe to haue neede of conforte, as one to whom suche aduersite was straunge: but he hym self had been all his dayes enured therwith, and therfore could beare it. But for all this message, the duke of Gloucester sent the lord Ryuers, ŷ lord Rychard, and sir Thomas Vaugham, and sir Rychard Hawte, into the north parties into dyuers prisones: but at last all came to Poumfrette, where thei all foure were beheded withoute iudgemēt.

In this maner, as you haue heard, the duke of Gloucester tooke on hym the gouernaunce of the younge kyng, whom with muche reuerence he conueighed towardes London. These tidynges came hastely to the quene before mydnight by a very sore reporte, that the kyng hir soonne was taken, and that her brother and her other soonne, and other hir frendes were arested and sent no maune wyst whither. With this heuye tydynges the quene bewayled her childes ruyn, hir frendes mischaunce, and her awne in- *Fol. xiii.*
fortune; curssyng the tyme that euer she was perswaded to leaue the gatheryng of people to bryng vp the kyng with a greate powre: but that was passed, and therfore nowe she tooke hir younger soonne the duke of Yorke, and hir doughters, and went onte of the palais at Westminster into the sanctuary, and there lodged in the abbotes place, and she and all her children and compaignie were regystred for sanctuary persones. Thesame night there came to doctor Rotheram archebysshop of Yorke, and lorde chaunceloure, a messenger from the lorde chambrelayne to Yorke place besyde Westminster: the messenger was brought to the bysshoppes bed syde, and declared to hym that ŷ dukes were gone backe with the younge kyng to Northampto, and declared ferther that the lorde Hastynges his master sent hym woord that he should feare nothyng for all should bee well. "Well," quoth the bisshop,) "bee it as well as it will, it will neuer bee so well as we haue

such

seen it:" and then the messenger departed. Whereupon the bysshop called vp his seruauntes before daye light, and tooke with hym the greate seale, and came before daye to the quene, about whom he founde muche heuynesse, rumble, haste. busynesse, conueighaunce, and caryage of hir stuffe into sanctuary, euery manne was busye to carye, beare and conueigh stuffe, chestes and ferdelles; no manne was vnoccupied, and some caryed more then thei were commaunded to another place. The quene sat alone belowe on the russhes all desolate and dysmaied, whom the archebisshop conforted in the best maner that he coulde, shewynge her that the matter was nothynge so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was put in good hope and oute of feare by the message sente to hym frō the lorde Hastinges. "A wo worth him," quoth the quene, "for it is he that goeth aboute to destroye me and my bloodde." "Madame," quoth he, "be of good comforte, and I assure you yf they crowne anye other king then your soonne whome they nowe haue, we shal on the morowe croune his brother whō you haue here with you; and here is the greate seale which in lykewise as your noble husbande delyuered it to me, so I deliuer it to you to the vse of your sōne;" and therewyth delyuered her the greate seale, and departed home in the dawnynge of the daye. And when he opened his windowes and looked on the Themys, he myghte see the riuer ful of boates of the duke of Glouceter hys seruauntes, watchyng that no person shoulde goo to sanctuary ner none shoulde passe vnserched.

Then was there great rumoure and commocion in the citee and in other places: the people diuersly deuined vpō thys dealyng, and dyuerse lordes, knyghtes and gentylmen, ether for fauour of the quene, or for feare of them selues, assembled compaignies together, and went flockyng together in harneyes: and many also, for that they recompted thys demeanour attempted, not so especyallye agaynst other lordes as agaynst the kyng him self, in the dysturbaunce of hys coronation, therefore they assembled by and by together to common of thys matter at London. The archebyshoppe of Yorke, *Fol. xliii.* fearyng that it woulde be ascrybed (as it was in dede) to ouermuche lightnes, that he so sodeynly had yelded vp the great seale to the quene, to whome the custodie therof nothyng apperteigned without especiall commaundement of ŷ kyng, secretly sent for the seale agayn, & brought it wyth hym after the accustomed maner tō mete with the lordes.

At this metyng was the lord Hastynges, whose truthe towarde the kyng no manne doubted nor neded not to doubte, perswaded the lordes to beleue that the duke of Glouceter was faythfull & sure towardes his prince; and that ŷ lord Ryuers, the lorde Richard, and other knyghtes apprehended, wer, for matters attempted by theim agaynste the dukes of Gloucetre & Buckyngham, put vnder arest for their suretie, and not for the kynges ieopardye: and that they were also in sauegarde there to remayne, tyll the matter were (not by the dukes only) but also by all the other lordes of the kynges councell indifferentlye examyned, and by their discrecions ordred

and eyther iudged or appesed. And one thyng he aduysed theim to beware of, that they iudged not the matter to farreforth or they knewe the truthe, nor turnyng theyr pryuate grudges into the commen hurte, irrityng and prouokyng men vnto angre and disturbyng the kynges coronacion, toward whiche the dukes wer cōmyng, for that then might paraduenture bryng ŷ matter so farre out of ioynte, that it shoulde neuer bee brought in frame agayne; whiche yf it should happe, as it were lykely to come to a felde, though all parties were in all other thynges eguall, yet shoulde the autoryte bee on that syde where the kyng is hym selfe. With these persuasyons of the lorde Hastynges, whereof parte he hym selfe beleued, and of parte he wyste well the contrarye, these commocyons were somewhat appeased: but in especiall because the dukes of Buckyngham and Glouceter wer so nere, and came on so shortly with the kynge, in none other maner nor none other voyce or sembleaunce then to his coronacion, causyng the fame to be blowen about that suche persones as were apprehended had contryued the distruccion of the dukes of Gloucetre and of Buckyngham, and other of the noble bloodde of thys realme, to thentent that thei alone would rule and gouerne the kyng: and for the coloure therof, such of the dukes seruauntes as rode with the cartes of their stuffe which wer taken, amonge the which stuffe, no maruayle, thoughe some were harneyes, whiche at the brekynge vp of suche an housholde, muste be brought awaye or caste awaye, they shewed to the people, and as they went, sayde, "Lo, here be the barrelles of harneyes that these traytoures hadde preuely conueighed in their caryages to destroye the noble lordes withall." This, dyuerse (although it made the matter to wise menne more vnlykely.) well perceauyng that thentendoures of suche a purpose woulde rather haue had theyr harnesse on theyr backes, then to haue bounde theim vp in barrelles, yet muche parte of the commen people were therewith ryght well satisfyed.

When the kyng approched nere the cytie, Edmonde Shawe, goldesmythe, then mayre of the cytie, with the aldremenne and shreues in skarlet, and fyue hundreth commoners in murraye, receaued his grace reuerently at Harnesaye parke, and so conueighed hym to the cytee, where he entred the fourthe daye of Maye, in the fyrste and laste yeare of his reigne, and was lodged in the bisshoppes palayce. But the duke of Gloucetre bare hym in open sight so reuerently, saiyng to all men as he rode, "Beholde youre prynce and souereygne lorde," and made suche sembleaunce of lowlynes to his prince, that frome the greate obloquy that he was in so late before, he was sodeynly fallen in so greate truste, that at the councell next assembled he was made the onlye chiefe ruler, and thoughte mooste mete to bee protectoure of the kynge and his realme, so that, were it desteny or were it folye, the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kepe. At whiche councell the archebyshoppe of Yorke was sore blamed for delyuerying the greate seale to the quene, and the seale taken from hym and delyuered to docter Iohn Russell,

Fol. xliiii.

byshoppe of Lyncolne, a wyse manne and a good, and of muche experyence, and dyuerse lordes and knightes were appoynted to dyuerse roumes, the lorde chamberlayn and some other kepte the roumes ẏ they were in before, but not many.

Nowe were it so that the protectour, (whiche alwayes you muste take for the duke of Gloucetre,) sore thristed for the acheuyng of his pretensed entrepryse, and thought euerye daye a yere tyll it were perfourmed, yet durste he no ferther attempte aslong as he hadde but halfe his praye in hys hande, well wyttynge that yf he deposed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, yf he remayned in sanctuary, or should happely be shortelie cōueyghed to his farther[1] libertee. Wherfore incontinēt at the next metyng of the lordes in councell, he purposed to theim that it was an heynous thyng of the quene, & procedyng of great malyce toward the kynges councelers, ẏ she shoulde kepe the kynges brother in sanctuarye from hym, whose special pleasure & conforte wer to haue his brother ẇ hym, and that to be done by her to none other intēt but to bryng all ẏ lordes in an obloquy and murmoure of the people, as though they wer not to be trusted ẇ the kynges brother; which lordes wer, by ẏ whole assēt of the nobles of ẏ realme, appoynted as ẏ kynges nere frendes to ẏ tuycion of his royall person: "the prosperitee wherof (quoth he) standeth not alonely frō the kepyng of enemyes & euill dyate, but partely also in recreacion & moderate pleasure, whiche he cannot take in his tendre youth in the cōpany of old & auncient persons, but in the famylyer conuersacion of those that be not farre vnder nor farre aboue his age, & neuerthelesse of estate cōueniēt to accompany his maiestie. Wherfore ẇ whom rather then with his owne brother? and if any man thinke this cōsyderaciō light, (I thynke no man so thinketh that loueth ẏ kyng,) let hym cōsyder ẏ sometyme [that] ẇout smal thynges greater cannot stande; and verelye it redoundeth greatly to ẏ dyshonoure of the kynges highnes, and of all vs that bee about his grace, to haue it come in any mannes mouthe, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes (as euell woordes walke farre) ẏ the kynges brother should be fayne to kepe sāctuary: for euery mā wyl iudge that noman wil so do for nought, & such opiniōs fastened in mennes hertes be harde to be wrested oute, and many growe to more grefe then any manne here can diuine. Wherfore mē thinketh it were not the worste to sende to the quene some honourable and trustye personage, suche as tendereth the kynges weale and the honoure of his counsell, and is also in credite and fauoure with her: for whiche consideracions none semeth more meately to me then the reuerende father my lorde cardinall archbishop of Cauntourbury, who maye in this matter doo mooste good of all menne yf it please hym to take the paine, whiche I doubte not of his goodnesse he wil not refuse for the kynges sake & oures, and wealth of the younge duke hym selfe

Rot. xiv.

[1] fathers. *ed. alt.*

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the kynges moost honorable brother, and for the comforte of my souereigne lord hym selfe my moost derest nephiewe, considering that therby shalbe ceassed the sclaunderous rumour & obloquy nowe goyng abroade, and the hurtes auoyded ẏ therof myght ensue: then must reste and quietnesse growe to all the realme. And if she percase bee obstinate and so precisely sette in her owne wyll and opynion, that neither his wyse and faithfull aduertysement can moue her, nor any mannes reason satisfye her, thē shal we, by myne aduice, by the kynges authoritee, fetche hym oute of that prysone, and bring hym to his noble presence, in whose continuall companye he shalbe so well cheryshed and so honorablye intreated, that all the worlde shall to oure honoure and her reproche perceaue that it was onely malyce, frowardnesse, & folỹ, that causeth her to kepe hym there. This is my minde for this tyme, excepte that any of you, my lordes, anye thinge perceaue to the contrarye, for neuer shall I by Goddes grace so wedde my selfe vnto myne owne wyll, but I shalbe redye to chaunge it vpon youre better aduice."

When the protectoure had saied, all the councell affirmed that the mocion was good and reasonable, and to the kyng and the duke his brother honorable, and a thing that shoulde ceasse great murmoure in the realme, yf the mother myght by good meanes bee induced to deliuer hym; whiche thing the archbishop of Cauntourburye, whome they all agreed also to bee moost conuenient thervnto, tooke vpon hym to moue her, and therto to dooe his vttermoste endeuoure: howbeit yf she coulde in no wise bee intreated with her good wil to delyuer hym, then thought he and suche of the spirytualtye as were presente, that it were not in anye wyse to bee attempted to take hym oute agaynste her wyll, for it woulde bee a thyng that should turne to the grudge of all menne and high displeasure of God, if the pryuiledge of that place should bee broken which had so many yeres been kepte, whiche bothe kynges and bishoppes had graunted and confyrmed, whiche grounde was sanctifyed by sainct Peter hym selfe more then. v. hundreth yeres agone, and syth that tyme was neuer so vndeuoute a kynge that euer enterpryse to vyolate, nor so holy a bishoppe that durste presume the churche of the same to consecrate: and therfore quoth the archbysshoppe, "God forbyd that any manne shoulde, for any erthely enterpryse, breake the immunyte and libertee of that sacred sanctuary, that hath bene the safegard of so many a good mannes lyfe; but I trust," quoth he, "we shall not nede it, but for any maner of nede I would we should not doo it, I trust that she with reason shalbe contented, & all thyng in good maner obteigned. And yf it hap that I bring it not to passe, yet shal I further it to my best power, so that you all shall perceaue my good wyl, diligence & indeuoure; but the mothers dreade & womannishe feare shalbe the let yf any bee."

"Naye, womannish frowardnesse," quoth the duke of Buckingham, "for I dare take it on my soule ẏ she wel knoweth ẏ she needeth no suche thyng to

feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe: for as for her, here is no manne that wyll be at warre with womenne, would God some menne of her kynne wer womenne to, and then should all bee sone in rest. Howbeit, here is none of her kynne the lesse loued for that they bee of her kynne, but for their owne euell deserning: and put the case, that we nether loued her nor her kinne, yet there were no cause why we should hate the kinges noble brother, to whose grace we oure selues be kynne, whose honoure yf she desyred as oure dyshonoure, and asmuche regarde tooke to his wealthe as to her owne wyll, she coulde bee as lothe to suffer hym to be absente from the kyng as any of vs, yf she had any wytte, as woulde God she had as good wyll as she hath frowarde wytte: for she thynketh her selfe no wiser then some ỹ are here, of whose feithful myndes she nothing doubteth, but verely beleueth & knowlegeth that they woulde bee as sorye of his harme as her owne selfe, and yet they wouldē haue hym frome her, yf she abyde there.

"And we all I thinke bee content that bothe her children bee with her, if she came frome thence and bee in suche place where they maye bee with theyr honoure. Nowe yf she refuse in the deliueraunce of hym to folowe the wisdome of theim whose wisdome she knoweth, whose approbate fidelitee she trusteth, it is easye to perceaue that frowardnesse letteth her, and not feare. But goo to, suppose that she feareth, as who maye let her to feare her owne shadowe, the more she feareth to deliuer hym, the more we oughte to feare to leaue hym in her handes: for yf she caste suche fonde doubtes that she feare his hurte, then wyll she feare that he shall be fette thence, for she wyll soone thynke that yf menne were sette, (whiche God forbydde,) on so greate a mischief, the sanctuarye wyll lytel lette theim, whiche sanctuary good menne as me thinketh myghte withoute synne somewhat lesse regarde then they dooe. Nowe then yf she doubte leaste he might bee fetched from her, is it not licklye that she will sende hym some where oute of the realme? verely I looke for none other: and I doubte not but she nowe as sore mindeth it as we mind the let therof. And if she might hap to bring that purpose to passe, (as it were no great mastery to doo, we letting her alone,) all ỹ world would say that we were a sorte of wyse councelers aboute a king, to let his brother to bee cast away vnder our noses; and therfore I ensure you feithfully for my minde, I wyll rather maugre her stomacke, fetche hym awaye, then leaue hym there tyll her feare or fonde frowarde feare conuey hym awaye, and yet wyll I breake no sanc-
Fol. xlviii. tuarye: for verely sithe the priuilege of that place & other of ỹ sorte haue so long contynued, I woulde not go about to breake yt, but yf they were nowe to begynne I would not be he that shoulde make theim, yet wyl not I saye nay, but it is a deede of pitie that such men as the chaūce of ỹ sea or theyr euil debters haue brought into pouertee, shoulde haue some place of refuge to kepe in theyr bodies out of the daūger of theyr cruel credytoures. And yf it fortune the croune to come in question, as it hath done before

before thys time, whyle eatch parte taketh other for traytoures, I thyncke it necessarye to haue a place of refuge for both. But as for theues and murtherers, whereof these places be full, and whyche neuer falle from theyr crafte after they once fall therunto, yt is pytee that euer sanctuarye shoulde saue theim, and in especyall wylfull murtherers, whom God commaundeth to be taken from the aulter and to be putte to death; and where it is other wyse, then in these cases there is no nede of sayntuaryes apointed by God in the olde law, for yf necessite of his owne defence or mysfortune dryued hym to ẏ deed, then a pardon serueth hym, whyche ether is graũted of course, or the kynge of pytee and compassyon geueth. Nowe looke howe fewe sanctuary mẽ there be whom necessyte or mysfortune compelled together; and then see on the other syde what a sorte there bee commonlye therin, of suche whom wylfull vnthryftines hathe broughte to naughte; what a rable of theues, murtherers and malycyous heynous traytours bee, and that in two places specyallye, the one at the elbowe of the cytee, & the other in the very bowels. I dare wel avowe it, yf you waye the good that they do wyth the hurte that commeth of theim ye shall fynde it much better to lese both then to haue both. And thys I say, although they were not abused, (as they nowe bee and so longe haue bene,) that I feare me euer they wylbe while men be a feard to set theyr handes to the amẽdement, as though God and saynt Peter were the patrons of vngratious lyuing. Now vnthryftes riot and ronne in debte vpon boldnes of these places, yea, and rytch men ronne thyther with poore mens goodes, there they buylde, there they spende, and byd theyr creditours go whystel. Mens wyues ronne thether with theyr husbãdes plate, & say they dare not abide with theyr husbandes for beting. Theues bring thether stollẽ goodes & lyue thereon. There, deuise they newe robberies nightly, & stele out, & robbe, reue, & kyl men, & come agayne into those places, as though those places gaue thẽ not only a sauegard for the harme ẏ thei haue done, but a licẽce also to do more myschiefe. Howbeit, much of this great abusion, (yf wyse mẽ woulde set theyr handes thereunto,) myghte bee amended, with great thankes of God and no breche of the priuiledge. The conclusion is, sythe it is so long ago, I wote not what pope and what prynce more piteous then polityke hath graunted it, & other men sence of a relygious feare haue not broken yt, let vs take a payne with it, & let it stande a Goddes name in hys force, as ferforth as reason wyl, whyche is not so farfourth as maye serue to let vs of the fetchynge forth of thys noble mayne to hys honoure and welth out of that place, in the whyche nether is nether can be a sanctuary or priueledged mã. A sanctuarye euer serueth to defend the bodye of that man that standeth in daungers abrode, not of great hurt only, but of lawful hurt: for agaynst vnlawful hurtes & harmes no pope ner kynge entended to priueledge anye one place, wherin it is lawful for one man to do another mã wrong. That no man vnlaufully take hurte, that lybertye the kynge, the lawe, and verye

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nature

nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh, to that regard, for euery man euery place a sanctuarye: but wher a man is by lawful meanes in parel, there nedeth he the tuycion of some specyall priueledge, which is the only ground of al sanctuaries, from which necessitee thys noble prince is farre, whose loue to his kyng, nature and kynred proueth, whose innocencie to al the world hys tender youth affyrmeth, & so sāctuary as for him is not necessary ner none he cā haue. Men com not to sāctuary as they com to baptim to require it by his godfathers, he must aske it him self ẏ must haue it, & reason sith no mā hath cause to haue it but whose consyence of hys own faut maketh him haue ned to require it. What wyl thē hath yōder babe? which if he had discretiō to require it yf nede wer, I dare say wold be right angry ẇ theim ẏ kepe him ther. And I wold thīk ẇout any scruple of conscīēce, ẇout any brech of priueledge to be sōwhat more homly ẇ them ẏ be ther sāctuary mē in ded, ẏ yf one go to sāctuary ẇ another mās goodes, why shold not ẏ king, leuīg his body at liberty, satisfye ẏ party of his goodes euē ẇin ẏ sāctuary, for nether kyng nor pope can geue anye place such a priueledge that it shal discharge a man of his debtes beynge hable to pay."

And with that dyuerse of the clergie that were there presēt, whether thei saied it for his pleasure or as thei thought, agreed plainly by ẏ lawe of God & of ẏ churche, ẏ the goodes of a sanctuary manne should bee delyuered in paymēt of his debtes, and stollen goodes to the owner, and onely lybertie reserued to hym to gette his lyuyng with the labour of his handes. "Verely," quoth the duke, "I thynke ye saie very truth. And what if a mannes wife take sanctuary because she list to ronne from hir husband? I would thinke if she cā alledge none other cause, he maye laufully, without any dyspleasure dooen to sainct Peter, take hir oute of sainct Peters churche by the arme. And if no bodye maye bee taken oute of sanctuary because he saieth he will abyde there, then if a chylde will take sanctuary because he feareth to goo to schoole, his master must lette hym alone; and as symple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in oure case then in it, for there though it bee a chyldyshe feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is no feare at all. And verely I haue heard of sanctuary menne, but I neuer harde before of sanctuary chyldren: & therfore as for the conclusiō of my mynde, whoso euer maye deserue to haue nede of it, if thei thinke it for their suretye let theim kepe it: but he can bee no sāctuary manne that hath nother discresion to desire it, ner malice to deserue it, whose life ner lybertie can by no laufull processe stande in ieoperdie: and he that taketh one oute of sanctuarye to dooe hym good, I saye plainlye he breaketh no sanctuarye."

When the duke had dooen, the temporall mēne wholy, and the mooste *Fol. xlix.* parte of the spirituall mēne also thynke no hurte earthely mente towarde the baby, condiscended in effecte, that if he were not delyuered he should bee fetched out: howbeit thei thought it best in aduoydyng of all maner of rumoure, that the cardynall should first assaye to gette hym with her

good will. And therupon all the counsaill came to the starre chamber at Westmynster, and the cardinall, leauyng the protectour and other lordes in the sterre chaumber, departed into the sanctuarie to the quene, accompaignied w̄ certain lordes, were it for ŷ respecte of his honour or that she should by the personnes of so many perceaue that his arrande was not onely one mānes mynde, or were it for that the protectoure entended not in this matter to trust one manne alone, or els if she finally were determined to kepe hym, some of the compaignie had paraduenture some secrete instruccīō incontinēt, maugre her will, to take hym and to leaue her no respyte to conueigh hym.

When the quene and the lordes were come together in presence, the cardynall shewed vnto her that it was thought to the lord protectour and the whole counsaill ŷ hir kepyng of ŷ kynges brother in that place highly soūded, not onely to ŷ grudge of the people and their obloquy, but also to the importable greefe and displeasure of ŷ kyng his royall maiestie, to whose grace it were a synguler cōforte to haue his naturall brother in compaignie, and it was their bothes dishonoures and theirs & hirs also to suffre hym in sanctuarye, as though the one brother stoode in daungier and perell of the other. And he shewed her ferther, that the whole counsaill had sent hym to requyre of her the delyuerie of hym, that he might bee brought to ŷ kyng his presence, at his libertie, oute of ŷ place whiche menne reconed as a prisone, & there should he bee demeaned accordyng to his estate and degree, and she in this doyng should bothe dooe greate good to the realme, pleasure to the coūsaill, profite to her self, succoure to her frendes that were in destresse, & ouer ŷ, whiche he wist well she speciallye tendered, not onelye greate conforte & honoure to the kyng, but also to the younge duke hym self, whose bothe greate wealthe it were to bee together, aswell for many greater causes as also for their bothe dysporte & recreacyon, whiche thynges the lordes estemed not sleight, though it semed light, well pōderyng ŷ their youthe, without recreacion and playe, cānot endure, ner any estraunger, for the conueniēcie of bothe their estates, so metely in ŷ poinct for any of theim, as the either of theim for the other.

"My lorde, (quoth the quene,) I saie not naye, but that it were very conueniente ŷ this gentlemanne whom you requyre were in the compaignie of the kyng his brother, and in good faith me thynketh it were as greate commodite to theim bothe, as for yet a while to bee in the custodie of their mother, the tendre age consydered of the elder of theim bothe, but in especiall the younger, whiche besydes his infancye, that also nedeth good lookyng too, hath awhyle been so sore deseased wyth syckenesse, and is so newlye rather a lytle amended then well recouered, that I dare putte no persone earthely in trust w̄ his kepyng, but my self onely: consyderyng there is, as phisicians saie, and as we also fynde, double ŷ perell in the resylynacion

Fol. I. resylynacion ẏ was in the first syckenesse, with whiche desease nature beyng sore laboured, forweried & weaked, waxeth, the lesse hable to bear oute a newe surfett. And albeit there might bee foũden other that would happely dooe their best vnto hym, yet is there none ẏ ether knoweth better howe to ordre hym then I ẏ so lõg haue kepte hym, or is more tendrely like to cherishe hym then his owne mother ẏ bare hym." "No mãne denieth, good Madame, (quoth ẏ cardinall) but ẏ your grace of all folke were moost necessarie aboute your chyldrẽ, & so would all ẏ coũsaill not only bee content, but also glad ẏ it were if it might stand ẇ your pleasure to be ī suche place as might stãde ẇ their honour. But if you apoinct your self to tarie here, thẽ thynke thei it more cõueniẽt the duke of Yorke were with ẏ kyng, honorably at his lybertie, to the cõforte of theim bothe, then here as a sanctuary mãne to their bothe dishonoure and obloquy, sith there is not alwaie so greate necessite to haue ẏ childe with the mother, but that occaciõ sometyme maye bee suche that it should bee more expediẽt to kepe hym els where, whiche in this well apereth. ẏ at suche tyme ẏ your moost derest soonne, thẽ prince & nowe kyng, should for his honour & good ordre of the countre kepe houshold in Wales farre out of your kepyng, your grace was well cõtent therẇ your self." "Not very well content, (quoth the quene) & yet the case is not like, for theone was then in helth, & theother is nowe sicke, in whiche case I meruell greatly why my lord protectour is so desierous to haue hym in his kepyng, where if the childe in his sickenesse miscaried by nature, yet might he rõne into slaunder and suspicion of fraude. And thei call it a thyng so sore against my childes honoure and theirs also that he abideth in this place, it is all their honoures there to suffre hym abide wher no manne doubteth he shalbe best kepte, and that is here while I am here, whiche as yet entend not to come foorth and ieopard my selfe after other of my frẽdes, whiche would God were rather here in suertie with me, then I were there in ieoperdie ẇ theim." "Why, Madame, (quoth ẏ lord Hawarde) knowe you any thyng why thei should bee in ieopardie?" "Naye, verely, (quoth she) nor why thei should bee in prisone neither as thei nowe bee; but I trowe, it is no greate maruell, though I feare leaste those ẏ haue not letted to put theim in duraunce ẇout coloure will let as litle to procure their distrucion without cause." The cardinall made a countenaunce to the lord Haward that he should harpe no more vpon ẏ stryng, and thẽ saied he to the quene, ẏ he nothyng doubted but those lordes of her kynne, the whiche remeyned vnder arest, should vpon the matter examined dooe well ynough, and as toward her noble persone, was, neither could bee, any maner of ieopardie." "Wherby should I truste that, (quoth ẏ quene) in ẏ I am guyltlesse, as though thei were guyltie, in ẏ I am with their enemies better beloued then thei, whẽ thei hate theim for my sake, in that I am so nere to the kyng, and howe ferre bee thei of that would helpe, as God sẽde grace, thei hurt

not. And therfore as yet I purpose not to departe hence. As for this gentlemanne my soonne, I minde he shall be wher I am till I se further, for I se some mēne so gredy without any substanciall cause to haue hym, whiche maketh me muche more afrayd and scrupulous to delyuer hym." Fol. li.
"Truly, Madame," (quoth the cardynall) the more afrayde that ye bee to delyuer hym, the more other menne feareth to suffre you to kepe hym, leaste youre causelesse feare mighte cause you farther to conueye hym, & many thynke he can here haue no pryuiledge whiche can haue neyther wyll to aske it, nor yet malyce or offence to nede it. And therfore, they recon no priuiledge broken, although they fetche hym out of sanctuarye, whiche yf you fynallye refuse to delyuer hym, I thynke verely ŷ councel wil enfraunchese hym; so muche drede hathe my lorde his vncle, for the tēdre loue he beareth hym, least your grace should sende hym awaye." "Ah," (quoth the quene) hath he so tendre a zele to hym, that he feareth nothyng, but least he should escape hym? Thynketh he that I would sende hym hence, whiche is neyther in the plight to sende oute? and in what place coulde I recone hym sure, if he bee not sure in sanctuarye, whereof was there neuer tyraunte yet so deuelyshe, that durste attempte to breake the priuiledge, and I truste God is nowe as stronge to wythstande his aduersaries as euer he was. But my soonne can deserue no sanctuarye, (you saye,) and therfore he cannot haue it. Forsothe the lorde protectoure hath sente a goodly glose, by the whiche that place that may defend a thefe, may not saue an innocent. But he is in no ieopardye nor hath no nede thereof! I woulde God he had not. Troweth the protectoure, (I praye God he maye proue a protectour rather then a destroyer,) whereunto his peynted processe draweth. Is it not honourable that the duke byde here? It were confortable to theim bothe that he were with his brother, because the kyng lacketh a playefeloe! yea, bee you sure, I praye God sende hym better playefelowes then hym that maketh so hyghe a matter vpon suche a tryfleynge pretexte, as though there coulde none bee founde to playe with the kynge. But yf his brother, whiche hathe no luste to playe for syckenesse, muste come oute of sanctuarye, oute of his sauegarde to playe with hym, as though that prynces so young as they bee coulde not playe without their peres, or chyldrē coulde not playe without theyr kynred, with whome for the more parte they agree muche woorsse then with straungiers. But the chyld you saye cannot require the priuiledge. Who tolde the protectoure so? Aske hym, and you shall here hym aske it, and so shall he if ye wyll. Howebeit this is a straunge matter, suppose he coulde not aske it, and thynke he woulde not aske it, and ymagene he woulde aske to go oute, yf I saye he shall not. Note, if I aske the priuiledge but for my selfe, I saye that he that agaynst my wyll taketh out hym, breaketh sanctuarye. Serueth thys lyberty for my personne onlye, or for my goodes too? you maye not frome hence take my

horsse frome me, yf I stale hym not nor owe you nothynge, then foloweth it that you maye not take my chylde from me; he is also my ward; for as farre as my learned councell sheweth me, he hath nothyng by dyssente holden by knyghtes seruage, but by socage: then the lawe maketh me his garden, then maye no manne lawfully (I suppose) take my warde frome me oute of thys place, wythoute the breche of sanctuarye. And yf my pryuyledge coulde not serue hym, nor he aske it for hym selfe, yet sythe the lawe commytteth to me the custodye of hym, I maye requyre it for hym, excepte the lawe geue the infaunte a garden onelye for hys gooddes, dyschargynge hym of the cure and sauekepynge of his bodye, for whiche onely bothe goodes and landes serue. Wherfore here entende I to kepe hym, sithe mannes lawe serueth the garden to kepe the infaunte, and the lawe of nature wylleth the mother to kepe ŷ chyld, and Goddes lawe priuiledgeth the sanctuarye, and the sanctuarye pryuyledgeth my soonne: sythe I feare to putte hym to the protectoures handes, that hathe his brother already, whiche is (yf bothe fayled) inheritoure to the croune as heyre male, as he sayth. The cause of my feare no man hath to dooe to examen, and yet feare I no further then the law feareth, whiche, as learned menne tell me, forbyddeth euery manne the custody of theim by whose death he maye enheryte lesse lande then a kyngdome. I can saye no more, but whosoeuer he bee that breaketh this holy sanctuary, I praye God sende hym shortelye nede of sanctuary, when he maye not come to it: for I woulde not that my mortall enemie should be taken out of sanctuary."

Fol. lii.

The cardynal perceaued that the quene euer ŷ lenger the farther of, and also that she beganne to kyndle and chafe and spake sore bytynge woordes agaynst the protectoure, and suche as he neyther beleued & also was lothe to here, he sayd to her, for a finall conclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter; and if she were contente to delyuer the duke to hym and to the other lordes there present, he durste laye his owne bodye and soule bothe in pledge, not onlye for his suretie, but also for hys estate: and surely he knewe nor suspected no cause but he might so dooe. (But he knewe not all.) And further he saide, if she would geue hym a resolute aunswere to the contrarye, he would therewith departe incontinent, and shifte who so woulde wyth this busynesse afterwarde; for he neuer entended further to moue her in the matter, in the whiche he thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked eyther wytte or truthe. Wytte, if they were so dull if they nothyng coulde perceaue what the protectoure entended, and yf they should procure her soonne to bee delyuered into his handes, in whome they shoulde perceaue towardes the chyld any euell wyll entended, then she myghte thynke all the councell bothe euel aduysed and of lytle fydelyte to theyr prince.

The quene with these wordes stoode in a great studye, and forasmuche

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as she sawe the lord cardynall more redyer to departe then the remanaũt, and the protectoure hym selfe redye at hande, so that she verelye thought that she coulde not kepe hym there, but he shoulde bee incontynente taken thence, and to conueye hym elles where neyther had she tyme to serue her, nor place determyned, nor personnes appoynted to conueygh hym, and so all thyng was vnreadye when this message came so sodenly on her, nothyng lesse lookyng for then to haue hym out of sanctuarye, whiche she knewe nowe menne to bee set in all places about that he coulde *Fol. liij.* not bee conueyghed oute vntaken, and partely, as she thought, it myghte fortune her feare to bee false: so well she wist it was ether nedelesse or botelesse. Wherfore, yf she should nedes go from hym, she demed best to deliuer hym, & specially of ỹ cardinalles faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lordes whome she sawe there, which as she feared least they might be deceaued so well was she assured ỹ they woulde not bee corrupted: then thoughte she that it woulde make theim the more warely to looke to hym, and the more circumspectly to see his surety yf she with her owne handes betooke hym theim by truste; and at the laste she tooke the young duke by the hande, and saied vnto the lordes, "My lorde," quoth she, "and all my lordes, nether am I so vnwise to mistruste youre wittes, nor so suspicyous to mistruste your truthes, of which thing I purpose to make such a proofe that yf either of bothe lacked in you, might turne both me to greate sorowe, the realme to muche harme, and you to greate reproche. For lo, here is," quoth she, "this gentilman, whome I doubte not but I could kepe salfe if I would, whatsoeuer any manne saye, and I doubte not also but there bee some abrode so deedly enemies vnto my bloodde, that yf they wiste where any of it laye in theyr owne body they woulde lette it oute: we haue also experience that the desyre of a kingdome knoweth no kynred, the brother hath bene the brothers bane, and may the nephewes bee sure of the vncle. Eache of these children are others defence whyle they bee a sunder, and eache of their liues lyeth in others body; kepe one salfe and bothe bee sure, and nothing to bothe more perylous, then bothe to bee in one place, for a wise marchaunt neuer auentureth all his gooddes in one shyp. All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer hym & his brother in hym to kepe to your handes, of whome I shall aske theim bothe before God and the worlde. Feithfull you bee, and that I wot well, and I knowe you be wyse and of power and strength if you list to kepe hym; for you lacke no helpe of your selues, nor nede to lacke no helpe in this case, & yf you cannot elles were, then may you leaue hym here. But onely one thing I besech you, for the trust that his father putte you in euer, and for the truste that I put you in nowe, that as farre as you thincke that I feare to muche, ye bee well ware that you feare not to lytle." And therwith all she saied to ỹ childe, "Fare well, myne owne swete soonne, God sende you good kepyng, let me once kysse you or you gooe, for God

knoweth whē we shall kisse together againe;" & therwith she kyssed hym and blessed hym and tourned her backe & wepte, gooing her waye, leauyng the poore innocent chylde wepyng as faste as the mother.

When the cardinall and the other lordes had receaued the younge duke, they brought hym into the starre chaumbre, where ŷ protectoure tooke hym in his armes and kyssed hym, with these wordes, "Nowe welcome, my lorde, with all my very hert," and he saied in ŷ of likelihode euen as he inwardly thought, and therupon, forthwith brought him to the king his brother into the bishoppes palaice at Powles, and from thence thorowe the citee honourably into the towre, oute of whiche after that daye they
Fol. liiii. neuer came abrode. Whenne the protectoure had bothe the chyldren in his possessyon, yee and that they were in a sure place, he then beganne to thryste to see the ende of his enterprise, and to auoyde all suspicion he caused all the lordes whiche he knewe to bee feythfull to the kyng to assemble at Baynardes castell to cōmen of the ordre of the coronacyon; whyle he, and other of his complyces and of his affinitee, at Crosbyes place, contriued the contrary & to make the protectoure kyng: to whiche counsel there were adhibite very fewe, and they very secrete. Then beganne here & there some maner of muttering amongest the people as though all thing should not longe bee well, though they wyste not what they feared nor wherfore: were it, that before suche great thinges mennes hertes (of a secrete instyncte of nature) misgeueth theim, as ŷ southwinde somtime swelleth of hym selfe before a tempeste, or were it that some one manne, happely perceauing, fylled many men with suspicyon, thoughe he shewed fewe menne what he knewe, howbeit, the dealing it selfe made to muche on the matter, thoughe the counsayle were close, for lytle and lytle all folke drewe from the towre where the kyng was, and drewe to Crosbyes place, so that the protectoure had all the resorte, and the kyng in maner desolate: while some made suyte vnto theim that had the doyng, some of theim were by theyr frendes secretely warned that it myghte happely tourne theim to no good to bee to muche attendaunte on the kyng withoute the protectoures apoyntmente, whiche remoued dyuerse of the kynges olde seruauntes frō hym, and set newe in theyr romes aboute hym.

Thus many thinges comming together, partly by chaunce, and partely by purpose, caused at length, not cōmon people onely whiche wauer ẇ the winde, but wise menne also, and some lordes to marke the matter & muse therupon; in so much as the lorde Stanley, whiche afterward was erle of Derby, wisely mistrusted it, and saied to ŷ lorde Hastinges, that he muche mislyked these two seueral coūselles, "for while we," quoth he, "talke of one matter at ŷ one place, lytle wot we wherof they talke in the other place." "Well," quoth the lorde Hastynges, "on my lyfe neuer doubte you, for whyle one man is there whiche is neuer thence, neither can there bee

any thing once mynded that shoulde sounde amisse towarde me, but it shoulde bee in mine eares or it were well oute of their mouthes." This ment he by Catesby, whiche was nere of his secret councell, and whome he familyerly vsed in his moost weightye matters, putting no manne in so speciall trust as hym, sith he wiste well there was no manne to hym so muche beholdyng as was this Catesbye, whiche was a manne well learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauoure of the lorde Hastynges, in good authorytee, and muche rule bare in the countrees of Leicestre and Northampton, where ỹ lorde Hastinges power laye. But surely greate pitie was it that he had not had either more trueth or lesse wit, for his dissimulacyon onely kepte all that myschiefe vp, in whome yf the lorde Hastinges had not put so special trust, ỹ lord Stanley and he ẅ diuers other lordes had departed into their cõutrees, & broken al ỹ daunce for many euel signes ỹ he sawe, which he now construed al for the best: so surely thought he that there coulde be no harme towarde hym in that counsayle entended where Catesbye was. *Fol. lv.*

And of truth the protectour and the duke of Buckyngham made very good sembleaunce vnto the lorde Hastynges, and kepte hym muche in theyre compaignie. And vndoubtedlie the protectour loued hym well, and lothe was to haue loste hym, sauynge for feare least hys lyfe shoulde haue quayled theyr purpose; for the whyche cause he moued Catesby to proue wyth some wordes caste oute a farre of, whether he coulde thyncke it possible to wynne the lorde Hastynges to theyr part. But Catesby, whether he assayed hym or assayed hym not, reported vnto hym that he founde him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible wordes that he durst no farther breake, and of a truth the lorde Hastinges of very truste shewed vnto Catesby the mystrust that other began to haue in the matter. And therfor he fearyng least theyr mocyons myght ẅ the lorde Hastynges haue mynished his credence, whervnto only al the matter leaned, procured the protectour hastly to ryd hym, & muche the rather for he trusted by hys death to obtayne much of ỹ rule whyche the lorde Hastynges bare in hys cõutree, the onelye desyre whereof was the thynge that enduced hym to be procurer & one of the speciallest contriuers of al thys treason. Wherupon the lorde protectoure caused a counsayle to be set at the towre on the Frydaye the. xiii. daye of Iune, were was much commonyng for the honourable solempnytee of the coronation, of the whyche the tyme appoynted aproched so nere that the pageãtes were a making day & nyght at Westminster, & vytayle kylled which afterwarde was cast awaye.

These lordes thus sittyng commoning of this matter, the protectoure came in emong thẽ about ix. of the clocke salutynge theim curteously, excusynge hym selfe that he had bene frome theim so longe, saiynge merely that he had bene a sleper ỹ daye. And after a lytle talkynge wyth theym,

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he sayd to the bishop of Ely, "My lorde, you haue very good strawberies in your garden at Holborne, I requyre you let vs haue a messe of theim." "Gladly, my lorde," quoth he, "I would I had some better thyng as redy to youre pleasure as that," and wyth that he sente his seruaunte in al the haste for a dysh of strawberyes. The protectoure set the lordes faste in commonynge, and thereupon prayed theim to spare hym a lytle, and so he departed and came in agayn betwene. x, and. xi. of the clocke into the chāber, al chaunged, with a sowre angry countenaūce, knyttynge the browes, frownynge, and frettynge, and gnawynge on hys lyppes, & so set him downe in hys place. All the lordes were dysmayed, & sore marueyled of thys maner and sodayne chaunge and what thynge should hym ayle. When he had sytten a whyle thus he beganne: "What were they woorthy to haue that compasse and ymagyne the dystruccyon of me, beynge so neare of bloodde to the kynge, and protectoure of this hys royal realme?" At whyche questyon all the lordes sat sore astonned, musynge muche by whom thys questyon shoulde be ment, of whych euery man knewe hym selfe clere.

Fol. lvi. Then the lord Hastynges, as he that for the famylyaritee that was betwene them, thoughte he myght be boldest wyth hym, answered & sayd that they were worthye to bee punyshed as heyneous traytours, what so euer they were; and all the other affyrmed the same. "That is," quoth he, "yonder sorceres my brothers wyfe and other wyth her," meanynge the quene. At these wordes manie of the lordes were sore abashed whyche fauoured her; but the lorde Hastynges was better contente in hys mynde that it was moued by her then by anye other that he loued better: albeit hys hearte grudged that he was not afore made of councel in this matter as well as he was of the takynge of her kynred and of theyr puttynge to deathe, whyche were by hys assente before deuised to be behedded at Pomfrete, thys selfe same daye, in the whyche he was not ware ẏ it was by other deuysed that he hym selfe shoulde the same daye be behedded at London. Then sayde the protectoure, "In what wyse that ẏ sorceresse and other of hys[1] counsayle, as Shores wyfe wyth her affynitee haue by theyr sorcerye and wychcrafte thys wasted my bodye," and therewyth plucked vp hys doublet cleane to hys elbowe on hys lyfte arme, where he shewed a weryshe wythered arme, and small as it was neuer other." And thereupon euery mannes mynd mysgaue theim, well perceauynge that thys matter was but a quarell, for well they wyste that the quene was boothe to wyse to goo aboute anye suche foly, and yf she woulde, yet woulde she of al folke make Shores wyfe leaste of councel, whom of all womenne she most hated, as that concubine whom the kyng her husband most loued.

Also, there was no manne there but knewe that hys arme was euer such

[1] hyr.

syth the day of hys byrth. Neuerthelesse the lorde Hastynges, whyche from the death of kyng Edward, kept Shores wyfe, on whom he somewhat doted in the kynges lyfe, sauynge it is sayd that he forbare her for reuerence towarde hys kynge, or elles of a certayne kynd of fydelitee towarde hys frende; yet nowe his heart somwhat grudged to haue her whom he loued so hyghly accused, and that as he knewe wel vntrulye: therefore he aunswered and sayde: "Certaynlye, my lord, yf they haue so doone, they be worthie of heynous ponyshemente." "What," quoth the protectoure, "thou seruest me I wene wyth yf, and wyth and, I tell the they haue doone it, and that I wyll make good on thy bodye, traytoure." And therewith (in a greate anger) he clapped his fyste on the boorde a great rappe; at whych token geuen one cryed treason withoute the chamber, and therewyth a doore claped, and in came rushing men in harneyes as many as the chamber coulde holde. And anone ỹ protectoure sayd to the lorde Hastynges, "I arrest the traytoure." "What me, lord?" quoth he. "Yea the, traitour," quoth the protectour. And one let flye at the lord Stāley, whyche shroncke at the stroake, and fell vnder the table, or elles his hed had bene cleft to the teth, for as shortly as he shrancke, yet ranne the blood aboute hys eares. Then was the archebyshoppe of Yorke, and doctoure Morton, byshoppe of Ely, and the lorde Stanleye taken and dyuers other, whyche were bestowed in dyuers chambers, saue the lorde Hastynges, (whome the protectoure commaunded to spede and shryue hym apace,) "for by sayntе Poull, (quoth he) I will not dyne till I se thy hed of." *Fol. lxii.*
It booted hym not to aske why, but heuilie he tooke a preeste at auenture, & made a shorte shrift, for a lenger would not bee suffred, the protectoure made so muche haste to his dyner, whiche might not goo to it till this murther were dooen, for sauing of his vngracious othe. So was he brought foorth into the grene beside the chapell within the towre, and his hed layde downe on a logge of tymber that laye there for buyldyng of ỹ chapell, and there tyrannously stryken of, and after his bodye & hed were enterred at Wyndesore by his mayster kyng Edward the fourth, whose soules Iesu pardon, Amen.

A merueleous case it is to here, either the warnynges that he should haue voyded, or the tokens of that he could not voyde: for the next nyght before his deathe, the lorde Stanley sent to hym a trusty messenger at mydnight in all the hast, requiryng hym to ryse and ryde awaye with hym, for he was disposed vtterlye no lenger for to abyde, for he had a fearfull dreame, in the whiche he thought that a bore with his tuskes so rased theim bothe by the heddes, that the bloodde ranne aboute bothe their shoulders, and for asmuche as the protectour gaue the bore for his cognisaunce, he ymagened that it should bee he. This dreme made suche a fearfull impressiō in his hearte, ỹ he was throughly determined no lēger to tarye, but had his horsse readie, if the lord Hastynges would goo with hym. So that thei would

would ryde so ferre that night, that thei should bee oute of daungere by the next daye. "A good lord" (quoth the lord Hastynges) to the messenger, leaneth my lord thy master so muche to suche trifles, and hath suche faith in dreames, whiche either his awne feare fātesieth, or doo rise in ẏ nightes rest by reason of the dayes thought. Tell hym it is plaine witchcraft to beleue in suche dreames, whiche if thei were tokens of thynges to come, why thynketh he not ẏ we might as likely make theim true by our goyng, if we were caught and brought backe, (as frendes fayle flyers,) for then had the bore a cause lykely to race vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshed: wherfore either is their perell, nor none there is deede: or if any bee, it is rather in goyng then abydyng: and if we should nedes fall in perell one waye or other, yet had I leuer that menne should se it were by other mennes falshed, then thynke it were either our awne faute or faynte and feble heart, and therfore goo to thy master and commende me to hym, and I praye hym to bee mery and haue no feare, for I assure hym, I am assured of ẏ mānē he wotteth of as I am of myne owne hande." "God sende grace," (quoth the messenger) and so departed. Certen it is also that in rydyng toward the towre, thesame mornyng in whiche he was behedded, his horsse that he accustomed to ryde on, stombled with hym twise or thrise almost to the fallyng, whiche thyng although it happeneth to theim daylye to whom no myschaunce is towarde, yet hath it been as an olde eiuill token obserued as a gooyng toward myschief. Nowe this ẏ foloweth was no warnyng, but an enuyous scorne: thesame mornyng ere he were vp from his bed, where Shores wife laye ẇ hym all night, there came to hym sir Thomas
Fol. lxiii. Haward, soonne to the lorde Hawarde, (the whiche sturryng that mornyng very earlye,) as it were of courtesie to accompaignie hym to the counsaill, but forasmuche as the lorde Hastynges was not readye, he taried awhile for hym and hasted hym awaye.

This sir Thomas, while the lorde Hastynges stayed awhile commonyng with a preest whom he met in the towre strete, brake the lordes tale, saiyng to hym merely, "What! my lord, I praye you come on; wherfore talke you so long with that preest? you haue no nede of a preest yet," and laughed vpon hym, as though he would saie, you shall haue nede of one sone. But lytle wist the other what he meant, (but or night these woordes were well remembred by theim that heard theim,) so the true lorde Hastynges litle mistrusted, and was neuer merier, ner thought his life in more suretye in all his dayes, whiche thyng is often a sygne of chaunge. But I shall rather lette any thyng passe me then the [vayne] suretye of mannes mynde so nere his deathe: for vpon the towre wharffe, so nere the place where his hedde was of so sone after, as a manne might well cast a balle, a pursyuaūt of his awne called Hastynges mette ẇ hym, & of their metyng in ẏ place he was put in remembraūce of another tyme, in whiche it had happened theim to mete before togethe in ẏsame place, at whiche tyme ẏ lord Hastynges had

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bee accused to kyng Edward by ỹ lord Ryuers, the quenes brother, in somuche ỹ he was for awhile, which lasted not long, highly in ỹ kynges indignacion, & stode in great feare of hymself; & forasmuch as he nowe met thesame pursyuaunt in thesame place, the ieopardy so well passed, it gaue hym greate pleasure to talke with hym therof, ẇ whō he had talked in thesame place of that matter, and therfore he saied, "Ah Hastynges, arte thou remembred when I met the here once with an heuy herte." "Ye, my lord," (quoth he) "that I remembre well, and thanked bee God thei gatte no good ner you no harme therby: "Thou woldest saie so (quoth he) if thou knewest so muche as I dooe, whiche fewe knowe yet, and mo shall shortly:" that meant he that the erle Ryuers and ỹ lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaughan should ỹ daye bee behedded at Pomfrette, as thei were in deede, whiche acte he wyst well should bee dooen, but nothyng ware that ỹ axe honge so nere his owne hed. "In feith, manne," (quoth he) "I was neuer so sorye ner neuer stoode in so greate daungier of my life as I did when thou and I mette here, and loe the worlde is turned nowe, nowe stande myne enemies in the daungier, as thou mayst happe to heare more hereafter, and I neuer in my life meryer nor nener in so greate suertie." "I praye God it proue so," (quoth Hastynges.) "Proue?" quoth he: "dowtest thou that? naye, naye, I warraunt the," and so, in maner dyspleased, he entered into the towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue hearde. O Lord God! the blyndenesse of our mortall nature! when he mooste feared, he was in moost suretie, and when he reconed hym self moost surest, he loste his life, & ỹ within. ii. houres after. Thus ended this honorable manne, a good knight and a gentle, of great autorite ẇ his prīce, of liuyng somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemie, and sure and secrete to his frende, easye to beguyle, as he that of good herte and courage foresawe no perelles, a louyng manne and passyng welbeloued, verye faythfull & trustie ynough, but trustyng to much was his destruccion, as you maye perceaue. *Fol. lix.*

Nowe flewe the fame of this lordes death thorough the cytie, and farther about like a wynde in euery mannes eare: but the protectoure immediatly after dynner, (entendynge to set some coloure vpon the matter,) sent in all the hast for many substanciall menne out of the cytie into the Towre, and at their commynge, hym selfe wyth the duke of Buckyngham stoode harnessed in olde euell fauoured bryganders, suche as no manne woulde wene that they would haue vouchesaued to haue putte on their backes, excepte some sodeyne necessitee had constreigned theim. Then the lorde protectoure shewed theim that the lorde Hastynges, and other of his conspyracye, hadde contryued to haue sodenly destroyed hym and the duke of Buckyngham there the same daye in councell, & what they entended farther was as yet not wel knowen; of whiche their treason he had neuer knowledge before ten of the clocke thesame fornoone, whiche sodeyne feare draue theim to put on suche harnesse as came nexte to theyr hādes for theyr defence, & so God holpe theim that

the mischiefe turned vpon theim that would haue done it, and thus he required theim to reporte. Euerye manne aunswered fayre, as thoughe no manne mystrusted the matter, whiche of truthe no manne beleued; yet for the farther appeasyng of the peoples myndes, he sent immedyatlye after dynner an heralde of armes with a proclamacion through the citee of London, whiche was proclamed in the kynges name, that the lord Hastynges, with dyuerse other of his treyterous purpose, had before cōspired thesame daye to haue slain the protectoure and the duke of Buckyngham sittyng in counsaill: & after to haue takē vpon theim the rule of the kyng and the realme at their pleasure, and therby to pill and spoyle whom thei list vncomtrolled. And muche matter was deuised in thesame proclamacion to the selaunder of the lord Hastynges, as that he was an eiuill counsaillour to the kynges father, entisyng hym to many thynges highly redoundyng to the minisshyng of his honoure and to the vniuersall hurt of his realme, by his eiuill compaignie and synister procuryng and vngracious exsample, aswell in many other thynges as in vycious lyuyng and inordynate abusyon of his bodye; bothe with many other, and in especiall with Shores wife, whiche was one of his secrete counsaill of this heynous treason, with whom he laye nyghtlye, and namely the nyght passed next before his deathe, so that it was the lesse maruell yf vngracyous lyuyng brought hym to an vnhappie ende, whiche he was nowe putte to by the commaundement of the kyng his highnes and of his honourable and faithfull coūsaill, bothe for his demerytes, beyng so openly taken in his false contriued treason, and also least the delaiyng of his execucion myght haue encoraged other myschenous persones, parteners of his conspiracye, to gather and assemble theim selues together in makyng so greate commocyon for his delyueraunce, whose hope nowe beeyng by hys well deserued deathe pollytickelye repressed, all the realme shall by Goddes grace reste in good quyet and peace. Nowe was this proclamacion made within twoo houres after he was behedded, and it was so curyously endited, and so fayre wrytten in parchement, in a fayre sette hande, and therwith of it selfe so long aprocesse, that euery chylde myght perceaue that it was prepared and studyed before, (and as some menne thought, by Catesby,) for all the tyme betwene hys deathe and the proclamacyon proclaymynge could skante haue suffysed vnto the bare wrytynge alone, albeit that it had been in paper, and scrybeled foorthe in haste at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaymynge therof, one that was schoolemaster at Paules standyng by and comparyng the shortenesse of the tyme wyth the lengthe of the matter, sayed to theim that stoode aboute hym "Here is gaye goodlye cast, fowle caste awaye for hast:" and anarchaunte that stoode by hym sayed that it was wrytten by inspyracyon and prophesye. Nowe then by and by as yt were for anger and not for coueteous, the protectoure sent sir Thomas Hawarde to the hous of Shores wyfe, (for her husbande dwelt not wyth her,) whyche spoyled her of all ý euer she had, aboue

Fol. lx.

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the valure of twoo or thre thousande markes, and sente her bodye to pryson: and the protectoure had laide to her for the maner sake ẏ she enterlied to witche hym, and ẏ she was a cõsaill ẇ the lord Hastynges to destroye hym. In conclucion, whẽ no coloure could fasten vpõ these matters, the he leyed heinously to her charge that thyng that she coulde not denye, for all the worlde knewe that it was true, and that not wythstandyng euery manne laughed to here it then so sodeynly so highly taken, that she was noughte of her body. And for this cause, as a godly continent prince, clene and faultlesse of hym selfe, sent oute of heauen into this vicious worlde for the amendement of mennes maners, he caused the byshop of London to put her to open penaunce, goynge before a crosse on Sondaye at procession with a taper in her hande; in the which she went in coũtenaũce and pace so womanly, and albeit she was out of al her araye, sauyng her kyrtell onelye, yet wente she so fayre and louely, and namelye when the wondryng of the people cast a comelye rud in her chekes, of the whiche she before had moste mysse, that her greate shame wanne her muche prayse amongest theim that were more amorous of her bodye then curyous of her soule: & many good folke that hated her lyuyng, and wer glad to see synne corrected, yet petied they more her penaũce then reioysed it, whẽ they consydred ẏ the protectour dyd it more of a corrupt mynde then any verteous affeccion.

The descripcion of Shores wife.

This woman was borne in London, well frended, honestly brought vp, and verye well maryed, sauyng somwhat to sone; her husband an honest & a young citezen, godlye & of good substaunce, but forasmuche as they were coupled or she were well rype, she not very feruẽtly loued for whõ she neuer longed, whiche was the thyng (by chaunce) that ẏ more easely made her to encline to ẏ kynges appetite, when he requyred her; howbeit the respect of his royaltee, ẏ hope of gaye apparel, ease, pleasure, and other wantonne wealthe was hable soone to perce a softe tender harte. But when the kyng had abused her, anone her husbande being an honest manne, and one that coulde his good, not presuming to touche a kynges concubyne, lefte her vp to hym all together. When the kyng dyed ẏ lorde Hastynges tooke her, which in the kynges dayes albeit that he was sore enamoured with her, yet he forbare, either for a pryncelye reuerence or for a certen frendely faythfulnesse. Propre she was & fayre, nothing in her bodye that you coulde haue chaunged, but if you would haue wished her somwhat hygher. This saye they that knewe her in her youthe, some saied and iudged ẏ she had bene well fauoured, and some iudged the contrarye, whose iudgement semeth lyke as menne gesse the bewtye of one longe before departed by a scalpe taken oute of a chanell house, & this iudgemente was in the tyme of kyng Henry the eyghte, in the. xviii. yere of whose reygne she dyed, when she had nothing but a reueled skynne and bone. Her beautye pleased not menne so muche as her pleasaunt behaucoure, for she had a propre wytte, and could bothe reade and wryte, mery in compaignye,

Fol.lxi.

redy and quicke of aunswer, nether mute nor full of bable, sometime taunting withoute displeasure, but not without disporte. Kyng Edward woulde saye that he had thre concubines, which in diuerse properties diuerslye excelled, one the meriest, ŷ other the wiliest, the third the holyest harlot in ŷ realme, as one whom no man could get oute of ŷ churche to any place lightlye, but yf it were to his bed, the other two were somwhat greater personages thē mastres Shore, & neuerthelesse of their humilyte were content to bee namelesse, and to forbeare the praise of these properties. But the meryest was Shores wyfe, in whome the kyng therfore tooke greate pleasure, for many he had but her he loued, whose fauoure, to saye the truthe, (for it were synne to lye on the deuell,) she neuer abused to any mannes hurte, but to many mennes comforte & releefe: for where the kyng tooke displeasure, she would mitigate & apeace his mynde, where menne were oute of fauoure, she woulde bring theim into his grace, for many that had highly offended she opteygned pardone, and of greate forfeatures she gat remissyon, and finally, in many weightye suites she stoode many mēne in greate steade, either for none or for very small rewardes, & those rather gaye then ryche, either for that she was contente with the dede well done, or for that she delyghted to be sued vnto, and to shewe what she was hable to doo with the kyng, or for that that wanton wemenne and welthye bee not alwayes couetous. I doubte not but some manne wyll thynke this womanne to bee to slyghte to bee writen of amonge graue & weightie matters, whiche they shall specially thynke ŷ happely sawe her in her age & aduersite; but me semeth ŷ chaūce so much more worthy to be remēbred, in howe muche after welth she fell to pouerte, & frō richesse to beggerie, vnfrēded, oute of aquayntaunce, after great substaūce, after so great fauoure ŷ her prince, after so great suite and seking to, as many other menne were in their times whiche be nowe famous onlye by the infamye of theyr euell dedes, her doinges were not muche lesse remembred because they were not so euell, for none vse to wryte an euell turne in marble stone, but a good turne they write in the duste, whiche is not worste proued by her, for after her welthe she wente begginge of manye that hadde begged theim selfes yf she had not holpen theim, suche was her chaunce. *Vol. lxii.*

Nowe was it deuysed by the protectoure and his counsayle, that the same daye that the lorde chaumberlayne was behedded in the towre of Lōdon, and aboute the same houre should be behedded at Pomfret the earle Riuers & the lorde Richard the quenes soonne, sir Thomas Vaugham and syr Richard Haute, which, as you haue harde, were taken at Northampton and Stonye Stratforde by the consent of the lorde Hastinges; which execucion was done by the ordre & in the presence of sir Richard Ratcliff knight, whose seruice ŷ protectoure specially vsed in the councell & in the execucion of suche lawlesse enterprises, as a manne ŷ had bene longe secrete wyth hym, hauynge experyence of the worlde and shrewed wytte, shorte & rude in speche,

rough and boysterous of behaueoure, bold in myshiefe, as farre from pitie as from feare of God.

Thys knyghte broughte these foure persoonnes to the scaffolde at the daye appoynted, and shewed to all the people that they were traytoures, not sufferynge the lordes to speake and to declare theyr innocencye, leaste their wordes myghte haue inclyned menne to pytie theym, and to hate the protectour and hys part; and so, wyth oute iudgemente and processe of the lawe, caused theim to bee behedded withoute other erthly gylt, but onely that they were good menne & true to the kyng, and to nye to the quene; insomuche as syr Thomas Vaughan, going to his deathe, saied, "A wo woorth theim that tooke the prophecie that. G should destroy kyng Edwardes children, meanīg that by the duke of Clarence lorde George, which for that suspicion is nowe dead, but nowe remayneth Richard G. duke of Gloucetre, whiche nowe I see is he that shall & wyll accomplishe the prophecye and destroye kyng Edwardes chyldren & all̄ theyr alyes and frendes, as it appereth by vs this daye, whom I appele to the hygh tribunal of God for his wrongful murder and oure true innocencye." And then Ratclyffe saied, "You haue well apeled, laye downe your hed." "Ye," quoth syr Thomas, "I dye in ryght, beware you dye not in wrong;" and so that good knight was beheded and ỹ other. iii. and buried naked in the monastery at Pomfret.

When the lorde Hastinges and these other lordes and knyghtes were thus behedded & ryd oute of the waye, then the protectoure caused it to bee proclaimed, that the coronacyon for dyuerse great and vrgent causes shoulde be deferred tyll the second day of Nouembre; for then, thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter ment, & whyle the lordes of the realme were aboute hym, oute of their owne strengthes, and while no manne wyste what to thynke, nor whome to truste, or euer they should haue tyme and space to digest the matter, and make partes, it were best hastely to pursue his purpose and put hym selfe in possessyon of the croune or menne coulde haue tyme to deuise any wise to resyst. But nowe was all the studye (that) *Ed. Hall.*
thys matter beynge of it selfe so heynous myghte bee fyrst broken to the people in such wise as it might be well taken. To thys counsayle they tooke dyuerse, suche as they thoughte metely to be trusted, and lykelye to be enduced to that parte, and hable to stande them in stede, ether by powre or by pollycy; amonge whome they made a counsayle Edmounde Shaa, then mayre of Londō, whych vpō truste of his owne anauncement, wher he was of a proude heart hyghly desyrous, toke on hym to frame the cyte to theyr appetite. Of spirituall mē they tooke suche as had wyt and were in auctorytee emongest the people for opymon of theyr learnynge, and hadde no scrupulous conscyence: emongest these had they tooke Raffe Shaa, clerke, brother to the mayre, and freer Pynkie, prouyncyall of the Augustyne freers, both doctoures in diuinitee, both great preachers, both of

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more learning then vertue, of more fame then learnyng, & yet of more lernyng then truthe, for they wer before greatelye estemed emonge the people, but after that neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a sermonde in prayse of the protectour before the coronacion, and Pynky made one after the coronation, bothe so full of tedious flatterye, that no good mans eares coulde abyde thē. Pynkye, in hys sermonde, so lost hys voyce, that he was fayne to leaue of, and come downe in the myddest. Doctoure Shaa, by hys sermonde, loste hys honestye, and soone after hys lyfe, for verye shame of the worlde, into the whyche he durst neuer after much come abrode; but the freer forced for no shame, and so yt harmed him the lesse. Howbeit, some doubte and many thyncke that Pinkey was not of counsayl before the coronation, but after the common maner fell to flattery after, namely, because his sermounde was not incontinente vpon it, but at saynt Mary Spittle the Eastre after; but certayne it is that doctoure Shaa was of counsayle in the begynnynge, in so muche that they determyned that he shoulde fyrst breke the matter in a sermōd at Paules crosse, in which he shulde, by the authorytee of hys preachyng, induce the people to enclyne to the protectoures ghoostly purpose. But nowe was all the laboure and studye in the deuyse of some conuenyent pretexte, for whyche the people shoulde be contente to depose the prynce, and accepte the protectoure for kyng, in whyche dyuerse thynges they deuysed, but the chiefe thynge, and the weyghte of all that inuention rested in thys, that they shoulde alledge bastardy in kynge Edwarde hym selfe, or in his chyldren, or both, so that he should seme disabled to enherite the crowne by the duke of Yorke and the prynce by hym. To laye basterdy in king Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the protectoures owne mother, which was mother to thē bothe: for in that poynte coulde bee none other colour, but to pretend that hys owne mother was an auouaresse: but neuerthelesse he woulde that poynt should be lesse and more fynely and closely handled, not euen fully playne and dyrectlye, but touched a slope craftely, as though menne spared in that poynte to speake all the truthe for feare of his displeasure; but that other poynt concerning the basterdy that they deuysed to surmise in king Edwardes children, that woulde he shoulde be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost: the coloure and pretexte wherof cannot be wel perceaued, excepte we report some thynges longe before done aboute kynge Edwardes maryages.

Fol. lxiiii.

After king Edwarde the. iiii. had deposed king Henry the. vi., & was in peasyable possession of the realme, determyning him selfe to mary, (as was requisite both for him self and for the realme,) he sēt the earle of Warwike and diuerse other noble mē in ambassade to the Frenche kynge, to entreate a maryage betwene ȳ kyng and Bona syster to the Frenche kyng, in whych the earle of Warwike founde the parties so towarde and wyllinge, that he spedely, wythout anye dyfficultie, according to hys instruccyons, broughte

broughte the matter to a good conclusion. Nowe happened yt, in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the kynge by petycyon, dame Elyzabeth Greye, (whyche after was hys quene,) then a wyddowe, borne of noble blood, specyallye by her mother, whyche was duchesse of Bedforde, and she was maryed to syr Rychard Wooduyle, lorde Ryuers, her father.

Howebeit, thys Elyzabeth beynge in seruyce wyth quene Margarete, wyfe to kynge Henrye the syxt, was maryed to one Ihon Greye esquyre, whome kynge Henrye made knyghte at the last battayle of Saynte Albons, but lytle whyle he enioyed hys knyghtehoode, for at that feelde he was slayne.

Afterwarde that kynge Edwarde was kynge, & the earle of Warwyke being on his ambassad, thys poore ladye made sute to the kyng to be restored to such small landes as her husbande had geuen her in ioyntour; whom when the kyng beheld, and heard her speake, as she was bothe fayre and of a good fauoure, moderate of nature, well made and very wyse, he not alonlye pytied her, but also wexed enamored on her, and takynge her secretly a syde beganne to enter into talkynge more famylyerly, whose apetite when she perceaued, she vertuoslye denyed him, but that dyd she so wyselye, & that with so good maner & wordes so wel set, that she rather kyndled hys desyre then quenched it; and fynally, after manye a metynge, and muche wowynge and manye great promyses, she well espyed the kynges affeccyon towarde her so greatelye encreased, that she durste somewhat the more boldly say her mynde, as to hym whose hearte she perceaued more feruently set then to fall of for a word: and in cōclusiō she shewed hym playn ý as she wyst her self to sīple to be his wife, so thought she her selfe to good to be hys concubyne. The kyng much maruelyng of her constancy, as he ý had not bene wont elles where so styfly sayd nay, so much estemed her continencye & chastitee, that he set her vertue in stead of possessiō and rychesse: and this, taking counsel of his owne desyre, determyned in hast to mary her. And after that he was thus apoīted & had betwene thē twayn cōsured her, thē asked he the coūcel of his secret frēdes, & that in such maner ý they myght easly perceaue ý it boted not to say nay; notwythstandīg the duches of York his mother was so sore moued therw, ý she diswaded ý mariage as much as she possible might, alledgyng that it was his honour profite & suretie to marye in some noble progenie oute of the realme, whereupon depended greate strength to his estate by that affinitee and greate possibilite of encreace of his dominions. And ý he could not well otherwise dooe, considerynge the erle of Warwike had so ferforth entered into the matter all readie, whiche was not like to take it well if all his voyage were in suche wise frustrate & his apointment deluded. And she saied ferther, that it was not princely to marye his owne subiect, no greater occacio ledyng therunto, no possessions nor other commodyte dependyng therupon, but only as a riche mā would mary his maydē onely for a litle waton dotage vpon her persone. In whiche maryage many

menne commende more the maydens fortune then the mannes wysedome; and yet she saied that there was more honestye then honoure in this maryage: forasmuche as there is not betwene a marchaunt and his mayde so greate a dyfference as betwene a kyng and his subiect, a great prince and a poore wydowe, in whose persone, although there were nothyng to bee mislyked, yet, was there, saied she, nothyng so excellent but that it might bee founde in dyuerse other that were more metely (quoth she) for your estate, yee, and maydens also: the onely wydowhead of dame Elizabeth Grey, (although she were in all other pointes and thynges conuenient for you) should suffise, as me thynketh, to refrayne you frō her maryage, sith it is an vnsittyng thyng and a greate blemishe to the sacred maiestie of a prince that ought as nere to approche prestehoode in clennesse as he dooth in dignitee, to bee defiled ẏ bigamy ī his first mariage. The kyng made his mother an aūswere, parte in earnest & parte in plaie merely, as he ẏ wist hym self oute of rule; & albeit he would gladly ẏ she should take it well, yet was he at apoynct in his awne mynde, tooke she it well or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfie her, he saied, ẏ albeit maryage beyng a spirituall thyng, ought rather to bee made for the respecte of God, where [his grace encline the parties][1] to loue together, (as he trusted it was in his case,) rather then for ẏ regard of any tēporall aduaūtage; yet neuerthelesse hym semed this maryage well consydered not to bee vnprofitable, for he reconed the amytee of no earthely nacion to bee so necessary for hym as ẏ frendship of his owne, whiche he thought lykely to beare hym somuche ẏ more hartie fauoure, in ẏ he disdayned not to mary ẁ one of his awne land: & yet if outward aliaunce were thought so requisite, he would finde ẏ meanes to enter therunto muche better by other of his kinne, where all ẏ parties could bee contented, then to marye hym selfe wherein he should neuer happely loue, & for ẏ possibilite of possessiōs lese ẏ fruyte & pleasure of this that he had alreadie: for small pleasure taketh a māne of all ẏ euer he hath besyde, if he bee wiued against his appetite. And I doubte not (quoth he) but ther be as you saie other ẏ bee in euery poinct comparable with her, & therfore I let not theim ẏ like theim to mary theim, no more is it reason ẏ it mislike any manne that I marye where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousyn of Warwike neither loueth me so litle to grudge at ẏ that I loue, ner is so vnreasonable to look ẏ I should in choise of a wife rather bee ruled by his yie then by myne owne, as though I were a warde ẏ were boūdē to mary by a garden. I would not bee a kyng with ẏ cōdicion, to forbeare myne owne libertie in choyse of myne awne maryage, as for possibylyte of more inheritaunce by newe affinite in straūge landes, is ofte ẏ occasiō of more trouble thē proffite; and we haue already title by ẏ meanes, as suffiseth to get & kepe well in one

Fol. lxvi.

[1] the parties ought to encline. *ed. alt.*

mannes

mannes daye. That she is a widowe, & hath already children ; by Goddes blessed ladye, I am a bacheler, & haue some too, & so eche of vs hath a proofe ẏ nether of vs is like to be barren : and therfore, Madame, I praie you bee cōtēt, I trust to God she shall bryng foorth a yoūge prince ẏ shall please you. And as for the bigamy, let the bisshop hardely laie it to my charge whē I come to take ordres: for I vnderstād it is forbiddē a preest, but I neuer wist ẏ it was forbidden a prince. The duches ẇ these woordes nothing apeased, & seyng ẏ kyng so set on ẏ she could not plucke hym backe, so highly she disdeined it, that vnder pretext of her dutye to Godwarde, she deuised to dysturbe this maryage, and rather to helpe that he should mary one dame Elizabeth Lucye, whom the kyng not long before had gotten with chylde. Wherfore the kyng his mother obiected openlye against this maryage, (as it were in dyscharge of her conscyence,) that the kyng was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucye, and her housbande before God. By reason of whiche woordes, suche obstacle was made in that matter, that either the bysshoppe durste not, or the kyng woulde not proceade to the solempnisacion of the mariage, till this fame were clerely purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Wherupon dame Elizabeth Lucye was sent for, and albeit she was by the kynges mother and many other put in good comforte to affirme that she was assured to the kyng ; yet when she was solemply sworne to saie the truthe, she confessed that thei were neuer ensured. Howbeit she said his grace spake suche louyng woordes to her that she verely hoped that he would haue maryed her, and ẏ if suche kynde woordes had not been, she would neuer haue shewed suche kyndenesse to hym to let hym so kyndely to gette her with childe. This examynacion solemply taken, it was clerely proued that there was no impedyment to lette the kyng to marye ; wherfore he shortlye after at Grafton, beside Stonye Stratforde, maryed the ladye Elizabeth Grey verey priuelye, whiche was his enemyes wife, and had prayed hartely for his losse : in the whiche God loued her better then to graunte her bone, for then had she not been his wife. And after that she was crouned quene, and her father was created erle Riuers, and her soonne created marques Dorset. But when the erle of Warwike vnderstoode of this maryage, he tooke it so highly that therof ensued muche trouble and greate blooddshed, as is declared before in the storye of Edward the fourth.

I haue rehersed this mariage somewhat the more at length, because it might therby the better apere vpon howe sleight aground the protectoure builded his coloure, by whiche he pretended kyng Edward his chyldren to bee bastardes : but the inuencyon, as symple as it was, lyked theim to whom it suffyseth to haue somwhat to saye, whyle they were sure to bee compelled to no larger proffe then theim selues lyst to make. *Fol. lxvii.*

Nowe to retourne where I lefte : as I beganne to shewe you, it was by the protectoure & his councell concluded that this doctour Shaa shoulde,

in a sermond at Paules crosse, signifie to the people, that neyther kyng Edward hym selfe, ner the duke of Clarence, were lawfullye begotten, nor were the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfullye by other personnes, by aduoutrye of the duches theyr mother, and dame Elizabeth Lucye was the very wyfe of kyng Edwarde, & so prynce Edward & all the chyldren begotten on the quene were bastardes. And accordyng to this deuyce, doctor Shaa ẏ Sōday after at Paules crosse, in a greate audience, (as alwaye a greate nombre assembled to his preachyng,) came into the pulpet, takyng for his theme, *Spuria Vitulamina non dabunt radices altos. Sapiencie quarto.* that is to saye, bastarde slyppes shall neuer take depe rootes. Whereupon when he had shewed the great grace that God geueth and secretlye infoundeth in right generacion, after the lawes of matrymony, then declared he that those chyldren commenlye lacked that grace, (and for the punyshement of their parentes) were for the moste parte vnhappye whiche were gotten in baste, and speciallye in aduoutrye, of whiche (thoughe some by the ignorauncye of the worlde, and the truthe hid from knowledge) haue enheryted for a season other mennes landes, yet God alwaye so prouydeth, that it contynueth not in their bloodde longe, but the truthe commyng to lyght, the rightfull enheritoures be restored, and the bastard slyppes plucked vp or it can bee rooted depe. And when he had layd for the proofe and confirmacion of this sentence, examples taken out of the Olde Testamente and other auncient historyes, then beganne he to discende to the prayse of lorde Richarde duke of Yorke, callyng hym father of the protectoure, and declared his tytle to the croune by inherytaunce, and also by an entayle autorysed by parliament after the death of kyng Henry the syxte. Then shewed he that the lorde protectoure was onlye the right heire of his body lawfullye begotten. Then declared he that kynge Edward was neuer lawfully maryed to the quene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucye, and so his chyldren were bastardes. And besydes that, that neyther kyng Edwarde hym selfe, nor the duke of Clarence (amongest theim ẏ wer secrete in the duke of Yorkes houshold,) were neuer reconed surelye to bee the chyldren of the noble duke, as those that by their fauoures more resembled other knowen menne then hym, from whose verteous condicions he sayde also that kyng Edwarde was farre of. "But the lorde protectoure, (quoth he) that veray noble prince, the specyall patrone of knightly prowes, aswell in all princely behaueour, as in the lyniamentes and fauoure of his vysage, representeth the veraye face of the noble duke his father. This is, (quoth he) the fathers owne fygure, this is his owne countenaunce, ẏ very print of his vysage, the sure vndoubted ymage, ẏ playn expresse likenesse of ẏ noble duke." Now was it before deuysed, ẏ in the speakyng of these
Fol. lxxiii. wordes, the protectoure shuld haue come in amongest ẏ people tothe sermond ward, to thende ẏ these woordes so metyng with his presence

might haue bene taken amongest the herers as though the Holye Ghoste had put theim in the preachers mouthe, & shoulde haue moued the people euen there to haue cryed kyng Richard, that it might haue bene after sayde that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by myracle: but this deuyce quayled eyther by the protectoures neglygence, or the preachers ouer hasty dilygence: for whyle the protectoure founde by the waye tariynge leaste he shoulde haue preuented these woordes, the doctoure fearynge that he shoulde come or his sermon coulde come to those wordes, hastyng his matter thereto, he was come to theim & paste theim, and entred into other matters or the protectoure came: whome when he behelde cōmyng, he sodenly left the matter whiche he had in hande, and without any deduccion therunto, out of al ordre and out of all frame, beganne to repete those woordes agayne: "This is the very noble prince, the especyall patrone of knyghtlye prowes, whyche aswell in all pryncely behaueoure, as in the lyniamentes and fauoure of his vysage, representeth the veraye face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne fygure, this is his owne countenaunce, the veraye prynte of his visage, the sure vndoubted ymage, the playne expresse lykenesse of that noble duke, whose remembraunce can neuer dye whyle he lyueth." Whyle these wordes were in speakynge, the protectour, accompanyed with the duke of Buckyngham, wente throughe the people vp into the place where the doctors stande, and there hearde they out the sermond. But the people were so farre from cryenge kynge Richard, that they stoode as they had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermond; after whiche once ended, the preacher gate him home, and neuer after durst looke out: and when he asked any of his olde frendes what the people talked of hym, although that his owne conscience well shewed hym that they talked no good, yet whē the other aunswered hym that there was in euerye mannes mouthe of hym muche shame spoken, it so strake hym to his heart, that in fewe dayes after he wythered awaye.

Then on the Tuysdaye after nexte folowynge this sermonde, beeynge the. xvii. daye of Iune, there came to the Guylde hal of London, the duke of Buckyngham, and dyuerse lordes and knightes, mo then happely knewe the message that they brought; and at the east ende of the hall where the hoystynges be kepte, ŷ duke and the mayre and ŷ other lordes sate downe, and the aldermen also, all the commons of the cytee beyng assembled & standynge before theim. After sylence commaunded vpon a greate payne, in the protectoures name, the duke stoode vp, and as he was well learned, and of nature meruelously well spoken, he sayde to the people wyth a cleare and a lowde voyce, "Frendes, for the zeale and hertie fauoure that we beare you, we be come to breke of a matter ryghte great & weightie, and no lesse weyghtye then pleasyng to God and profitable to all the realme, nor to no part of ŷ realme more profitable thē to

The oracion of ye duke of Buc. kyngha made to the cytezens of London.

Fol. lxix. you the cytezens of thys noble cytee: for why, the thinge that you haue longe lacked, and as we wel knowe sore longed for, that you woulde haue geuen greate good for, that you woulde haue gone farre to fetche, that thyng bee we come hether to bring you, withoute youre laboure, payne, coste, aduenture, or ieopardy. What thing is that? Certes the suretie of youre owne bodies, the quiet of youre wiues and doughters, and the sauegard of your goodes. Of all whiche thinges in times passed, you stoode in doubte; for who was he of ẏou al that coulde recone hym selfe lorde of his owne good amongest so many gynnes and trappes as were set therfore, amonge so muche pilling & polling, amongest so many taxes and talliages, of ẏ which there was neuer ende, and oftimes no nede; and yf any were, it grewe either of ryot or of vnreasonable waste, then any necessarye honourable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pylled from good and honest menne great substaūce of goodes, to be lashed oute amonge vnthryftes so farforth that fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsual termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of beneuolence and good will, the cōmissioners so muche of euery manne tooke, as no manne would with his good wyll haue geuen. As though ẏ name of beneuolence had signifyed ẏ euery man should paye, not what he of hym self of his good will lust to graūt, but what ẏ kyng of his good wyl lust to take, who neuer asked lytle. But euery thyng was haunsed aboue the measure; amercyamentes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes, small trespaces into misprision, misprision into treasō, wherof I thynke that no manne looketh that we shall remēbre of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was, for a woorde spoken in hast, cruelly beheddcd, by the misconstruing of the lawes of the realme, for the princes pleasure, with no lesse honoure to Merkam, chiefe iustice then, (whiche loste his office, rather then he would assēt to that iudgement,) to the dishonestie of those that, other for feare or flatterie, gaue that iudgemente. What nede I to speake of Thomas Cooke, aldremanne & maire of this noble cytee? Who is of you ether for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetfull that he remēbreth not, or so heard harted that he petieth not, that worshipful mannes losse? What speke I of losse? his wounderfull spoile and vndeserued distruccion, onely because it happed theim to fauoure hym whome the prince fauoured not. We nede not reherse of these any mo by name, sith I doubte not ẏ here bee many presēt, that either in theim selfes, or their nyghe frendes, aswell their goodes as persones, were greatly endaungered, other by fained quarels or smal matters aggreued with heinous names; and also there was no crime so great of which there could lacke a pretexte: for sith the king, preuenting ẏ time of his inheritaūce, attcined the croune by battail, it suffised in a riche manne, for a pretext of treason, to haue been of kinred or aliaunce, nor of familiarite, or lenger of acquaintaunce ẇ any of those ẏ wer at any time the kīges enemies, which was at one time or another more then halfe ẏ realme.

Thus

Thus were nether your goodes, nether lādes in suerte; & yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beside ẏ comen aduēture of opē war, which, albeit ẏ it is euer ẏ well & occasion of much mischief, yet is it neuer so mischeuous as where any people fal in deuisiō & at al distaūce among theim selues, & in no realme erthly so deadly and so pestylēt, as when it happeneth amongest vs. And among vs neuer continued so long discēcion, nor so many batailes in any season, nor so cruel nor so deadly foughtē, as wer in ẏ kinges daies ẏ dead is, God forgeue it his soule; in whose time, and by whose occasiō, what about ẏ getting of the garland, keping it, lesing & winning again, it hath coste more English blood then hath the twise winning of Fraūce. In which inward war amongest our selues hath bene so great effusion of ẏ auncīt noble blood of this realme, ẏ scarcely the halfe remaineth, to ẏ great enfebling of this noble land, beside many a good toune ransaked & spoiled by thē that haue been going to ẏ feld or retourning from thence, & peace after not much surer then war. So that no tyme was there in the which riche men for theyr money, & great men for their landes, or some other, for some feare or for sōe displeasure, wer out of perell: for whom mistrusted he ẏ mistrusted his owne brother? Whom spared he ẏ killed his owne brother? Could not such maner of folke ẏ he moste fauoured dooe somwhat? (We shall for his honoure spare to speke.) Howbeit this ye wote wel all, ẏ who so was best bare euer the least rule, & more suite in his daies was to Shores wife, a vile & abhominable strompet, then to all the lordes in England, excepte vnto those that made her their protectoure: which simple woman was yet wel named & honest tyll the kynge, for his luste and synfull affeccyon, bereſte her from her husband, a right honest man and substanciall amongest you. And in that point, whiche in good fayth I am sorye to speake of, saying that it is vayne to kepe in counceil ẏ thyng that all menne knoweth, the kynges gredy appetite was insaciable, and euerye where ouer all the realme intollerable: for no womanne was there any where, younge or olde, poore or ryche, whome he set his iye vpon, whome he any thing liked, eyther for persone or beautie, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without any feare of God, or respecte of his honoure, murmoure or grudgyng of the worlde, he would importunately pursue his appetite & haue her, to the great distruccion of many a good womanne, and greate doloure to theyr husbandes and frendes, whiche being honest people of theim selues, so much regarded the clennesse of their houses, the chastitee of their wiues and children, that theim were leuer to loose all ẏ they haue beside, then to haue suche a vilayne dooe to theim. And albeit that ẏ this and other inpossible dealing, ẏ realme was in euery place anoyed; yet specially you the citezens of this noble citee: as for ẏ amongest you is moost plentie of suche thinges as minister matter to suche iniuries, as for ẏ you wer nere at hand, sith ẏ more here about was his moost cōmon abidyng. And yet lee ye people

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whome he had as synguler a cause well and trewelye to intrete, as any parte of his realme; not only for that the prynce by this noble citee, as of his speciall chaumbre and renoumed citee of this realme, muche honourable fame receaueth amongest all other nacyons, but also for that you nowe, withoute youre greate coste and sondrye fauoures and ieopardyes in al his warres, bare euer youre especyall fauoure to hys parte, whych your kynd myndes borne to ŷ house of Yorke. Sith he hath no thīg worthely requited you, ther is of ŷ house now, whyche, by Godes grace, shall make you full recompence: which thyng to shew you, is the whole somme and effecte of oure errande. It shal not, I wote well, nede, that I rehersed vnto you agayne that you all redy haue hearde of him that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye wyll better beleue it. And reason it is that it so be. I am not so proude to loke therfore that you shoulde receaue my wordes of so greate authorytee as the preachers of the worde of God, namely, a man so connyng & so wyse, that no man wotteth better what he should do & say, and thereto so good and vertuous, that he would not say the thynge which he wyst he shculde not saye in the pulpyt, namely, into the whiche no honeste manne commeth to lye: which honourable preacher ye wel remember substancyally declared to you at Poules crosse, on Sōdaye laste past, the ryght and tytle of the most excellent prynce Rychard duke of Glouceter, nowe protectoure of thys hys realme, whych he hath vnto the croune of the kingdome of the same. For ŷ worshipful man made yt perfytely and groundly open vnto you the chyldren of kynge Edwarde the. iiii. wer neuer laufully begotten, for as much as the kynge (lyuyng hys very wyfe dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer laufully maried to ŷ quene theyr mother, whose blood, sauyng he set hys volupteous pleasure before hys honour, was ful vnmetely to be matched with his. The mynglyng of which twō bloodes together hath bene the effusiō of a gret part of ŷ noble blod of this realme, wherby it may well be sene that mariage was not well made of which ther is so much myschiefe growen. For lacke of which laweful copulatiō, & also of other thinges which ŷ sayd worshipful doctour rather signified thē vtterly explaned, & which thing shall not be spokē for me, as the thing ŷ euery mā forbeareth to say ŷ he knoweth, in aduoiding ŷ dyspleasour ŷ my noble lorde protectour bearing, as nature requireth, a filiall reuerence to the duches his mother. For these causes before remembred, I say, ŷ for lack of yssue lawfully cōming of ŷ late noble prince Richard duke of York, to whose roial blod ŷ crownes of Englād & of Fraūce ar by high aucthoritee of parliament entayled, ŷ right & tytle of the same is by iuste course of enheritaūce, according to ŷ comon law of this land, deuoluted & come vnto the moost excellent prince ŷ lord protectour, as to the very lawful begotten soonne of the fore remēbred noble duke of Yorke. Whiche thing wel cōsidered, & ŷ knightly prowesse ẅ many vertues which in his noble person singulerly do habound, the nobles & co-

Ed. Iiii.

& comons of this realme, and specially of ẏ North partes, not willīg any bastard blood to haue the rule of the lād, nor the abusions, in the same before vsed & exercised, any lēger to cōtinue, haue fully condiscended & vtterly determyned to make hygh peticiō vnto ẏ puisaunt prince the lord protectour, ẏ it may lyke his grace, at our humble request, to take vpō him the guiding & gouernaūce of this realme, to ẏ welth & increase of ẏ same, according to his very right & iust title: which thinge I wote wel he wylbe loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdome wel perceueth ẏ labour & study, both of mynd & body, ẏ shal come therẇ to hī, whosoeuer shal occupy ẏ rome. I dare say he wyl, yf he take it, (for I warrāte you ẏ that roome is no childes office,) & ẏ the greate wise man wel perceaued whē he sayd, *Ve regno cuius rex puer est*, wo to that realme whose king is a chylde. Wherefore so much more cause haue we to thank God ẏ this noble personage, which is so righteously ētitled therto, is of so sad age, & therto of so great wisdome ioyned ẇ so gret experiēce, which albeit he wylbe loth to take vpon hī, yet shal he to our peticiō in ẏ behalfe ẏ more graciously encline, if ye, the worshipful cytezins of this cite, beyng the chefe cite of the realme, ioyne ẇ vs the nobles in our sayd request, which for your owne weale we doubte not but ẏ ye wyll. And yet neuerthelesse, we pray you so to do, wherby ye shall do great profite to all this his realme. Beside that in chosinge then so good a kinge, yt shalbe to your selfe a special commodite, to whom his maiesty shal euer after bear so much the more tender fauour, in how much he shal perceaue you the more prone and beneuolentlye mynded toward his eleccion: wherin, dere frendes, what mynd you haue, we require you playnelye to shewe vs." Whē ẏ duke had said & loked ẏ the people, whom he hoped ẏ the maire had framed before, should, after this flatering proposicion made, haue cryed "kīg Richard, king Richard," all was styl & mute, & not one word answered to. Wherẇ the duke was meruelously abashed, and takyng the mayre nere to him, with other that were about hym preuy to the matter, sayde vnto theim softelye, "What meaneth this that the people be so styll?" "Sir," quoth the mayre, "percase they perceaue you not wel." "That shal we amēd," quoth he, "yf that wyl helpe." And therwith somewhat lowder rehersed the same matter again, in other ordre & other wordes, so well and ordinately, & neuerthelesse so euydently & plain, with voyce, gesture and countenaunce so comely & so conuenient, that euery man muche marueiled ẏ heard hym, & thought that thei neuer hearde in their lines so euyll a tale so well tolde. But wer it for wonder or for other ẏ eache loked that other should speake fyrst, not one worde was there answered of all the people that stode before, but all were as styll as the midnight, not so much as rounyng emong theim, by which they might seme once to commen what was best to do. When the mayre sawe this, he with other parteners of ẏ councel drewe about the duke, and

said

said ẏ the people had not bene accustomed ther to bee spoken to but by the recorder, whyche is the mouth of the citee, & happly to hym they wyl aunswer. With that the recorder, called Thomas Fize William, a sad man & an honest, whiche was but newly come to the offyce & neuer had spoken to ẏ people before, & loth was with that matter to begyn, notwithstanding therunto commaunded by the mayre, made rehersall to the cōmons of that which the duke had twyse purposed hys self: but the recorder so tempered hys tale, that he shewed euery thyng as the dukes wordes were, and no parte of his owne. But all this no chaūge made in the people, whych alwaye after one stoode as thei had bene amased. Whereupon the
Fol. lxxiii. duke rouned wyth the mayre and said, "This is a marueleous obstynate scylence," and therwith turned to the people again ẅ these woordes: "Deare frendes, we come to moue you to that thyng, whiche paraduenture we so greatly neded not; but that the lordes of this realme and commōs of other parties might haue sufficed, sauyng suche loue we beare you, and so muche set by you, that we would not gladly dooe with oute you, that thyng in whiche to bee parteners is your weale and honoure, whiche as to vs semeth you se not or waye not. Wherfore we require you to geue vs an aūswer one or other, whether ye bee mynded as all the nobles of the realme bee, to haue this noble prince, nowe protectoure, to bee your kyng." And at these woordes the people beganne to whisper emong theim selfes secretlye, that the voyce was nether lowde nor base, but like a swarme of bees, till at the last, at the nether ende of the halle, a bushement of the dukes seruauntes, and one Nashfeelde, and other belongyng to the protectoure, with some prentices and laddes that thrusted into the halle emongest the preace, began sodenly at mennes backes to crye "kyng Rychard, kyng Rychard," and there threwe vp their cappes in token of ioye: and thei that stoode before caste[1] their heddes maruelyng therat, but nothyng thei saied. And when the duke and the mayre sawe this maner thei wisely turned it to their purpose, and saied it was a goodly crye & a ioifull to here euery manne with one voyce, and no māne saiyng naye. "Wherfore, frendes, (quoth the duke) sith we perceaue that it is all your whole myndes to haue this noble manne for your kyng, wherof we shall make his grace effectuall report, ẏ we doubte not but ẏ it shall redounde to your great wealth & cōmodite. We therfore requier you, ẏ to morowe ye go with vs, & we ẅ you, to his noble grace, to make humble peticiō & request to hym in maner before remēbred." And therwith the lordes came downe, and ẏ cōpaignie dissolued & departed, the more parte all sad, some with glad sembleaunce ẏ were not verye merie, and some of theim ẏ came with the duke not hable to dissemble their sorowe, were faine, euen at his backe, to turne their face to the wall, while the doloure of their heartes brast oute of their yies.

[1] shooke. *ed. alt.*

Then

Then on the morowe the mayre & aldremen and chief commoners of ẏ citee, in their best maner appareled, assẽblyng theim together at Paules, resorted to Baynardes castel, where ẏ protectour laye; to whiche place also, accordyng to ẏ apointement, repaired ẏ duke of Buckyngham & dyuerse nobles ẇ hym, besydes many knightes & gẽtlemen. And therupon ẏ duke sent woord to ẏ lord protectoure of ẏ beyng there of a great honourable cõpaignie to moue a great matter to his grace, wherupon ẏ protectoure made great difficultie to come downe to theim, excepte he knewe some part of their errãd, as though he doubted & partly mistrusted the commyng of suche a noumbre to hym so sodenly, ẇout any warning or knowledge whether thei came for good or harme. Thẽ when ẏ duke had shewed this to ẏ mayre & other, that thei might therby se howe litle the protectoure looked for this matter, thei sẽt again by ẏ messenger suche louyng message, & therẇ so humblie besought hym to vouchesaue ẏ thei might resorte to his presence to purpose their entẽt, of which thei would to none other persone disclose. At the last he came oute of his chaũbre, and yet not downe to theim, but in a galary ouer theim ẇ a bishop on euery hãd of him, where thei beneth might se hym & speake to hym, as though he would not yet come nere theim till he wist what thei meant. And therupõ the duke of Buckyngham first made hũble peticiõ to him on ẏ behalfe of theim all, ẏ his grace would pardone theim, & licence theim to purpose vnto his grace thẽtent of their cõmyng ẇout his displeasure: ẇout whiche pardone obteined, thei durst not bee so bold to moue hym of ẏ matter; in whiche, albeit thei meant asmuche honoure to his grace, as wealth to al ẏ realme beside; yet were thei not sure howe his grace, would take it, whom thei would in no wise offende. Then ẏ protectour, as he was verie gentle of hym self, & also lõged sore apparaũtly to knowe what thei mẽãt, gaue him leaue to purpose what hym liked, trustyng for ẏ good mind ẏ he bare theim all, none of theim any thing would entend to hymward wherẇ he thought to bee greued. Whẽ ẏ duke had this leaue & pardõ to speake, thẽ wexed he bold to shewe hym their entent & purpose, ẇ all ẏ causes mouyng theim therto, as ye before haue hearde, and finally to beseche his grace ẏ it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse & zeale vnto ẏ realme, nowe ẇ his yie of pite to behold ẏ long cõtinued distresse & decaie of ẏ same, & to set his gracious hãd to redresse & amẽdemẽt therof, by takyng vpõ hym ẏ croune & gouernaunce of ẏ realme accordyng to his right & title laufully discẽded vnto hym, & to ẏ laude of God, profite, & surete of ẏ lãd, & vnto his grace so much ẏ more honour & lesse pain in that that neuer prince reigned vpon anye people that were so glad to hue vnder his obeysaunce as the people of this realme vnder his.

When the protectoure had hearde the proposicion, he looked very strangely thereat, and made aunswer, "That albeit he knewe partely the thynges by theim alledged to be true, yet suche entire loue he bare to

kyng Edward and his children, and so muche more regarded his honoure in other[1] realmes aboute then the croune of any one, of whiche he was neuer desyrous, so that he could not fynde in his hearte in this poincte to incline to their desyre, for in all other nacions were ŷ truthe not well knowē, it should paraduenture be thought that it were his owne ambicious mynde and deuice, to depose the prince and to take hym self ŷ croune, with whiche infamye he would in no wise haue his honoure steyned for any croune, in whiche he had neuer[2] perchaunce perceaued muche more laboure & pain then pleasure to hym that so would vse it, as he that would not and were not worthy to haue it: notwithstandyg, he not only perdoned theim the mocion that thei made hym, but also thāked theim for ŷ loue and hartie fauoure thei bare hym, praiyng theim for his sake to beare thesame to ŷ prince vnder whome he was and would bee contente to liue, and with his laboure and coūsaill as ferre as it should like the kyng to vse it, he would dooe his vttermost deuoyre to sette ŷ realme in good estate, whiche was all readye in the tyme of his protectourship (lauded bee God,) well begonne, in that ŷ malice of suche as were before the occasion of the contrarie and of newe entended to bee, were nowe partely by good policie, partely more by Goddes specyall prouydence then mannes prouysion, repressed and put vnder."

Fol. lxxv.

Vpon this aunswer geuen, the duke of Buckyngham, by the protectoures licence, a lytle rounded, aswell with other noble menne about hym as with the mayre and recorder of Londō. And after that (vpon like perdon desyred & opteyned,) he shewed alowde vnto the protectour, for a fynall conclusion that the realme was apoynted that kyng Edwardes lyne shoulde no lenger reygne vpon theim, bothe that they had so farre gone that it was nowe no suretie to retreate, as for that they thought it for the weale vnyuersall to take that waye, although they had not yet begon it. Wherfore, if it woulde like his grace to take the croune vpon hym, they would humbly beseche hym thervnto, and if he woulde geue theim a resolute aunswer to the contrarye, (whiche they would bee lothe to here,) then muste they seke and should not fayle to fynde some other noble man that would. These woordes muche moued the protectoure, whiche, as euery manne of small intelligēce maye wyt, would neuer haue enclyned thereto, but when he sawe there was none other waye but that he muste take it, or els he and his bothe to go from it, he sayde to the lordes and commōs, "Sith it is we perceaue well that all the realme is so set, (wherof we be very sory,) that they wyll not suffre in any wyse kyng Edwardes lyne to gouerne theim, whome no manne earthly can gouerne agaynste their owne wylles: and we also perceaue that no manne is there, to whome the croune can by so iuste tytle apperteyne as to our selfe, as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our moste dread and dere father Rychard late duke of Yorke, to which title

[1] all. *ed. alt.* [2] ever. *ed. alt.*

is now ioyned your eleccion, the nobles & commōs of the realme, whiche we of all tytles possible take moste effectuall, we be content and agree fauourably to enclyne to your peticion & request: and accordyng to thesame, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of prehemynence and kyngdome of the two noble realmes Englande and Fraunce, (the one frō this daye forwarde by vs and oure heyres to rule, gouerne, and defende, the other by Goddes grace and your good helpe to get agayne, subdewe, and establyshe for euer in due obedience vnto this realme of Englande,) thaduauncement wherof we neuer aske of God lenger to lyue then we entende to procure and set foorth." With this there was a greate crye and showte, criyng kyng Richard, and so the lordes went vp to the kyng, and so he was after ỹ daye called. But the people departed, talkyng dyuersly of the matter, euery manne as his fantasie gaue hym; but muche thei merueled of this maner of dealyng, that the matter was on bothe partes made so straunge as thoughe neuer the one parte communed with the other parte therof before, whē they wyst that there was no man so dul that heard theim, but he perceaued well ynoughe that all the matter was made betwene theim. Howbeit, some excused that agayne, saiyng, all thyng muste bee done in good ordre, and men must sometyme for ỹ maner sake not be acknowē what thei knowe: for at the consecracion of a byshop, euery manne perceaueth by payment of his bulles that he entēdeth to bee one, yet when he is twise asked why ther *Ed. 1557.* he wilbe a byshop, he must saye naye, and at the third tyme take it vpon hym, as compelled therto by his owne wyll. And in a stage playe, the people knowe right well that he that playeth the sowdane is percase a sowter: yet yf one of acquyntaunce perchaunce of lytle nurture should call hym by his name while he standeth in his maiestie, one of his tourmentours might fortune breake his hed for marryng ỹ playe: and so, they sayde these matters be kynges games, as it were staige playes and for the mooste parte played vpon scaffoldes, in which poore men be but lookers on, and they that wise be wyll medle no ferther, for they ỹ steppe vp ẇ theim whē they can not playe their partes, they disorder the playe and do theim selues no good.

¶ RYCHARD THE THIRD.

RYCHARD the thirde of that name, vsurped the croune of Englande, and openly tooke vpō hym to be kyng the. xix. daye of Iune,

* Kyng Richard the thirde, *ed. al'.*

in the yere of our Lord a thousand foure hundreth and lxxxiii, & in the. xxv. yere of Lewes the. xi. then beyng Frenche kyng, and with greate solempnitee rode to Westmynster, and there sate in the seate royall, and called before hym the iudges of the realme, streyghtly commaundynge theim to execute the lawe without fauoure or delaye, with many good exhortacions, (of the whiche he folowēd not one,) and then he departed towarde the abbaye, and at the churche doore he was met with procession, and by the abbot to hym was delyuered the sceptre of saint Edward, & so went & offred to sant Edwardes shryne, whyle ŷ monkes sange Te deum with a faynt courage, and from the churche he retourned to the palayce, where he lodged tyll the coronacion. And to bee sure of all enemyes, (as he thought,) he sent for. v. thousande menne of ŷ North against his coronacion, whiche came vp euell apparelled and worsse harneyssed, in rustie harneys, neyther defensable nor scoured to the sale, whiche mustered in Fynesbury felde, to the great disdayne of all the lokers on.

Fol. lxxvii. The fourth daye of Iuly he came to ŷ Towre by water with his wife, and. the fyfte daye he created Thomas lorde Haward duke of Norffolke, & syr Thomas Haward his soonne he created earle of Surrey, and Willyam lorde Barkeley was then created erle of Notyngham, and Fraunces lorde Louell was then made vicount Louell and the kynges chaumberlayne, and the lorde Stanley was deliuered out of warde for feare of his sonne the lorde Straunge, whiche was then in Lancasshyre gatheryng menne, (as menne saied,) and the saied lorde was made stuard of the kynges housholde, likewyse the archbyshoppe of Yorke was deliuered, but Morton bishop of Ely was deliuered to the duke of Buckingham to kepe in warde, whiche sent hym to his manoure of Brecknoke in Wales, from whence he escaped to kyng Richardes confusyon. The same nighte the kyng made. xvii. knightes of the bathe. The nexte day he rode throughe Londō with great pompe, & in especiall the duke of Buckinghā was richely appareled & his horse trapped in blewe veluet, enbroudered ẅ ŷ naues of cartes burning of golde, whiche trapper was borne by footemē frō ŷ grounde, ẅ suche asolēpne fassyon ŷ all menne muche regarded it.

On ŷ morowe being the. vi. day of Iuly, ŷ kyng came toward his coronaciō into Westminster hal, where his chapell & all the prelates mytred receaued hym, and so they in ordre of processyon passed forward. After ŷ procession folowed therle of Northumberlād with a pointlesse sweard naked, & the lorde Stanley bare the mace of ŷ constableship; the erle of Kent bare the second swerd on ŷ right hand of the kyng naked; the lord Louell bare an other swerd on ŷ lefte hand; then folowed ŷ duke of Suffolke with the sceptre; and therle of Lincolne with ŷ balle and crosse. After theim folowed the newe erle of Surrey with the swerd of estate in a riche skabard; on the ryght side of hym went the duke of Norffolke bearing ŷ croune: then folowed kyng Richard in a circot and robe of purple veluet, vnder a canabie,

canabie, borne by the barones of ỹ fyue portes, going betwene ỹ bishoppes of Bathe and Duresme. The duke of Buckingham, with ỹ rod of the high stuard of Englande, bare the kynges traine. After hym folowed the erle of Huntingdon, bearing the quenes sceptre, and the vicount Lisle, bearing the rod with the doue. And the erle of Wilshere bare the quenes crowne. Then folowed quene Anne, doughter to Richard erle of Warwike, in robes lyke to the kyng, betwene two bysshoppes, and a canabie ouer her hed, borne by the barones of the portes. On her hed a rich coronal set with stones and pearle. After her folowed the countesse of Richmond, heire to ỹ duke of Somerset, whiche bare vp ỹ quenes traine. After folowed the duchesse of Suffolke and Norffolke, with cõtesses, baronesses, ladies, & many faire gentilwemẽ: in this ordre they passed thorough the palaice, & entred ỹ abbay at the west end, & so came to their seates of estate. And after diuerse sõges solẽply song, they both discended to the high altare, & were shifted from their robes, & had diuerse places open frõ the middle vpward, in whiche places they were anointed. Then both the kyng & the quene chaunged theim into cloth of gold, & ascended to their seates, where the cardinal of Cauntourburie & other byshoppes theim crouned *Fol. lxxiii.* according to ỹ custome of the realme, geuing hym ỹ scepter in the left hãd and the balle ẇ the crosse in the ryght hand, & the quene had ỹ sceptre in her right hand, & the rod ẇ the doue in the left hand. On euery side of ỹ kyng stode a duke, & before hym stode therle of Surrey with the swerd in his handes. And on euery side of the quene stãding, a bishop & a ladie kneling. The cardinal song masse & after paxe. The kyng & the quene discended, & before the high altare they wer bothe housel̃d ẇ one hoste, deuyded betwene thẽ. After masse finished, they bothe offred at saint Edwardes shrine, & there the kyng lefte the crowne of saint Edward, and put on his owne crowne. And so in ordre as they came, they departed to Westminster hal, & so to their chambres for a ceasõ, duryng which time the duke of Norffolke came into ỹ hal his horse traped to the ground in cloth of gold as high mershall, and voided the hall.

Abont. iiii. of ỹ clocke the kyng & quene entred the halle, and the kyng sate in the middle, and the quene on the left hand of the table, & on euery side of her stoode a countesse holding a clothe of pleasaunce when she list to drinke. And on ỹ right hãd of the kyng sat the byshop of Cauntourbury: the ladies sat all on one side in the middle of the hall; and at the table againste theim sat ỹe chauncelloure and all the lordes. At the table next the cuphorde sate the maire of London. And at the table behinde the lordes, sate the barones of the portes: and at the other bordes sate noble and worshypfull personages. When all persones wer sette, the duke of Norffolke earle mershal, the earle of Surrey constable for that daye, the lorde Stanley lorde steward, sir Willyam Hopton treasourer,

sourer, and sir Thomas Percie comptroller came in and serued the kyng solemplye with one dishe of golde and another of syluer. And the quene all in gylte vessell, and the bishop all in siluer. At the seconde course came into ŷ hall, sir Robert Democke the kynges champion, making a proclamacion, that whosoeuer woulde saye that kyng Richarde was not lawfullye kyng, he woulde fight with hym at the vtteraunce, and threwe downe his gauntlet, & thē all the hall cried kyng Richard. And so he did in thre partes of the halle, and then one broughte hym a cup of wyne couered, & when he had dronke he caste oute the drinke, & departed with the cuppe. After that the heraulde cryed a largesse thryse in the halle, & so went vp to their staige. At the ende of diner the mayre of London serued the kyng & quene with swete wyne, and had of eche of theim a cuppe of golde with a couer of gold. And by that tyme that all was done, it was darkenight. And so the kyng retourned to his chaumbre, and euery man to his lodging. When this feaste was thus fyneshed, the kyng sente home all the lordes into their countrees that woulde departe, excepte the lorde Stanley, whome he reteyned tyll he hearde what his soonne the lorde Straunge wente aboute: and to suche as wente home, he gaue streyghte charge and cōmaundement to see their countryes well ordred, and ŷ no wronge nor extorcion should bee done to his subiectes. And thus he taught other to execute iustice & equite, the contrary wher-
Fol. lxxix. of he daylye exercysed; he also with greate rewardes geuen to the Northrenmenne whyche he sent for to hys coronation, sente theim home to theyre country wyth greate thanckes. Whereof dyuerse of theim, (as they all be of nature verye gredye of authoryte, and specyally whē they thynke to haue any conforte or fauoure,) tooke on them so hyghly and wroughte such mastreis, that ŷ kyng was fayne to ryde thether in hys fyrste yere, and to put some in execution, and staye the countrye, or elles no small myschefe had ensued.

Nowe after thys tryumphante coronation, there fell myschiefes thycke & thicke, as the thing euell gotten is neuer well kepte, so through al the tyme of hys vsurped reygne, neuer ceased theyre quel, murder, death & slaughter tyll his owne destruccion ended it. But as he fynished ẅ the best deathe and mooste ryghtwyse, that is to saye hys owne, so beganne he wyth the moost pyteous and wycked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocente nephewes, the yonge kynge and hys tender brother, whose death and fortune hath neuerthelesse so farre come in questyon that some remayned long in doubte whether they were in his dayes destroyed or not. For ŷ Parkin Warbek by many folkes malyce, & mo folkes folye so long space abusynge the worlde, was aswell ẅ princes as ẅ poore people reputed & taken for the younger of these two. But for that also that all thynges were so couertly demeaned, one thynge pretēted and another mente, that there was nothynge so playne and openly proued, but that yet for

for the common custome of close and couert dealyng, mē had it euer inwardly suspect, as many well countrefet iewelles make the true mistrusted. Howbeit concernyng that opinion menne maye see the conueighaunce therof in the lyfe of the noble prynce kyng Henry the seuēth, in the processe of Parkyn. But in the meane ceason, for this present matter I shall reherse to you the dolorous ende of these two babes, not after euery way that I haue heard, but after that waye that I haue so heard by suche menne and suche meanes as me thynketh it to be heard but it should be true.

Howe and after what maner the two sōnes of kyng Edward were destroyed.

Kyng Rychard after his coronacion, takynge his waye to Gloucestre, to visyte in his newe honoure the toune, of whiche he bare the name of olde, deuysed as he roade to fulfyll that thynge which he before had intended. And forasmuche as his mynde gaue hym that, his nephewes lyuyng, men woulde not recon that he coulde haue right to the realme, he thought therfore without delaye to ryd theim, as though the kyllyng of his kynsmen might ende his cause, and make hym kyndely kyng. Wherupon he sent Iohn Grene, whome he specially trusted, to syr Roberte Brakenburye constable of the towre, with a lettre and credence also, that thesame syr Robert in any wise should put the two chyldren to death. This Iohn Grene dyd his errand to syr Robert Brakenbury knelyng before our ladye in the towre, who playnelye aūswered that he would neuer put theim to death to dye therfore. With the whiche annswer Grene returned, recountyng thesame to kynge Rycharde at Warwike yet on his iourneye, wherewith he toke suche displeasure & thought, ẏ thesame night he sayed to a secrete page of his. "Ah, whome shall a manne truste[1] they that I haue broughte vp my selfe, they that I went would haue moste surely serued me, euen those fayle me, and at my cōmaundement wyll doo nothing for me." "Syr," quoth the page, "there lyeth one in ẏ palet chaumbre without, that I dare well saye, to dooe youre grace pleasure, the thing were ryght heard that he would refuse," meaning this by Iames Tirell, whiche was a manne of goodly personage, and for the gyftes of nature, worthie to haue serued a muche better prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obteyned to haue asmuche treweth and good wyll, as he had strengthe and wyll. *Fol. lxxx.*

The manne had an hyghe hearte and sore longed vpwarde, not risyng yet so faste as he had hoped, beynge hyndred and kepte vnder by syr Rycharde Ratcliffe and sir Willyam Catesbye, which longyng for no more parteners of the princes fauoure, namely not for him, whose pride they knew woulde beare no pere, kept hym by secrete driftes oute of all secrete trust, which thing this page had well marked and knowen; wherfore, this occasion offred, of verye speciall frendshippe se' his tyme to set hym for-

[1] sped. *ed. alt.*

warde,

warde, and by suche wyse to dooe hym good, that all the enemies that he had, (excepte the deuell,) coulde neuer haue dooen hym so muche hurte and shame; for vpon the pages woordes kynge Rycharde aroose, for this communicacyon had he sytting on a drafte, a conuenyente carpet for suche a counsaile, and came oute into the palette chaumbre, where he dyd fynde in bedde the sayd Iames Tyrell, and syr Thomas Tyrell of persone like and brethren of blood, but nothyng of kynne in condicions. Then sayde ỹ kyng merely to theim, "What syrs, be you in bed so sone?" & called vp Iames Tyrrell, and brake to hym secretely his mynde in this myscheuous matter, in ỹ which he foũde hym nothyng straunge. Wherfore on the morowe he sent hym to Brakenburye with a lettre by the whiche he was commaunded to delyuer to the sayde Iames all the keyes of the towre for a night, to thende that he might there accomplyshe the kynges pleasure in suche thynges as he there had geuen hym in commaundement. After which lettre delyuered and the keyes receaued, Iames appoynted the nexte nyght ensuynge to destroye theim, deuysyng before & preparyng the meanes.

The prince, assone as the protectoure tooke vpõ hym to bee kyng, and left the name of protectoure, was therof aduertised and shewed, that he should not reygne, but his vncle should haue the croune: at whiche woorde the prynce sore abashed beganne to sighe and sayed, "Alas, I woulde myne vncle woulde lette me haue my lyfe, althoughe I lese my kyngdome." Then he that tolde hym the tale, vsed hym with good woordes, and put hym in the beste conforte that he coulde; but foorthwith he and his brother were both shut vp, and all other remoued from theim, one called blacke Wyll, and Wyllyam Slaughter only excepte, whiche were sette to serue theim, and. iiii. other to see theim sure. After whiche tyme, the prince neuer tyed his poyntes nor any thyng rought of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thought and heuynesse, till this trayterous death deliuered theim of that wretchednesse. *Fol. lxxxi.*

For Iames Tirrell deuised that thei should be murthered in their beddes, and no bloode shed, to thexecuciõ wherof he apoincted Myles Forest, one of the foure that before kepte theim, a feloe fleshe bred in murther before tyme; and to him he ioyned one Ihon Dighton his awne horskeper, a bygge broade square & strong knaue. Then all the other beyng remoued from theim, this Myles Forest & Ihon Dighton, aboute mydnight, the children beyng in their beddes, came into the chaumbre, and sodenly lapped theim vp emongest the clothes & so bewrapped theim and entangled theim, kepyng downe by force the fetherbed and pyllowes heard vnto their mouthes, ỹ within a while thei smored and styfled theim, and their brethes faylyng thei gaue vp to God their innocent soules into ỹ ioyes of heauen, leauyng to the tourmẽtoures their bodyes dedde in the bed, whiche after ỹ wretches perceaued, first by ỹ strugglyng, with ỹ panges

The murther-yge of kynge Rycharde his ij yldren.

of

of deathe, & after long liyng still to be throughly dedde, thei laied the bodyes out vpon ŷ bed, and fetched Iames Tirrell to se theim, whiche when he sawe theim perfightly ded, he caused the murtherers to burie theim at the stayre foote metely depe in the grounde vnder a greate heape of stones.

Thē rode Iames Tirrell in great hast to kyng Rychard, and shewed hym all the maner of ŷ murther, who gaue hym greate thankes, and, as mēne saye, there made hym knight, but he alowed not their buriall in so vyle a corner, saiyng ŷ he would haue theim buryed in a better place, because thei were a kynges soonnes. Lo the honourable courage of a kyng, for he would recompence a detestable murther with a solempne obsequy. Wherupō a preest of sir Robert Brakenburyes tooke theim vp and buried theim in suche a place secretly, as by the occasion of his death, (whiche was verie shortlye after,) whiche onely knewe it, the very truthe could neuer yet bee very well & perfighly knowen. For some saie that kyng Rychard caused ŷ preest to take theim vp & close theim in lead & put theim in a coffine full of holes hoked at ŷ endes with. ii. hokes of yron, & so to caste them into a place called ŷ Blacke depes at ŷ Thamis mouth, so ŷ thei shuld neuer rise vp nor bee seen again. This was ŷ very truth vnknowē, by reason that ŷ said preste dyed so shortly, & disclosed it neuer to any persone ŷ would vtter it. And for a truthe, when sir Iames Tirrell was in the towre for treason committed to kyng Hēry the seuenth, bothe he and Dighton were examined together of this poynte: & bothe thei confessed the murther to bee dooen in thesame maner as you haue hearde, whether ŷ bodies were remoued thei bothe affirmed thei neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of theim ŷ muche knewe and litle cause had to lye, wer these. ii. noble princes, these innocēt tēdre childrē, borne of ŷ moste royall[1] blood, & brought vp ī great welth, likely lōge to liue to reigne & rule in ŷ realme, by treyterous tirāny taken & depriued of their estate, shortly shut vp in prison, & priuely slain & murderd by ŷ cruell ambicion of their vnnaturall vncle & dispiteous tourmētours; whiche thynges on euery part well pōdered, God gaue this worlde neuer a more notable exsample, either ī *Fol. lxxxix.* what vnsurety stādeth this worldes weale, or what mischief worketh ŷ proud entreprise of an high hearte, or finally what wretched ende ensueth suche dispiteous crueltie. For first to begynne w ŷ ministres; Miles Forest, at S. Martines le graūd, by peace meale miserablye rotted awaye; Ihon Dightō liued at Caleys long after, no lesse disdeined & hated then poynted at, & there dyed in great misery; but sir Iames Tirrell was behedded at the Towre Hill for treason; and kyng Richard hym self was slain in ŷ feelde hacked and hewed of his enemies handes, haried on a horsbacke naked beyng ded, his heare in dispite torne & tugged like a curre dogge;

[1] noble. *ed. alt.*

and the mischeif ẏ he toke ẇin lesse then thre yeres of the mischief ẏ he did in thre monethes be not comperable, & yet all ẏ meane tyme spēt in much trouble & pein outward, & much feare, dread, & anguish ẇin. For I haue heard by credible persons of suche as were secret ẇ his chaūberers, ẏ after this abhominable dede dooē he neuer was quiet in his minde, he neuer thought hymself sure where he wēt abrode, his bodie preuely feinted, his eyen wherled about, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenaunce & maner like alwayes to stryke again, he toke eiuill rest on nightes, laye long wakyng & musyng, forweried with care & watche, rather slōbred thē slept, troubled ẇ fearfull dreames, sodeinly some tyme stert vp, leapt out of his bed and looked aboute the chambres; so was his restlesse hearte contynually tossed and toumbled with the tedious inpression & stormy remēbraūce of his abhomynable murther and execrable tirannie.

And shortely after he was vnquieted by a conspiracie, or rather a confederacie betwene the duke of Buckyngham & many other gentlemen against hym, as ye shall here the next yere. But the occasiō why the duke and the kyng fell oute, is of dyuerse folke dyuerse wyse pretended. This duke, as you haue hearde before, assone as the duke of Gloucester, after the death of kyng Edward, was come to Yorke, & there had solempne funerall seruice dooen for kyng Edward, sent to hym a secrete seruaunt of his called Persall, with suche messages as you haue hearde before. And after ẏ duke of Buckyngham came with thre hundred horsse to Northampton, and still continued with hym, as partener and chief organe of all his deuices till after his coronacion, thei departed to all semyng verye frendes at Gloucestre. From whence assone as the duke came home, he so highly turned from hym, and so highly conspired against hym, that a māne would meruell wherof ẏ chaūge grewe in so shorte space. Some saie this occasyon was, ẏ a litle before ẏ coronacion, ẏ duke required the kyng, emōgest other thynges, to bee restored to the erle of Herffordes lādes. And forasmuche as the title whiche he claymed by inherytaunce, was somewhat interlaced with the title of Lancaster, whiche house made a title to the croune, and enioyed the same three dyscentes, as all menne knewe, till the house of Yorke depryued the third kyng, whiche was Henry the sixte, kyng Rychard somewhat mistrusted, & conceaued, suche an indignacion that he reiected the dukes request, with many spitefull and minotary woordes, whiche so wounded the dukes hearte ẇ hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure
Fol. lxxxiii. to looke ryght on kyng Rychard, but euer feared his owne lyfe, so farrefoorth that when the protectoure should ryde to his coronacion, feigned hymselfe sycke, because he would dooe hym no honoure. And the other takyng it in euell parte, sente hym woorde to ryse and ryde or he would make hym to be caryed. Wherupō gorgeously apparelled and sumptuously trapped with burnyng carte naues of golde embrodered, he roade before

before the kyng through London with an euell wyll and woorsse heart. And ẏ notwithstandyng, he roase ẏ daye of the coronacion from the feaste, feignyng hym selfe sycke, whiche kyng Richarde sayde was dooē in hate and spight of hym. And therfore men sayd that eche of theim euer after lyued cōtynually in suche hatred and dystrust of other, that the duke looked verelye to haue bene murthered at Gloucestre, frō whiche he in fayre maner departed; but surely suche as were right secrete with bothe, affyrme all this to be vntrue, and other wyse mēne thynke it vnlykely, the depe dyssymulyng nature of bothe these menne well consydered. And what nede in that grene world the protectoure hadde of the duke, and in what perell the duke stoode yf he fell once in suspycion of that tyraunte, that other ẏ protectoure would geue the duke occasyon of dyspleasure, or the duke the protectoure occasyon of mystrust. And surely menne thynke, that if kyng Rychard hadde any suche opynyon conceaued in hym, he would neuer haue suffred hym to aduoyd his handes or escape his power; but verye true it is, that the duke of Buckyngham was an high mynded man, & euell could beare the glorye of another, so that I haue hearde of some that sawe it, ẏ he at suche tyme that the croune was set vpon the protectoures hedde, his yie could neuer abyde the sight therof, but wryed his hed another waye; but men sayde he was not well at ease, and that was both to kyng Richard well knowen and well takē, nor any demaunde of the dukes request vncurteously reiected, but gentelye deferred; but bothe he with greate giftes and high behestes in moste louyng and trustie maner departed from the kyng to Gloucester. But sone after his commyng home to Brecknocke, hauyng there by kyng Richardes commaundemēt doctour Moorton byshop of Ely, who before, as you haue hearde, was taken at the councell at the towre, waxed with hym very famylyer, whose onlye wysedome abused his pryde to his owne delyueraunce & the dukes dystruccion. The byshop was a man of great natural wyt, verye well learned and of honourable behaueoure, lackyng no wyse wayes to wynne fauour. He was fyrst vpon the parte of kyng Henry, whyle ẏ parte was in wealth, and neyther left it nor forsoke it in no woo, but fled the realme with the quene and the prince. And while kyng Edward had kyng Henry in pryson, he neuer retourned but to the felde at Barnet. After whiche felde loste, & vtterly subdued, & al parte takynges extynguished, kyng Edward, for his fast faythe and wysedome, was not onelye cōtent to receaue hym, but also wooed hym to come, and had hym frō thensforth both in secrete trust & specyall fauoure, whom he nothyng deceaued. For he beyng after kyng Edwardes death fyrst taken by the tyraunt for his truthe to the kynge, founde the meane to sette the duke in his toppe, and ioyned gentlemen together in ayde of the erle of Richemounde, whiche after was named kyng Henrye the seuenth. Fyrst denysyng the maryage betwene the ladye Elizabeth daughter to kynge Ed- *Fol. lxxxiiii.*

warde the fourthe, by the whiche his faythfull & true seruyce declared to both his masters at once, was, w̄ infinite benefite to ŷ realme, by the coniunccion of the bloddes of Lancastre and Yorke, whose funerall' tytles had longe inquyeted the realme. This manne afterwarde escaped from the duke, and fled the realme, and went to Rome, neuer myndyng to medle with the worlde, tyl kyng Henry the seuenth sent for hym, and after made hym archebyshop of Cauntorbury and chauncelour of Englande, and after was made cardinall, and lyued well to all mennes iudgementes, and dyed well. But to retourne to ŷ former purpose, he by the long & often alternate proffe, aswel of prosperytee as aduerse of fortune, had gotten, by great experience the verey mother & mastresse of wysedome, a depe insight in pollytike worldlye driftes, whereby perceauynge nowe ŷ duke to cōmen with hym, fed hym w̄ fayre woordes and many pleasaunt prayses, and perceauyng, by the grefe of their communicacions, the dukes pryde nowe and then to balke oute a lytle brayde of enuye towarde the glorye of the kynge, and thereby feelynge hym easye to fall oute yf the matter were well handled, he craftely soughte the wayes to prycke hym forwarde; takynge alwayes the occasyon of hys commynge, and also keepynge hymselfe cloose wythin hys bandes, that he rather semed to folowe hym then to leade hym. For when the duke beganne fyrste to prayse and boaste the kyng, and shewe how muche profite the realme should take by his reigne, byshoppe Morton aunswered, "Surely, my lorde, folye it were for me to lye, for I am sure yf I woulde swere the contrarye ye would not once beleue me, but yf the worlde would haue begone as I would haue wyshed, that kyng Henryes soonne had had the croune and not kynge Edwarde, then woulde I haue bēne his true and faythfull subiecte; but after that God had ordeyned hym to lose it, and kyng Edwarde to reigne, I was neuer so madde with a dead manne to stryue agaynst the quycke, so was I euer to kynge Edwarde a faythfull and true chapeleyn, and gladde would haue bene that his chyldren shoulde haue succeded hym. Howbeit yf the secrete iudgemente of God haue otherwyse prouyded, I pūrpose not to spurne agaynste the prycke, nor laboure to set vp that God pulleth downe. And as for the late protectoure and nowe kyng," and with that woorde he left, sauynge that he saide that he hadde alreadye medled to muche with the worlde, and would from that daye medle with his booke and bedes, and no ferther. Then longed the duke sore to heare what he woulde haue sayde, because he ended with the kynge, and there so sodeynlye stopped, and exhorted hym famylyerlye betwene theim bothe to bee bolde and to saye whatsoeuer he thought, whereof he faythfullye promysed there shoulde neuer come hurte, and paraduenture more good then he woulde were[2]. And that he hym selfe entended to vse hys faythfull secrete aduyce and

[1] [several?] [2] wene. *ed. alt.*

counsayle,

counsayle, which he sayed was the onlye cause for the whyche he procured *Fol. lxxxv.*
of the kynge to haue hym in hys custodye, where he myghte recon hym selfe at home, or elles he hadde bene putte in the handes of theim wyth whome he shoulde not haue founde lyke fauoure. The bishoppe right humblye thanked hym and sayed, "In good faythe, my lorde, I loue not muche to talke of prynces as of a thynge not all oute of perell, althoughe the woorde bee without faute, but as it pleaseth the prince to construe it. And euer I thynke on Isopes tale, that when the Lyon had proclaymed that on payne of deathe, there shoulde no horned beastes come into the wood, one beaste that had a bonche of fleshe growing oute of his hedde, fledde a greate pace, ŷ Foxe that sawe hym flye with all the haste, asked hym whether he fledde? In fayth, quoth he, I neither wote ne reeke so I were once hence, because of the proclamacyon made agaynste horned beastes. What foole, quoth the Foxe, the Lyon neuer ment it by the, for that whiche thou haste is no horne in thy hedde. No mary, quoth he, I wote that well ynoughe, but yf he saye it is a horne, where am I then?" The duke laughed merely at the tale & saied, "My lorde, I warraunte you, neither the Lyon nor the bore shall pycke any matter at any thyng here spoken, for it shall neuer come nere their eares." "In good faythe, syr," saied the byshoppe, "yf it dyd, the thyng that I was aboute to saye taken aswell as before God I mente, it coulde deserue but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it would, myghte happen to turne me to lytle good and you to lesse."

Then longed the duke muche more to wete what it was, wherupon the byshop saied, "In good faith, my lord, as for the late protectoure, sith he is now kyng in possessyon, I purpose not to dispute his title; but for the welthe of this realme, whereof his grace hathe nowe the gouernaunce, and wherof I my selfe am a poore membre, I was aboute to wysh that to those good habilitees wherof he hath already righte many, lytle nedyng my prayse, yet mighte it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen hym some of suche other excellent vertues mete for the rule of the realme, as oure Lord hath planted in the persone of your grace," & there lefte of againe. Of[1] whiche woordes the duke perceauyng that the byshop bare vnto hym his good hearte and fauoure, mystrusted not to entre more plaine cõmunicacion with hym, so farre, that at ŷ laste the byshoppe declared hym selfe to bee one of theim that would gladly helpe that Richard who then vsurped the croune mighte bee deposed, if he had knowen howe it myghte conueniently bee broughte to passe ŷ suche a persone as had true title of inheritaunce vnto the same, might bee restored therunto. Vpon this the saied duke, knowing the bishoppe to bee a manne of prudence and fidelitee, opened to hym all his whole hart and entent, saying, "My

[1] By. *ed. alt.*

lorde,

lorde, I haue deuised ŷ waye howe the bloodde both of kyng Edward and of kyng Henry the syxte, that is lefte, beyng coupled by maryage and affinitee, maye bee restored vnto ŷ croune, being by iuste and true title due vnto theim both," (for kyng Richard he called not ŷ brother of kyng Edwarde the fourth, but his enemye and mortall fooe). The waye that the duke had deuysed was this, that they shoulde with all spede and celerytee fynde meanes to sende for Henry earle of Richmounte, (whome the rumoure wente immediatlye vpon knowledge of kynge Edwardes deathe to haue bene deliuered oute of prysone with Fraunces duke of Brytaine,) & the same Henry to helpe with all their power and strength, so that the saied Henry woulde fyrste, by his feithfull othe, promise that ymmediatly vpon obteigning the croune, he woulde mary and take to wyfe Elyzabeth the elder doughter of Edward the fourth. The byshop of Ely ryghte well alowed bothe the deuyce and purpose of the duke, and also the maner and waye howe the matter shoulde bee broughte to effecte, and founde meanes that Reynold Breye seruaũt with Margarete mother of the saied Henry, then maried to Thomas Stanley, came to the duke in to Wales, and the dukes mynde throughlye perceaued and knowen, with greate spede retourned to the saied Margarete, aduertisyng the same of all thinges which betwene the duke and hym concerning aswell the cõmon weale of the realme, as also the aduauncemente of her and her bloodde had been debated.

Fol. lxxxvi.

Nowe it came so to passe, that the duke of Buckyngham, and the ladye Margaret, mother to the saied Henrye, had bene in communicacyon of the same matter before, and that the saied lady Margarete had deuised the same meane and waye for the deposycion of kynge Rycharde and bringyng in of Henry her sonne, the whiche the duke nowe brake vnto the byshop of Ely, wherupon there rested no more, forasmuche as she perceaued ŷ duke nowe willyng to prosecute and further the sayed deuice, but that she should fynde the meanes that this matter myghte bee broken vnto quene Elizabeth, the wyfe of kyng Edwarde the fourthe, then beynge in the Sanctuarye. And hereupon she caused one Lewes that was her physicyan in his owne name, and as thoughe it came of hym selfe to breake this matter vnto the quene, saying, that yf she would consent and agree therunto, a meane might bee founde howe to restore agayne ŷ blood of kyng Edwarde and kyng Henrye the syxte vnto the croune, and to bee aduenged of kynge Rycharde for the murther of kyng Edwardes chyldren; and then declared that there was beyonde ŷ see Henry earle of Richemounte, whiche was of the blood of Henry the sixte, whome yf she woulde be content ŷ he marye Elizabeth her eldest doughter, there shoulde of his syde bee made righte many frendes, and she for her parte myghte helpe in lyke maner, wherby no doubte it shoulde come to passe that he shoulde possesse the croune by moost rightfull inheritaunce. Whiche matter when

she heard it, it liked her excedingly well, in somuch as she counceled the saied phisicyan to breake ỹ same vnto his maistresse the ladye Margaret, & knowe her mynde therein, promisyng vpon her woorde that she would make all the frendes of kyng Edwarde to take parte with the sayed Henrye yf he woulde be sworne that when he came to the possessyon of the croune, he woulde immediately take in maryage Elyzabeth her eldest doughter, or elles yf she lyued not that tyme, that then he would take Cicile her yongest doughter.

Whereupon the sayde Lewes retourned vnto the ladye Margarete hys *Fol. lxxxvii.* maystresse, declarynge vnto her the whole mynd and entent of the quene: so that thē it was shortly agreed betwene these two wemen, that wyth al spede thys matter shold be set forwarde, in so much that the lady Margarete brake thys matter vnto Reynolde Bray, wyllynge hym to moue and set forwarde the same ẇ all suche as he shoulde perceaue eyther hable to doo good or wyllynge thereunto. Then had the quene deuysed, that one Chrystopher (whome the foresayde Lewes the physicyan had promoted into her seruyce,) shoulde bee sente into Brytayne to Henrye to geue hym knowledge of theyr myndes here, and that he shoulde prepare and apoynt hym selfe redye and to come into Wales, where he shoulde fynde ayde and helpe ynoughe readye to receaue hym.

But then shortly after yt came vnto her knowledge that the duke of Buckingham had of him selfe afore entended the same matter, whereupon she thoughte yt should be mete to sende some messenger of more reputacyon and credyte then was thys Chrystopher, and so kepte hym at home, and then sente Hughe Conewaye wyth a greate some of monye, wyllynge hym to declare vnto Henrye all thynges, and that he should hast hym to come and to lande in Wales as is aforesayde. And after hym one Rycharde Guilforde oute of Kente sente one Thomas Ramey[1] wyth the same message, the whyche two messengers came in maner bothe at one tyme into Brytayn to the earle Henrye, and declared vnto hym all theyr commyssiōs. The whiche message when Henry had perceaued and throughly heard, it reioysed his harte, and he gaue thankes vnto God, fully purposyng with al conuenyente spede to take his iourney towardes England, desiryng the aide and helpe of the duke of Brytayne, with promise of thanckfull recompence when God should sende hym to come to his ryghte. The duke of Britayne, notwithstanding that he had not longe after been required by Thomas Hutton, purposely sent to hym from kyng Richard in message with monye efte sones to imprisone the saied Henry erle of Richemoūt, and there continually to kepe and holde the same frome cōminge into Englande, yet with all gladnesse and fauoure, inclined to the desyre of Henry, and aided hym as he might with

[1] Ramney. *ed. alt.*

menne,

menne, monye, shypes and other necessaryes. But Henry, whyle he might accordynglye appoynte and furnyshe hym selfe, remayned in Brytayne, sendyng afore the foresayde Hughe Coneway and Thomas Ramney, whiche two were to hym very trewe and faithful, to beare tidynges into Englande vnto his frendes of his commynge, to the ende that they myghte prouydentlye ordre all thynges aswell for the commodyous receauynge of hym at his comminge, as also foreseynge suche daungers as myghte befalle, and aduoydinge suche trappes and snares as by Rycharde the thyrde and hys complyces myght bee sette for hym and for all his other company that he should bryng with hym.

In the meane tyme, the frendes of Henrye with all care, studye, and dilygence wroughte all thynges vnto their purpose belongynge.

Fol. lxxxviii. And thoughe all this were as secretlye wrought and conueyed as emonge so greate a nombre was possible to be, yet pryuye knowledge therof came to the eares of kyng Rychard, who althoughe he were at the firste hearynge muche abasshed, yet thought best to dyssemble the matter as thoughe he had no knowledge therof, whyle he myghte secretly gather vnto hym power and strengthe, and by secrete spyall emonge the people get more perfight knowledge of the whole matters and chiefe autoures & contryuers of thesame. And because he knewe be chiefe & princypal of theim, as vnto whō his owne conscience knewe that he hadde geuen moste iust causes of enemytee, he thought it necessary first of all to dyspatche thesame duke oute of the waye. Wherfore, vnto the duke he addressed letters enfarced and replenyshed with all humanytee, frendshippe, famylyaritee and swetenesse of woordes, wyllyng and desyryng thesame to come vnto hym with all conuenyent spede. And ferther gaue in commaundemente to the messenger that caryed the letters that he shoulde in his behalfe make many high and gaye promyses vnto ŷ duke, & by all gentle meanes persuade thesame to come vnto hym. But ŷ duke mystrustyng ŷ fayre woordes & promyses so sodenly offred of hym, of whose wylye craftes and meanes he knewe sondrye exsamples afore practised, desyred ŷ kynges perdon, excusyng him self that he was deseased & sicke, and that he might be asserteined ŷ if it possyble wer for hym to come, he would not absent hym self frō his grace. Thys excuse the kyng would not admitte, but eftsones directed vnto ŷ duke other letters of a more roughe sorte, not wythoute manacynge and threatenynge onlesse he woulde accordynge to hys dutye repayer vnto hym at hys callynge; whereunto the duke plainely made aunswer that he woulde not come vnto him whom he knewe to be hys enemye. And immedyatelye the duke prepared hym selfe to make warre agaynst hym, and perswaded all hys complyces and partakers of hys intente wyth all possyble expedycion some in one place and some in another to sturre agaynste kynge Rycharde. And by thys meanes in maner

maner at one tyme and houre, Thomas, marques of Dorcester, reysed an armye wythin the country of Yorke, beyng hym selfe late come forthe of sāctuarye, and by the meanes and helpe of Thomas Rowell preserued and saued frome perel of death. Also in Deuonshyre, Edwarde Courtenay wyth hys brother Peter byshoppe of Excetter reysed in lyke maner an armye, and in Kent Rychard Guylford accompanied wyth certayn other gentylmen raysed vp the people as is a foresayde, & all thys was done in maner in one moment. But the king, who had in ŷ meane tyme gathered together gret power & strēgth, thynkyng yt not to be best by pursuyng euery one of hys enemyes to dysparkle hys cōpaygnie in smal flokes, determyned to let passe all the others, & withal his whole puisaunce to set vpon the chiefe heade, that is to saye, the duke of Buckyngham: so takyng his iourneye from Londō, he went towardes Salisbury to thentent that he might sette vpon ŷsaid duke in case he might haue perfight knowledge that ŷ same laye in any felde embatailed. And nowe was the kyng within twoo dayes iourney of Salisbury, when ŷ duke attempted to mete hym, beyng accompaignied with great strength of Welshmen, whom he had therunto enforced & coherted, more by lordly commaundement then by lyberall wages and hyre; whiche thyng in deede was ŷ cause that thei fell from hym and forsooke hym. Wherfore beyng sodenly forsaken of his menne, he was of necessite constrained to flee; in whiche dooyng, as a manne cast in sodeine, and therfore greate feare, of this the sodeine chaunge of fortune, &, by reason of thesame feare, not knowyng where to become, nor where to hyde his hed, nor what in suche case best to dooe, he secretly conueighed hym self into the hous of Homffraye Banastar, in whom he had conceaued a sure hope and confidence to finde faithfull and trustie vnto hym, because thesame had bene & thē was his seruaunt, entendyng there to remayne in secrete, vntill he might either reise a newe armie, or els by some meanes cōueigh hym self into Brytein, to Henry erle of Rychemount. But assone as theothers whiche had attempted thesame entrepryse against ŷ kyng, had knowledge that the duke was forsaken of his compaignie and fled, and could not bee foūde, thei beyng stryken with sodein feare, made euery māne for hym self suche shift as he might, and beyng in vtter despayre of their health and life, either gotte theim to sāctuaryes or deserte places, or els assaied to escape ouer sea, & many of theim in deede arryued sauely in Britain, emong whom were these whose names ensue; Peter Curteney, bishop of Exceter, with his brother Edward erle of Deuonshire, Thomas marques of Dorcestre, with his soonne Thomas, beyng a verye yoūg chylde, Thō Bourshere, Thon Welshe, Edward Wooduyle, a stoute manne of armes and brother to Elizabeth the quene, Robert Willoughby, Gyles Dawbeneye, Thomas Harondell, Thon Cheiny with his twoo brethren, Wyllyam Berkeley, Wyllyam Brando, with Thomas his brother, Rychard Edgecome, and all these for the moste parte knightes: also Thon Halwell,

Fol. lxxxix.

Edwarde Poyntz, an excellēt good capitain, & Christopher Vrswicke: but Ihon Moorton, bishop of Ely, at theself same tyme, together with sondrye of the nobles and gentlemen sailed into Flaundres.

But Richard the kyng, who was nowe come to Salisbury, and had gotten perfight knowledge that all these parties sought to flie the realme, with all dylygence and hast that might bee, sent to all ŷ porte tounes theraboute to make sure steye that none of theim might passe vntaken, and made proclamacion ŷ whosoeuer would bryng hym knowledge where the duke of Buckyngham were to bee had, should haue for his rewarde, if he were a bōdeman, his fredome, and if he were fre, his pardon, and besydes that a thousand pounde of moneye.

Furthermore, because he vnderstode by Thomas Hutton, newely retourned oute of Britein, of whom afore is mencioned, that Fraunces, duke of Brytain, would not onelye holde Henry erle of Rychmount in prisone for his sake, but also was readie to helpe thesame Henry with menne, money and shippes in all that he might against hym, he sette dyuerse and sondry shippes in places conuenyent by all the seacostes to Brytain ward, *Fol. xci.* that if Henry should come that waye, he might either bee taken before his arriuall, or els might bee kept frō landyng in any coaste of England. And furthermore, in euerie coaste and corner of ŷ realme laied wondrefull wayte and watche to take partely any other of his enemies, and specially thesaid duke of Buckyngham. Wherupon thesaid Homffrey Banaster, (were it for mede, or for losyng his life and goodes,) disclosed hym vnto the kynges inquysytours, who ymediatly tooke hym, and foorthwith all brought hym to Salisbury, where kyng Rychard was. The duke beyng dylygently examined, vttred, without any maner refusall or styckyng, all suche thynges as he knewe, trustyng that for his plain confession he should haue lybertee to speake with the kyng, whiche he made moste instaūt and humble peticion that he might dooe; but assone as he had cōfessed his offence towardes kyng Rychard, he was oute of hande behedded. And this death ŷ duke receaued at the handes of kyng Rychard, whom he had before holpen in his affayrs and purposes beyonde all Gods forbode.

Whyle these thynges wer in hand in England, Henry erle of Richmount made readye his hoste and strength to the nombre of fiue thousand Brytones and fiftene shippes. The daye apoynted of his departure beyng nowe come, whiche was ŷ twelfe daye of the moneth of Octobre, in the yere of our Lorde God a thousand foure hundred. lxxxiiii. and the seconde yere of ŷ reigne of kyng Richard, and hauyng a fayre wynde, hoysed vp the sayles & set forwarde; but towarde the night came suche a tempest that thei were dispersed one from another, some into Britain and some into Normandy. But the ship in whiche Henry was, with one other ship, tossed all the night with the waues of the sea and tempest. When the mornyng came, it waxed somewhat calme and faire weder, and thei were come toward

toward the South parte of England, by a hauen or porte called Pool, where thesaid Henry sawe all the shores or bankes sette full of harnessed-men, whiche were souldyours apoynted there to wayte by kyng Rychard, as we haue saied before, for the comyng & landyng of the erle. While Henry there abode, he gaue commaundement that no manne should land before ŷ comyng of theother shippes. And in the meane tyme that he wayted for theim, he sent a litle bote with a fewe in it a lād, to knowe what thei were that stoode on the shore, his frēdes or enemies. To whom those souldyours beeyng before taught what thei should saie, aunswered that thei were the frendes of Henry, and were appoynted by ŷ duke of Buckyngham there to abide his commyng, and to conducte hym to those castelles and holdes where his tentes, pauylyons, and artillary for the warre laie, and where remayned for hym a greate power that entended nowe with all spede to set vpon kyng Rychard, while he was nowe fled for feare and cleane without prouision, and therfore besought hym to come alande.

Henry suspectyng this to bee but fraude, after that he saw none of his shippes apered, hoysed vp the sailes, hauyng a meruelous good wynde euen apoynted hym of God to delyuer hym from that great ieopardy, and sayled backe agayn into Normandy. And after his landyng there, he and his compaignie, after their laboures, arested theim for the space of. iii. *Fol. xci.* dayes, determynyng to go from thence afoote into Brytayne, & in the meane while sent messengers vnto Charles the Frenche kynge, the sonne of Lewes that a lytle before departed, besechyng hym of lybertee and lycence to passe thorough Normādy into Brytayn. The young kyng Charles, beeyng sory for his fortune, was not onlye ready and well pleased to graunt his passage, but also sent hym moneye to helpe hym foorthe in his iourneye. But Henry before that he knewe the kynges mynde, (not doubtyng of his great humanytee and gentlenes) had sent awaye his shippes towardes Britayne, and had set hym selfe forwardes in his iourneye, but made no greate haste tyll the messengers retourned: whiche greate gentlenes when he receaued from the kyng, reioysed his hearte, and with a lustye stomacke and good hope set forwarde into Brytayne, there to take ferther counsayle of his affayres.

And when he was in Brytayn, he receaued frō his frendes out of Englande, knowledge that the duke of Buckyngham was behedded, and that the marques of Dorcestre, with a greate nombre of ŷ noble men of Englande, had bene there a lytle before to seke hym, and that they were now in Veneti, a cytie in Brytayne. The whiche thynges beynge knowen to the erle, he on the one parte did greately lament the death and euel chaunce of his chiefe and princypall frende, but yet on the other parte he greatlye reioysed, in that he had so many & noble menne to take his parte in the battayll. And therfore conceauynge a good hope and opinion that his purpose shoulde well frame and come to passe, determyned with hym

selfe with all expedycion to set foorthwarde; and therupon wente to a place in Brytayn called Rhedon, and from thence sent to the marques with all the other noble men, that they should come vnto hym. Then when they hearde that Henrye was safe returned into Brytayne, reioysed not a lytle, for thei had thought he had landed in Englande, and so fallen into the handes of kyng Richarde, and they made not a lytle haste tyll they wer come vnto hym: the whiche when they met, after great ioye and gladnesse, aswell of their parte as of his, they began to talke of their prepensed matters. And nowe was Christmasse come, on the whiche daye they altogether assembled in the churche, and there sware fayth and truthe one to another. And Henry sware first, promysyng that assone as he should possesse ŷ croune of England, that he woulde marye Elyzabeth the doughter of Edward the. iiii.; and afterwarde they sware feaultie & homage vnto hym, euē as though he had already bene kyng: and so from that tyme foorthe dyd take hym, promysyng hym that thei would spende bothe theyr lyfes and goodes with hym, & that Richard should no lēger reigne ouer theim. When this was dooen, Henry declared all these thynges to the duke of Britayne, praiynge & desyryng hym nowe of helpe, and that he woulde ayde hym with a greater nombre of menne, & also to lende hym a frendly & honest somme of moneye, that he might nowe recouer his right and enheritaunce of the croune of England, vnto ŷ which he was called & desyred by al the lordes & nobilitee of the realme, & whiche (God wyllyng) he was moste assured to possesse, and after his possessiō he would moste faythfully restore thesame again. The duke promysed hym ayde, vpon the truste wherof he beganne to make redye his shippes, that they might with all expedicion bee redy to sayle, that no tyme should be loste. In the whiche tyme kyng Richard was agayn retourned to London, & had taken dyuerse of theim ŷ wer of this conspyracy, ŷ is to say, George Browne, Roger Clyfforde, Thomas Selenger, knyghtes; also Thomas Ramme, Robert Clyfford and dyuerse other, whom he caused to be put to death.

Fol. xciii.

After this he called a parliament, wherin was decreed, that all those that were fled oute of the lande should be reputed and taken as enemyes to the realme, and all their landes and goodes to bee forfayte and confiscate. And not content with that preade, which was no smal thyng, he caused also a great taxe and somme of monye to be leuyed of the people: for ŷ large giftes and lyberalytee that he first vsed to buye the fauoures & frendshippes of many had now brought him in nede. But nothing was more like then ŷ Thomas Stanley shoulde haue bene reputed & takē for one of those enemies, because of the woorkyng of Margarete his wife, which was mother vnto Henry erle of Richemoũt, the which was noted for ŷ chiefe hed & worker of this cōspyracy. But for asmuch as it was thought that it was to small purpose that wemen coulde dooe, Thomas beynge nothyng

fauty

fauty was delyred[1], and cōmaūded that he should not suffre Margarete his wyfe to haue any seruaūtes about her, neither ẏ she should not go abroad, but be shut vp, and ẏ from thence foorth she should sende no message, neyther to her soonne nor to any of her other frendes, wherby any hurte mighte be wrought agaynst the kyng; the whiche commaundemēt was accomplyshed. And by the authoryte of thesame perliament, a peace was concluded with the Scottes, whiche a lytle before had skyrmyshed with the borderers. Which thyng brought to passe, ẏ kyng supposed all conspiracye to bee clene auoyded: for asmuche as the duke, with other of his compaignie, were put to death, and also certen other bannyshed. Yet for all this, kyng Richard was daylye vexed and troubled, partelye mystrustynge his owne strength, and partely fearyng the commyng of Henrye with his compaignye, so that he lyued but in a myserable case. And because that he would not so continue any lenger, he determyned with hym selfe to put awaye the cause of this his feare and busynesse, either by pollecye or elles by strength. And after that he hadde thus purposed with hym selfe, he thought nothyng better then to tempte the duke of Britayn yet once again, eyther with money, prayer, or some other speciall rewarde, because ẏ he had in kepyng the erle Henry, &, moste chiefly, because he knewe ẏ it was only he ẏ might delyuer hym from all his trouble, by delyueryng or imprisoning the sayed Henry. Wherfore incontinentlye he sente vnto the duke certein ambassadoures, the whiche should promesse vnto hym, besyde other greate rewardes that they broughte with theim, to geue hym yerely all the reuennes of all the landes of Henry, and of all the other lordes there beyng with hym, yf he woulde, after the receyte of *Fol. xciii.* the ambassadoures, put theim in prysone. The ambassadoures beynge departed and come where the duke laye, could not haue communicacion with hym, for asmuch as by extreme sicknesse his wyttes were feble and weake. Wherfore one Peter Landose his treasourer, a manne bothe of pregnaunte wytte and of greate authoritee, tooke this matter in hand: for whiche cause he was afterwarde hated of all the lordes of Britain. With this Peter the Englishe ambassadoures had communicacion, & declaring to hym the kynges message, desyred hym instantlye, for asmuche as they knewe that he might bring theyr purpose to passe, that he woulde graunt vnto kyng Richardes request, and he shoulde haue the yerely reuenues of all the landes of the sayed lordes. Peter considering that he was greatly hated of ẏ lordes of his owne nacion, thoughte that yf he myght bring to passe thoroughe kyng Richarde, to haue all these greate possessyons and yerely reuenues, he should then bee hable to matche with theim well ynough, and not to care a rushe for theim; whereupon he aunswered the ambassadoures that he would doo that Richard dyd desire, yf he brake not promesse

[1] delivered, *ed. alt.*

with

with hym; and this did he not for any hatred that he bare vnto Henry, for he hated hym not: for not longe before he saued his lyfe where the earle Henry was in greate ieoperdye. But suche was the good fortune of Englande, that this craftye compacte tooke no place: for whyle the letters and messengers ranne betwene Peter and kyng Richard, Iohn, bishoppe of Ely, beinge then in Flaundres, was certifyed by a preest whiche came oute of England, whose name was Christopher Vrswicke, of all the whole circumstaunce of this deuyce & purpose. Wherupon with all spede, the sayed byshop caused the saied preest the same daye, to cary knowledge therof into Britayn to Henry erle of Richemounte, willing hym, with all the other noble men, to dyspatche theim selues w̄ all possible haste into Fraunce. Henry [*who*] was then in Veneti, whē he heard of this fraud, without tariaunce sent Christopher vnto Charles the Frenche kyng, desiring lycence, that Henry with the other noble men myght safely come into Fraunce; the which thing being sone obteigned, the messenger retourned with spede to his lorde and prince.

Then the earle Henry setting all his businesse in as good staye & ordre as he mighte, talked lytle, and made fewe a counsail herof; & for the more expedicyon [hereof,] he caused therle of Penbrucke secretly to cause all the noble men to take their horses, dissembling to ride vnto the duke of Bretain; but when they came to the vtterniost partes therof, they should forsake the waye that led theim toward the duke, and to make into Fraunce with all that euer they might. Then they dooing in euery thing as they were biddē loste no tyme, but so sped theim that shortely they obteygned and gate into the coūtie of Angeou. Henry then within. ii. dayes folowyng, being then styll at Veneti, tooke. iiii. or fyue of his seruauntes with hym, and feigned as thoughe he woulde haue ryden therby to visyte a frende of his; and forasmuche as there were many Englishmenne lefte there in the toune, no manne suspected any thynge: but after that he had kepte the ryghte waye for the space of fyue myles, he forsooke that and turned streyghte into a woode that was thereby, and tooke vpon hym his seruauntes apparell, and putte his apparell vpon hys seruaunte, and so tooke but one of theym with hym, on whome he waited as thoughe he had bene the seruaunte and the other the maister. And with all conuenyente and spedy haste so sette forthe on theyr iourney, that no tyme was loste, and made no more tariaunce by the way then onelye the baitynge of theyr horses, so that shortly he recouered the coastes of Angeou, where all his other companye was.

Fol. xciiii.

But within foure dayes after that the earle was thus escaped, Peter receaued from kyng Richard the confirmacion of the graunte and promises made for the betreiyng of Henry and the other nobles: wherfore the saide Peter sente oute after hym horses and menne with suche expedicion and spede to haue taken hym, that scacely the erle was entred Fraunce one houre,

houre, but they were at his heles. The Englyshe menne, then beyng aboue the noumbre of thre hundreth at Veneti, hearing that the earle and all the nobles were fled so sodeinly, and withoute any of their knowledge, were astonyed, and in maner despaired of theyr lyues.

But it happened contrary to theyr exspectacyon: for the duke of Britaine taking the matter so vnkyndely that Henry should bee so vsed with hym, that for feare he shoulde bee compelled to flee his lande, was not a lytle vexed with Peter, to whom (althoughe that he was ignoraunte of the fraude and crafte that had been wrought by hym) yet he layed the whole faute in hym; and therfore called vnto hym Edward Poyninges & Edward Woodvile, deliuering vnto theim the foresayde monye ỹ Henrye before had desyred the duke to lende hym towarde the charge of his iourney, and commaunded theim to conuey and conducte all the Englishmenne his seruauntes vnto hym paying theyr expenses, and to deliuer the sayde some of monye vnto the earle. When the earle sawe his menne come, and hearde this comfortable newes, he not a lytle reioysed, desiring the messengers that returned to shewe vnto the duke that he trusted ere long time to shewe him selfe not to bee vnthankeful for this greate kyndnesse that he nowe shewed vnto hym. And within fewe dayes after the earle went vnto Charles the French kyng, to whome after he had rendred thankes for the great benefites and kindnesse that he had receaued of hym, the cause of his comming fyrste declared; then he besought him of his helpe and ayde, whiche shoulde bee an immortall benefite to hym and his lordes, of whome generallye he was called vnto the kyngdome, forasmuch as they so abhorred the tiranny of kyng Rychard. Charles promised hym helpe, and bade him to be of good chere & to take no care, for he would gladly declare vnto hym his benenolence. And the same tyme Charles remoued and tooke with hym Henry and all the other noble menne.

Whyle Henry remained there, Iohn earle of Oxenford, (of whome is before spoken) which was put in prisone by Edward the fourth, in the castell of Hammes, with also Iames Blonnte, capteine of that castell, and *Fol. xcv.*
Iohn Forskewe, knyghte, porter of the towne of Caleies, came vnto hym. But Iames the capitain, because he lefte his wife in ỹ castell, dyd furnyshe the same with a good garison of men before his departure.

Henry when he sawe therle, was out of measure glad ỹ so noble a man and of greate experience in battayl, and so valiaunt & hardie a knight, whom he thought to bee moste faithfull and sure, for somuche as he had in the time of Edward ỹ fourth[1] continuall battail with hym, in defending of Henry the syxte[2], thought that nowe he was so well apointed that he coulde not desire to bee better, and therfore cõmunicated vnto hym all his whole affaires, to bee ordred and ruled only by hym. Not longe after

[1] kyng Edward the fourth. *ed. alt.* [2] kyng Henry the sixt. *ed. alt.*

Charles

Charles the Frenche kyng remoued again to Paris, whome Henry folowed, and there againe moued and besoughte the kyng, as he had moste fauourably & kindely entreteigned hym all this time, not only in wordes but also in dedes, ẏ it would lykewise please hym yet so much further to extend his fauoure & beneuolence vnto hym, that nowe he woulde ayde and helpe hym forwarde in his iourney, ẏ not onely he, but also all the lordes and nobilytee of Englande myghte iustely haue cause to knowlage and confesse, that by the meane of his fauoure and goodnesse they were restored againe to the possessyon of their enherytaunces, whiche, withoute hym, they coulde not well bryng to passe.

In the meane while his fortune was suche, ẏ many Englyshe menne came ouer daylye oute of Englande vnto him, and many whiche then were in Paris, amonge whome were diuerse studentes that fell vnto his parte bothe more and lesse, and specially there was one, whose name was Richard Foxe, a preest, beyng a manne of a synguler good wytte and learning, whome Henry streyght waye reteigned, and cõmitted all his secretes vnto hym, and whome also afterward he promoted to many hyghe promocyons, and at the laste he made hym bishop of Winchester.

Richarde then hearyng of all this conspiracye, and of the greate ayde that dayly wente ouer vnto Henry, thought yet, for all this, that if he might bring to passe that Henry should not couple in maryage with the blood of king Edwarde, that then he shoulde dooe well ynoughe with hym, and kepe hym from the possessyon of the croune. Then deuysed he with hym selfe all the wayes and meanes that myghte bee, howe to bryng this to passe. And fyrste he thoughte it to bee beste with fayre [woordes] & large promesses to attempte the quene, whose fauoure obteygned, he doubted not but shortelye to fynde the meanes to haue bothe her doughters oute of her handes into his owne, and then rested nothynge but yf he hym selfe myghte fynde the meanes afterwarde to marye one of the same doughters, whereby he thought he shoulde make all sure and safe, to the vtter disapoyntinge of Henrye. Wherupon he sente vnto the quene, then beynge in the sanctuarye, dyuerse and sondrye messengers that shoulde excuse and pourge hym of his facte afore dooen towardes her, settynge forthe the matter with plesaunte woordes and hye promyses, bothe to her and also her sonne Thomas lorde marques of Dorset, of all thynges that coulde be desyred. These messengers beyng men of grauitee, handled the quene so craftly, that anone she beganne to bee alured and to herken vnto theim fauourably, so that in conclusion she promysed to be obedient to the kyng in his request, forgettyng the iniuries he had dooen to her before, and on the other parte not remembryng ẏ promesse that she made to Margarete, Henryes mother. And first she delyuered both her doughters into the handes of kyng Rychard; then after she sent preuely for the lorde marques her sonne, beyng then at Parys ẁ Henry, (as ye haue

Fol. xxvi.

heard) wyllyng hym to forsake Henrye, with whome he was, and spedely to returne into Englande, for all thynges was perdoned and forgeuen, & she again in fauoure and frendship of ẏ kyng, and it should be highly for his aduauncement and honoure.

Kyng Richard, (whē quene Elizabeth was thus brought into a fooles paradyce,) after he had receaued al his brothers doughters from the sanctuary into his palayce, thought there nowe remayned nothyng to be dooen but only the castyng awaye and destroiyng of his owne wife, whiche thynge he had wholy purposed and decreed within hymselfe. And there was nothyng that feared hym so much from this mooste cruell & detestable murder, as the losyng of the good opynion ẏ he thought the people had conceyued of hym: for as ye haue heard before, he faigned hym selfe to be a good mā, and thought the people had estemed hym euen so. Notwithstandyng shortly after, his foresaide vngracious purpose ouercame al this honest feare. And first of all he absteyned from beddyng or lyyng with her, and also found him self greued with the barrēnesse of his wife, that she was vnfruteful and brought hym forth no chyldren, complainyng therof very greuously vnto ẏ nobles of his realme, and chiefly e aboue other vnto Thomas Rotherame, then archebishoppe of Yorke, (whome he had delyuered a lytle afore oute of pryson;) the whiche byshop did gather of this, that the quene should be rid out of the waye, ere it were long after. (suche experience had he of kyng Richardes complexciō, who had practised many lyke thynges not longe before,) & thesame tyme also he made dyuerse of his secrete frendes preuy of thesame his coniecture.

After this he caused a rumoure to ronne amōg the commen people, (but he woulde not haue ẏ autoure knowen) ẏ the quene was dead, to thentent ẏ she hearyng this meruelous rumour, should take so greueous a conceyt that anone after she should fall into some great disease, so that he would assay that waye, in case it should chaunce her afterward to be sicke, dead, or otherwyse murdred, that then ẏ people might impute her death vnto ẏ thought she tooke, or els to ẏ sickenesse. But whē the quene heard of so horryble a rumour of her death sprōge abroade among the commen people, she suspected the matter, and supposed the worlde to be at an ende with her, and incontinently she wente to the kyng with a lamentable countenaunce, and with wepyng teares asked hym, whether she had dooen any thyng whereby he might iudge her worthy to suffer death. The kyng made aunswere, with asmilyng and dissimulyng countenaūce, and with flatteryng woordes byddyng her to bee of good comforte and to plucke vp *Fol. xxvii.* her heart, for there was no suche thyng toward her that he knewe. But howe so euer it fortuned, either by sorowe or els by poysonyng, within fewe daies after the quene was dedde, and afterwarde was buryed in the abbay of Westminster. This is the same Anne, one of Rychard the earle

of Warwikes doughters, whiche once was cōtracted to prince Edwarde, kyng Hēry the sixt his soonne.

The kyng beyng thus delyuered of his wife, fantasied a pace ladye Elizabeth his nice, desiryng in any wise to marv with her; but because that all menne, yee and the mayden her self abhorred this vnlawfull desire, as a thyng mooste detestable, he determined with hym self to make no greate hast in the matter, chiefly for that he was in a pecke of troubles, fearyng least ẏ of the noble menne some would forsake hym & runne vnto Henry his part, the other at the leste would fauoure the secrete conspiracy made again hym: so that of his ende there was almoost no doubte. Also the more parte of the commen people were in so greate dispeare, that many of theim had rather to bee accompted in the noumbre of his enemies, then to put theim selfes in ieopardy bothe of losse of body and goodes in takyng of his parte.

And emongest those noble menne whom he feared, first was Thomas Standley and Wyllyam his brother, Gylbert Talbote, & of other a greate noūbre; of whose purpose though kyng Rychard was ignoraunt, neuerthelesse he trusted not one of theim, and lest of all Thomas Standley, because he had maryed Henryes mother, as it maye well appeare by this that foloweth. For when the sayd Thomas woulde haue departed from the courte vnto his owne mansion, for his recreacion, (as he saide,) but ẏ truthe was, because he woulde bee in a readynesse to receaue Henry, and ayde hym at his commyng into the realme: but the kyng did let hym, and would not suffer hym to departe, vntyll suche tyme he had left in the courte behynde hym George Strange his soonne and heyre for a pledge. And whyle kynge Richarde was thus wrapped in feare and care of ẏ tumulte that was to come, lo, euen then tydynges came that Henrye was entred into the lande, and that the castell of Hammes was prepared to receiue Henry, by the meanes of the erle of Oxenforde, whiche then was fled with Iames Blunte, keper of the castell, vnto Henry.

Then kyng Rychard, thynkyng at the begynnyng to stey all this matter, sent forth with all hast the greater parte that were then at Calyce, to recouer the said castell again. Those that were in the castell, when thei sawe their aduersaries make towardes theim, spedely thei armed theim selfes to defence, and in al hast sent messengers to Hēry, desyryng hym of ayde. Henry forthwith sent the erle of Oxenforde with a chosen sorte of menne to assist theim, and at their first commyng they laid siege not farre from the castell. And whyle kyng Rychardes menne turned backe, hauyng an yie towardes theim, Thomas Brandon, with thirty valeaunt menne of the otherside, gate ouer a water in to the castell, to strength theim that were within. Then thei that were within, laid heard to their charge that were without on ẏ otherside, the erle of Oxenford so valiantly assayled them of the backeside that thei were glad to make proclamaciō to theim that were within,

Fol. xcviii.

within, that if thei would be content to geue ouer the castell, thei should haue free liberte to departe with all that euer thei had. The erle of Oxenforde hearyng this, whiche came onely to saue his frendes from hurte, and namely Iames Bluntes wife, was contented with this condicion, and departed in saufgarde with all his frendes, returning backe to Henry, whiche was at Paris. After this, kyng Rychard was informed ý the Frenche kyng was wery of Henry & his compaignie, and would doo nothyng for hym, wherby Henry was nowe not hable in maner to helpe him self, so that it was not possible ý he shuld prenaile or goo forwarde in thenterprise, that he thoughte to haue taken in hande agaynst kynge Rycharde.

Kynge Rycharde beeyng brought thus into a false[1] paradice, thought hym selfe to bee out of all feare, and that there was no cause why he should, beynge so sure, ones to wake oute of hys slepe, or trouble hym selfe anye furder, and therefore called backe hys nauye of shyppes that then was redy vpon the sea, whyche was fullye furnyshed to haue scoured the seas; but yet for the more suretie least he should bee sodenly oppressed, he gaue commaundemente to the greatte men dwellynge by the sea syde, (and specyally the Welshemen,) to watche nyghte and daye, leaste his aduersaries shuld haue eny oportunitee to entre into the lande. As the fashyon is in time of warre that those that dwell by the sees side, should make bekyns in the highest places there about, whiche might bee sene afarre of, so that when it should chaunce their enemyes to aryue towarde the lande, by and by they should fyre theyr bekyns, and rayse the countreye, to thentent that quickely from place to place they might be ascerteyned of all the whole matter, and also to arme theim selfes spedelye agaynste theyr enemies.

And so to come to our purpose agayn, kyng Richard, thorough the aforesaide tydynges, beganne to bee more carelesse and rechelesse, as who saye he had no power to withstand the desteny that honge ouer his hedde. Suche is the prouydent iustyce of God, that a manne dooeth leste knowe, prouyde & beware when the vengeaunce of God is euen at hande for his offences. And to go forth at ý tyme when Henry the erle of Richemounte remayned in Fraunce, entretyng and suyng for ayde & helpe of the Frenche men, many of the chiefe noble men which had the realme in gouernaunce, (because of the young age of Charles the kyng,) fel somewhat at dissencion, of the whiche variaunce Lewes the prynce of Orlyaunce was the chiefe and hedde, whiche because he had maryed Iohanne the kynges syster, looked to haue bene chiefe gouernoure of all the realme. By the which meanes it came to passe, that [no] one man had the princypall gouernaunce of the realme; and therefore Henry the erle was constraigned to sue vnto all the nobles seuerallye one after another, desyrynge and prayynge theim of aide and helpe in his purpose, and thus the matter was prolonged.

[1] fools. *ed. alt.*

Fol. xcix. In the meane tyme Thomas the marques of Dorcet, (of whome we spake afore,) was preuely sent for to come home by his mother, partely mystrustynge that Henrye should not preuayle, and partly for the greate and large promesses that kyng Richard had made to her for hym before. Whiche letters when the sayd marques had receaued, he beleuyng all thynges that his mother wrote vnto hym, and also thynkyng that Henry should neuer preuayle, and that the Frenchemen did but mocke and daylye[1] with hym, he sodeynly in the night tyme conueyed hym selfe out of Parys, and with great spede made towardes Flaūders: the whiche thyng when ŷ erle and other of the Englishe lordes heard of, thei wer sore astonned & amased, & with all spede purchased of Charles the kyng, a lycence and commaundement that the marques might by steyed whersoeuer he wer found wīn the dominion of Fraūce, chiefly for that he was secrete of their councel, and knewe all there purpose. The cōmaundemēt was quickly obteyned, & postes made forth euery waye: emōgest whom one Humfrey Cheyney plaiyng ŷ parte of a good blooddehounde so truely smelled out and folowed the trace, that by and by he found out and toke the marques, and so handled & persuaded hym with gentle and good woordes, that shortely after he was content to retourne.

Then Henry beyng delyuered of this chaunce, thought it best to prolonge the matter no farther, least he should loose both the present oportunytee, and also wery his frendes that looked for hym in Englande; wherfore he made haste and set forewarde with a small army obteyned of the Frenche kyng, of whom he also borowed some money, and some of other of his frendes, for the whiche he left the marques and Ihon Burchere behynde for a pledge, and so setting forward came to Roan. And whyle he taryed there, and prepared shippyng at ŷ hauen of Seyne, tydynges cam to hym ŷ kyng Richardes wyfe was deade, & purposed to mary with the lady Elysabeth, kyng Edwardes eldest doughter, being his nice, & that he had maried Cycile her syster to a mannes sonne of the lāde far vnderneth her degre. At the whiche thyng Henry was sore amased and troubled, thynkyng that by this meanes al his purpose was dashed, for that there was no other waye for hym to come to the kyngdome but only by the maryage of one of kyng Edwardes doughters; and by this menes also, he feared least his frendes in Englande would shrynke frō hym for lacke of an honest title. But after thei had consulted vpon the matter, thei thought it best to tary a lytle, to proue if they might gette more helpe, and make mo frendes; and among all other, they thought it best to adioyne the lord Harbarte vnto theim, whiche was a mā of great power in Wales, and ŷ should be brought to passe by this meanes, for that the lorde Harbarte had a syster maryable, whō Henry would be content to mary, if he would take their

[1] dalay. *ed. alt.*

part.

part. And to brīg al this matter to passe, messengers were sent to Henry the erle of Northumberlande, whiche had maryed the other syster, so that he should bryng this matter about, but the wayes were so beset, that the messengers could not come to hym.

And in the meane season came veray good tydynges from Ihon ap Morgan, *Fol. C.* a temporall lawyer, whiche signified vnto theim that syr Ryce ap Thomas, a noble and valiaunt man, and Ihon Sauage, fauoured his parte earnestlye, and also syr Reynolde Braye had prepared a greate summe of mony to wage battayl on his parte and to helpe hym, and therfore he woulde they should make hast with all that euer they could, and make towarde Wales.

Then Henry spedely prepared hym selfe, because he would lynger his frendes no lenger. And after that he had made his prayer vnto almightye God, that he might haue good successe in his iourney, only with two thousande menne and a fewe shyppes, in the calendes of August he sayled from the hauen of Seyne, and the seuēth daye after, whiche was the. xxii. daye of August, he aryued in Wales aboute sonne set, & lāded at Wilforde hauen, & in ý parte whiche is called the Dale, where he hearde ý there was dyuerse layde in wayte for hym to kepe hym backe. From thence, in the mornyng betymes he remoued towarde a towne called Harford, within tēne myle of the Dale, where he was very ioyfully receyued. Here he had contrarye tydynges brought to that he hearde in Normādy afore, that syr Ryce ap Thomas and Ihon Sauage wythal that euer they coulde make, were of kyng Richardes parte.

Notwithstandynge they had suche tydynges sent theim frō the menne of Pembruche by a valiaūt gentlemā, whose name was Arnold Butteler, that it reioysed all their heartes, whiche was, that yf all former offences might bee remitted, they woold bee in a redynesse to sticke vnto there owne Gespare the erle. Then Henryes company by this meanes beeyng encreased, departed frō Harforde fyue myle towarde Cardygane, and then while he refreshed his menne, sodenly came a rumoure vnto hym that the lorde Harbarte whiche dwelled at Carmerdyne, was nye at hande with a greate armye of menne. At the whiche rumoure there was a greate sturre amongeste theim, euerye manne tooke hym selfe to his weapon, and made theim selfes redye if nede were to fight, and a lytle while they were all afrayed, tyl such tyme as Henrye had sent out horsemen to trye ý truthe, whiche, when thei came agayn, declared that all thynges was quiet and that ther was no suche thyng: but moste of all, master Gryffythes, a verye noble man, did conforte theim and gladden their heartes, whiche although before he had ioyned hym self to the lorde Harberte, at that very tyme he cleued to Henry with suche companye as he had, although they were but fewe, and thesame tyme came Ihon ap Morgā vnto hym. Henry went styll forward & taried almoste in no place, because he would make suer woorke and the better spede he inuaded suche places afore that thei were armed against hym, ý whiche

places

places he bette downe ẅ very litle strēgth ; but afterward hauyng knowlage by his spyes ẏ the lorde Harbert & syr Ryce were in a redynes to geue hym battail, he determyned to set vpō theim, & either to put theim to flight, orels to make theim sweare homage and feaultee vnto hym, & to take theim ẅ hym in his hoste against kyng Richard. And because he woulde ascertayne his frendes in Englande howe all the matter went forwad with hym, he sent of his moost trustye frendes to ladye Margarete his mother, to Standely, to Talbot, and to other of his most especial frendes with certain commaundementes. The effecte of the commaundementes were, that he intended with the helpe of hys frendes to passe ouer Seuerne, and by Shrewesbury to make toward London ; therfore he desyred theim with those that were of their councell, in tyme & place conuenient to mete hym. So the messaungers going forth with these commissyons, Henry went forward toward Shrewesbury, and in the waye mette with syr Rice ap Thomas with a great nounber of menne, which came vnto hym and was of his parte. For two dayes afore Henry promysed hym to bee chiefe ruler of all Wales, as soone as he came to the croune, (yf he would come vnto hym,) which afterward he gaue to hym in dede. In the meane time the messengers executing the message, diligētly returned back agayne with large rewardes of theim to whome they were sent, and came to Henry the same day he entred into Shrewesburye, and shewed howe all his frendes were in a redynesse to dooe the vttermoste that laye in theim. This tidynges put Henry in suche greate hope, that he went forth with a courage, and came to the towne of Newporte, and there set vp his tentes vpon a lytle hyll, and there laye all night. That night came to hym syr Gylberte Talbot with aboue two hundreth menne. After that they went forthe to Stafforde, & whyle they were there Willyam Standley came to hym with a fewe after hym, and when he had talked a litle with him, retourned backe again to his hoste whiche he had prepared. From thence he went to Lichfelde, and that nyght laye without the toune, but in ẏ morning betime he entred into ẏ citee and was receiued honourably. A daye or. iii. afore Thomas Standley was there with fyue. M. men armed, whiche when he knewe of Henries cōming, forthwith went afore to a village called Aderstone, there to tarye tyll Henrye came. This he dyd to auoide suspicion, beyng afraid least kyng Richard, knowing his intent, would haue put his soonne to deathe ; whiche, as I telled you before, was lefte ẅ hym as a pledge for his father. But kynge Rychard in the meane tyme, which then was at Nottingham, hearing that Henry with a fewe more of banished men was entred into Wales, so lightly regarded the matter, that he thoughte it was not muche to bee paste vpon, for that he came in with so fewe in noumbre, and that the lorde Harbart & sir Rice, which wer rulers of all Wales, would other kyll hym, or elles take hym and bring hym aline : but afterward when he remembred him self that oftentimes a smal matter in batel if it bee not looked vnto betymes, would make

Fol. Cl.

at the laste a great sturre, he thought it best to remedy the matter betimes, and commaunded Henrye the earle of Northumberlande, with other of the nobles of the realme, (whome he thoughte had set more by hym then by their owne goodes,) to rayse vp an army & to come to hym with speede. Also he sente dyuers messengers with letters to Robert Brakenburye, keper of the towre of London, commaundynge hym to come vnto hym in all *Fol. Cii.* haste, and to brynge with hym as felowes in batell, Thomas Burschere, Walter Hungerforde, and dyuerse other knyghtes, whome he dyd not a litell suspecte.

In this tyme it was shewed that Henrye was come to Shrewisburye without any hurte, with the which tidinges ỹ kyng beganne to rage and made exclamacion againste theim, that contrary to their faithes they had vtterly deceiued hym, & then he beganne to mistrust all menne, and wiste not whome he mighte truste, so that he thoughte it best to sette forthe hym selfe ageinst his aduersaryes. And forthwith he sent out spies to knowe which waye Henry did take; they when they had dooen their diligence, retourned backe again, and shewed hym howe that Henry was come to Lichfeld: the which thing after he knew, because now there was a greate noumbre of souldyours come together, by and by his menne set in araye, he commaunded theim forwarde, and to gooe foure and foure together, and by that waye which they kept, they hearde saye, their enemies were commynge: the suspecte persones he putte in the myddes, he hym selfe with those he trusted came behind with winges of horsemen running on enery syde, and thus keping their order, aboute sonne sette came vnto Leicestre.

When Henrye in the meane season had remoued from Lichefelde vnto the nexte village called Tamworth, in the mydwaye he mette with Walter Hungerforde, Thomas Burschier, and many other more which had promised to aide hym afore, and forbecause they perceyued that they were suspected of Richard, & least they should be brought violentlye vnto hym, beyng their enemye, they forsooke Robert Brakenbury their capitaine, and in the nyghte tyme stale priuely awaye and wente to Henry, vnto whome there chaunced by the waye that was worthy to bee marked, whiche was that Henry, althoughe he was a manne of noble courage, and also his companye dyd dailye encrease, yet for all that he stoode in great feare because he was vncertayne of Thomas Standly; whiche as I telled you before, for the feare of puttynge his soonne to deathe, inclyned as yet vnto no parte, & that the matter was not so slēder of kyng Richard as reporte was made to hym of his frendes.

Wherfore, as all afrayde withoute a cause, he tooke onely twenty menne with him, and steyed in his iourney as a manne in dispaire, and halfe musynge with hym selfe what was beste to bee dooen; and to aggrauate the matter, tidinges was broughte hym that kyng Richard was commyng nere

to

to mete hym with a great and houge hoste of menne. And while he thus lyngered for feare behinde, his hoste came afore to the toune of Thamworth, and because it was then darke night, he lost bothe his company and also his waye; then wandryng frome place to place, at laste came to a lytle village. iii. myle from his hoste, being full of feare: and leste he should fall into the daunger of scoute watche, he durste not aske a questyon of any man, and partly for the feare that was presente, partely for that was to come, he laye there that nyght, and tooke this for a sygne or a pronosticacyon of some greate plage that was to come, and of the other parte his hoste was no lesse abashed, seyng his absence for that tyme. When in the morning Henry came to theim in the light of the daye, he excused ẏ matter that he was not absent because he had lost his waye, but rather of purpose, because he would commen ẇ his preuy frendes which would not be sene in the daye. After ẏ he went priuely to Aderstone, where Thomas Standley & Willyam his brother dyd dwell. Here Henry, Thomas, & Willyam mette and tooke other by the hande with louing salutacions, and were glad one of an other; then after, they counceled together of their metyng with kyng Richard, whome they perceyued then not to bee farre from theim. That day when it drewe toward night, in the euening Ihon Sauage, Brytanne Sanforde, Simon Digby, with many other, had forsaken kyng Richarde, & came to Henry ẇ a great power of men, whiche [thyng both with] power and strengthe sate Henry alofte again. In the meane season kyng Richard, which purposed to goo thorow thicke and thinne in this mater, came to Bosworthe a litell beyond Leicestre, where the place of batell should bee, (as a manne would saye the hye iustice of God, whiche coulde not bee auoided hanging ouer his hed, had called hym to a place where he should suffer worthy punyshemente for his detestable offences,) and there he sette vp his tentes, and rested that night. Afore he went to bed, he made an oration to his companye with greate vehemence, perswading & exhorting[1] manfully to fight; and afterward, as it was saied, he had a terrible dreame in his slepe, seming that he sawe horrible deuilles appere vnto hym, & pulling and haling of hym that he coulde take no rest, which visyon fylled hym full of feare & also of heuy care when he waked: for by and by after, being sore greued in his minde, he did prognosticate of this dreame the euill luke & heuy chaunce that after came to hym, and he came not with so cherful a countenaunce vnto his company as he was wonte to dooe; then leest they should thinke that he had this heauinesse for the feare of his enemies, he stoode vp & rehersed vnto theim all his dreame. But I thinke that this was not a dreame, but rather his conscience pricked with the sharpe stynge of his mischeuous offences, which although they dooe not pricke alwaye, yet most cōmenly they wil byte moste towarde the latter daye, re-

Fol. Ciii.

[1] exhorting them. *ed. alt.*

presentyng vnto vs not onely them selfe, but also the terryble punyshement that is ordeined for the same, as the syghte of the deuill tearyng and haling vs, so that therby (if we haue grace) we may take an occasyon to bee penitēt, or elles for lacke of the same dye in desperacyon. Nowe to come to my purpose again, the nexte daye after, kyng Richard hauing all thynges in a redynesse went forthe with the army oute of his tentes, & beganne to sette his men in araye: fyrst the forward set forth [with] a meruelous lengthe bothe of horsemen and also of footemen, a veray terrible companye to theim ỹ should see theim a farre of: and in the formost parte of all he ordered the bowmen as a stronge fortresse for theim that came after, and ouer this Iohn ỹ duke of Norffolke was hedde capitaine: after hym folowed the kyng with a mightye sorte of menne. And in this while Henry beyng departed from ỹ cōmunicacion of his frendes, without any tariyng pytched his tentes nere his enemies, and laye there all nighte, and cōmaunded his men to bee in a redinesse; in the morninge he sente also to Thomas Standley, being then in the middes betwixt bothe hostes, that he should come nere with his armye. He sent hym woorde again that he should set his menne in an ordre tyll he came, with the which answer, otherwise then he had thought or then the mater dyd require, he was not alitel abashed, and stoode as it were in doubte: yet for all ỹ he taryed not, but with all spede set his menne in an ordre. The forward was but slender, because his noūber was but fewe, the archers were set in the formost parte, ouer theim Iohn the earle of Oxford was hedde capitain; in the ryght wing he sette Gilbert Talbot; in ỹ lefte he put Iohn Sauage; and he him selfe, with ỹ helpe of Thomas Standley, folowed with one companye of horsemen and a fewe footemen: for all his whole company were scāt fyue. M. besides ỹ bothe Stanleys with their company, of the which Willyam Standley had thre. M. The kinges army was double to all this. And so when bothe armyes were all in a redinesse and beganne for to come within the sight of other, they bragged forth theim selfes of bothe parties, looking onely for the sygne and token of striking together. Betwyxte bothe hostes there was a marresse whiche Henrye lefte on his ryghte hande purposelye as a defence of his menne, he found the meanes also to haue the bryght sunne on his backe, that it myght dasyll the eyes of his enemyes. *Fol. C.iiii.*

But the kyng when he sawe Henry passe ouer the marras, cōmaunded his men with all violence to set vpon theim. They by and by with a sodein clamour lette arrowes flee at theim. On the other syde they paied theim home manfully again with the same. But when they came nere together, they laied on valeauntly with swerdes. The earle of Oxforde fearing least in the meane time kyng Richardes multytude should haue compassed in his menne whiche wer but a fewe, he cōmaunded theim by fyues they should not moue forwarde paste ten fote; the whiche cōmaundement [when] knowen they knitte theim selfes together and seased not in fyghting. Their

aduersaries beyng afrayed suspected som crafte or guyle & began to breake of, and many of the same parte wer not much greued therwith, because they wer as glad ŷ king should be loste as saued, & therfore they fought with lesse courage. Then the erle of Oxford with his menne thicke together stroke on more freshlyer. The other of the other parte dyd likwyse the same. And while the firste wardes of the batell had fought so manfully, Richard perceiued by his spies Henry a farre of with a fewe companye of armed menne: afterward cōming nere, Richard knewe hym by sygnes and tokens, then being inflamed with anger, furiouslye stroke the horse with the spurres, and ranne out of the one syde of the hoste, and like a lyon ranne at hym. On the other syde, Henry perceiuing hym commyng, was very desyrouse to mete hym. Richard at the fyrste setting forth kylled diuers that stode[1], again he threwe doune Henry his banner and Willyam Brandon the bearer also, he ranne at Cheyny a manne of great mighte,
Bel. C.v. whiche came for to mete hym, and with greate violēce ouerthrewe hym to the grounde, and this he made hymself a waie through theim, for to come to Henry. But Henry kept better tacke with hym thē his men would haue thought, whiche thē was allmoste in despayre of the victory. And euē at ŷ tyme lo there came Wyllyam Stanley to aide theim ẇ. iiii. M. mēne, and euen at the verie same tyme the residue of kyng Richardes men were put to flight. Thē Richard fightyng alone in the middest of all his enemies, was ouerthrowne & slain. In ŷ meane tyme therle of Oxēford in ŷ foreward, after he had fought māfully a litle while, put ŷ residue to flight, of whō he slewe a greate nōbre. But a greate nombre more, whiche folowed Richard more for feare then for loue, helde their handes from fightyng, & went awaie without hurte: for that thei loked not for his safegard, but rather for his destruccion. There were slain at this conflicte not many more then one thousand, of the whiche these were noble menne: Ihon duke of Norffolke, Walter Feris, Robert Brachyngbury, Richard Radcliffe, and many other more. And within twoo daies after Wyllyam Catisby, lawyer, with certain other of his felowes was put to death at Leicestre. And emonges those ŷ ranne awaie was Fraunces Louell, Humfray Stafford, with Thomas his brother, and other more that ranne into sanctuary at Colchestre in Essex. There was of the captiues a greate nombre; because that when Richard was slain, euery manne cast doune his wepon, and yeld hymself to Henry: of ŷ whiche ŷ more parte would haue dooen so at the begynnyng, if it had not been for feare of kyng Richardes spies, whiche thē wādered in euery place. And emongest these the nobles were the erle of Northumberlande, the erle of Surrey, of the whiche therle of Surrey was put in prisone, this[2] other as a frend was receiued in to fauour. Henry at that felde loste not aboue an hūdred menne,

[1] stode before him. *ed. alt.* [2] the. *ed. alt.*

emongest

emongest whom the chief was Wyllyam Brādone, whiche bare Henryes bāner. This battaill was fought in the. xxii[i]. day of the moneth of Auguste, in the yere of oure Lorde a thousand cccc. lxxxvi. ỹ conflict indured more then. ii. howres. Richard might (as the fame went) asaued hymself if he would afled awaie: for those that were about hym, when thei sawe his menne from the begynnyng fight but faintly, and that some were ronne awaie vnto the other parte, suspected treason, and willed hym to flie; and when the mater was manifest that all hope of victory was past, thei brought hym a swifte horse. He puttyng a sied all hope and trust that was in fleiyng, made (as it was saied) this aunswere, "that this daie he would haue ether an ende of battaill orels of his life;" suche was his greate audacite and manfulnes, whiche because he did se certainly that in this daie he should obtain the kyngdome quietely all daies of his life, or els lose bothe for euer, he entred in emōgest theim, as it was declared before, intendyng vtterly ether to lose all orels to wynne all. And so the wretche dyed, hauyng the ende that all suche were wont to haue, whiche in the stede of lawe, honestie, and all godlynes, folowe their owne appetite, vyllanye and all wyckednes. And plainly this is an example whiche cannot be expressed, to feare theim whiche will not suffer one howre to bee other- *Fol. Cvi.*
wyse spēt then in cruelte, mischief and all deuillishe fasshiōs. Henry, when he had thus obtained the victorye, he fell downe on his knees, and with many praiers & thankes referred all to the goodnes of God. Thē after he stode vp, beyng wounderfully replenished with ioye, & went vp vpō alitle hill, and there gaue [two] greate comendacions to his souldyours, commaundyng theim that were hurte to be heled and the dede to bee buryed; afterward he gaue immortall thankes to his noble capitains, promisyng theim that he would neuer forgette their benifite. The multitude, in ỹ meane tyme, with one voyce & one mynd proclaimed hym kyng. Whē Thomas Stanley sawe ỹ, he toke kyng Richardes croune, whiche was founde emongest the spoyle, and by & by putte it vpon his[2] head, as though he had been then created kyng by the eleccion of the people, as it was wonte to bee in the olde tyme: and this was the first token of his felicite. After this, kyng Hēry, with his compaignie and carriage, went to Lecestre toward night to bed, whether[3], after he had refresshed his compaignie well for the space of twoo daies, that thei might the better goo toward London, kyng Richardes bodye was brought naked ouer a horse backe, the hed and the armes hāgyng on the one side, and the legges on ỹ other, & caried in to the Grey Freres of Lecester, (and surely it was but a myserable sight to loke vpō, yet it was good inough cōsideryng his wretched leuyng,) and there without any solempnite was buryed twoo dayes after. He raygned twoo yeres, twoo monethes & one daie. He was but of a small stature,

[1] xxvii. *ed. alt.* [2] Henries. *ed. alt.* [3] where. *ed. alt.*

hauyng but a deformed bodie, ŷ one shoulder was higher then the other; he had a shorte face & a cruell looke, whiche did betoken malice, guyle and deceite. And while he did muse vpō any thing stāding, he would byte his vnder lippe continually, whereby a mān̄e might perceiue his cruell nature, within his wreched bodie, striued and chafted alwaie with in hymself: also the dagger, whiche he bare aboute hym, he would alwaies bee choppyng of it in and out. He had a sharpe and pregnaunt witt, subtill, and to dessimule and fayne verie mete. He had also a proude and cruell mynde, whiche neuer went from him to the houre of his death, whiche he had rather suffer by ŷ cruell sworde, though all his compaignie did forsake hym, then by shamefull flight he would fauoure his life, whiche after might fortune by sickenes or other condynge ponyshemēt shortely to perishe.

Fol. Cvii.

¶ HENRY THE SEUENTH[1].

HEnry the seventh of that name, kyng of England, first, after ŷ he had obteined his kyngdome and heritage by force of armes, entended to stablishe all thynges & extynguish sediciō, and before he departed from Leycester, caused ser Robert Willoughby, knight, to bryng ŷ yoūg erle of Warwike, ŷ duke of Clarēces soōne, before his presence, (whom kyng Richard to that tyme had kept at Sheryhuttō in Yorke shire,) fearyng muche least that by this young erle some occasiō might bee taken of renuyng battaill, whiche entended nothyng more then to liue in peace and quietnes. And so this erle was brought to hym & at his commaundement conueighed to London, and there cast in holde.

In the self same place alsp of Yorke shire, was ladie Elizabeth, eldest doughter to the fornamed kyng Edwarde, whom kyng Rychard, her vncle, would haue maried sore against the mynde and consent of ŷ same ladie, in so muche also that the people were sore against it, and accompted it not onely as a reproche & infamie to the kyng hymself, but also to his counsaill ŷ did agre to his naughtie purpose. Albeit, God of his infinite mercy preserued the ladie, whiche shorte[2] tyme after was brought to London to her mother.

In this time the kyng drawing nighe to London, was there accepted of his citezens streyghte after his cōming moste roially, & of all parties

[1] Kyng Henry the seuenth. *ed. alt.* [2] in shorte. *ed. alt.*

saluted

saluted after the moste louing fassion ẏ they could deuyse, geuing thankes to God with solempne procession for ẏ he had sent theim a king to gouerne ẏ realme, which before was ruled by a cruel & hateful tirāt.

After this gratulacion and thankesgeuing, ẏ kyng, at a daye appointed, assembled his counsail, to the ende he mighte marie the ladie Elizabeth, thorowe the which mariage, aswell ẏ nobilitee as cōmunes of ẏ realme, wer brought in good hope ẏ all thinges should bee redressed, & an end made of all sedicion and strife for euer. And at this parliament holden & kept at Westmīster, he was created kyng the . day of October, in the yere of oure Lorde a. M. foure C.lxxxvi. Whiche kyngdome he enioyed as of God enointed[1]: for as menne dooe reporte, aboute seuen hundreth, foure score and seuentene yeres paste, [Cadwallader, laste kynge of Englande, prophecied][2] that his progenye shoulde beare rule and dominion again. [So that by this meanes, men did fully perswade theim selfes that he was predestinate to it.] And ẏ rather also they did beleue it, because that kyng Henry ẏ sixte did foresaye the same, [and in like maner prophecy of hym.] Therfore he being thus proclaimed as true enheretour of the crowne, and at the same parliament created kyng, did first cause to bee published, that all suche should bee pardoned that would submit theim selfes to his grace, & as faithful people doo to hym due allegiaunce; other[3] that absented theim selfes, to bee takē as rebelles & traitours. After the whiche *Fol. C.viii.* proclamacion hard, many ẏ were in holde and sanctuaries, came for pardō and safetie of life to him: which persones so submitting theim selfes wer pardoned, & enhaunced to honoure, euery man after his owne deserte, as the kyng & his comsaile thought best. And first considering his chiefe frendes and nyghe kinsemen, made Gaspar his vncle duke of Bedforde, sir Thomas Stanley knight, earle of Derby, Giles Dabeney, sir Robert Willoughby, and Robert Brooke, lordes, & Edward, [his eldest sonne][4] duke of Buckingham, restoringe[5] wholy all[6] that king Richard had depriued hym of at what tyme he with other wer banished. Also actes[7] & statutes stablished & confirmed by Richard, as[8] thought expedient and veray necessary at that time for the publike weale, wer by hym aboundoned[9] & infringed euery one. After these thinges doen, he prouided ẇ all scelerite and expedicion to redeme the lorde marques Dorcet, & Iohn Burscher, whome he had lefte at Paris, as a pledge & suertie for certaine money ẏ he had borowed there, and Iohn, bishop of Ely, for like det out of Flaunders. Furthermore, to the ende ẏ his realme might bee in a better staye, he cōmaunded, that if any mā had iniury shewed at any tyme, the same persone shoulde putte vp his matter to hym, of whome he should both haue and finde redresse. And for these matters and causes to bee hearde, he made

[1] apointed. *ed. alt.* [2] it was reueled too Cadwalader, laste kyng of Britones. *ed. alt* [3] and the other. *ed. alt.* [4] eldest soone too. *ed. alt.* [5] he restored. *ed. alt.* [6] to all. *ed. alt.* [7] all actes. *ed. alt.* [8] as was. *ed. alt.* [9] abandoned. *ed. alt.*

of

of his councell the erle of Oxford, the duke of Bedford, therle of Derby, the lorde Strange, w̄ his sonne, and William the lorde his brother, [chief of the priuie chaumber,][1] the lorde Broke chief steward, and lord Graund maister of his house, Renould Braye, Iohn Morton byshoppe of Ely, Richarde Foxe, Iohn Dinham whome after he made treasourer of Englande, Giles Dabeney, Richarde Gildeforde, lorde Cheiny, Richarde Tunstall, Richard Edgecombe, Thomas Louell, Edwarde Poninges, with other wise men, as Richard ap Thomas, a Welsheman, aswell circumspecte as wise, Morgane Kidnel, lord Gray marques Dorcet, lord Talbot erle of Shrewesbury, Iohn Risley, lord Thomas earle of Ormonde an Irisheman, Henry Warney, William Say, William Ody, Gilbert Talbot, Willyam Vdall, Thomas Troys, Richarde Naufaute capitaine of Calis, Roberte Point, Iames Hubert, Charles Somerset, Thomas Hawarde, earle of Surrey, a manne of wisdome, grauitee, and constantnesse most cōmendable, the earle of Essex, descending of an high and noble parentage, lorde William Blounte[2], Iohn Burscher, Iohn Fineux, Peter Edgecombe, Hew Conuey, Thomas Terell, sir Henry Wiat, Robert Throgmorton, Thomas Brandon, sir Iohn Winkefelde, sir Edmond Dudley, Edward Belknape, Richarde Hemson: also bishoppes, Henry Deney bishoppe of Cauntourbury, Oliuer Kyng byshoppe of Bathe and Welles, William Barōs bishop of London, that dyed shortely after he was bishoppe, also William that succeded nexte after, Henry, archebyshop of Cauntourbury, Richarde of London and Richarde bishop of Norwiche.

When the kyng had taken these menne to bee of his councell for ŷ wealth of his realme, he maried ladye Elizabeth, doughter to kyng Edward, as he had promised, for the which he had the heartes of many menne. So that afterwarde he had no nede to feare the assaultes of any persones, or ŷ coniuracions of rebelles. Neuerthelesse, considering the chaunce he had before, and the falshode ŷ is in many menne from their youth, made yomen of the garde for his bodye, the whiche he firste of all Englyshe kynges caused to bee, and as it is thought he did take it of the Frenche kyng. Also after this he caused a parliament to bee had, wher in was made and decreed certayne lawes, actes & statutes for the wealthe of his realme.

Fol. C.ix.

The garde fyrste ordeined by kīge Henry the vii.

In this yere a newe sickenesse did reigne, and is[3] so sore and painfull as neuer was suffered before, the whiche was called the burning sweate. And this was so intollerable, that men coulde not kepe their beddes; but as lunatike persons & oute of their wittes, ranne about naked, so that none almoste escaped ŷ wer infected therwith. At ŷ length, after the great death of many a thousande menne, they learned a presente remedye for the same dysease, that is, yf he were sycke of that sweate in the daye, that he should streyte lye downe with his clothes and vestures; yf in the nighte,

The sweating sickenesse.

[1] chief chamberlain. *ed. alt.* [2] Blunte. *ed. alt.* [3] that. *ed. alt.*

ŷ he

ŷ he should not rise for the space of. xxiiii. houres, and eate no meate at all, yf he coulde forbeare, and drinke as litle as he mighte.

This disease reigned throughout all England, wherof also ensued a plague, as a token, and as ŷ people iudged a plaine argument that kyng Henrye shoulde neuer bee oute of feare and dreade of some mischaunce, seing that he was in suche great vexacyon at the sedicyous tumulte that was rysen al' the claimynge of the crowne.

Whē all thynges wer apeaced in London, and ordered after his owne mynd, he rode northward in progresse to pacifie all his realme, and especially those partes where the firste commocion was, and where also wer priuie and cloked frendes of his aduersaries. But because it was nigh Easter, he tooke his waye to Lincolne, and there tariyng was certified that the lorde Louell and Humfre Stafforde were gone from the sanctuary in Colchester, but to what place or whether no mā could tell. Whiche message the kyng litle regardyng, wēt foorth as he apointed to Yorke; and when he came there, it was shewed hym that the lorde Louell was at hand with a strong power of menne, and woulde inuade the cytie: also that the said lorde Stafforde and his brother wer in Glocestre, and there had made an insurreccion, and set menne on euery parte to defende the gates and walles of the citie.

The cōmocion made by the lord Louell and the lorde Stafforde.

At the first hearyng of this, the kyng was but litle moued, but after that he was certified by the letters of his frendes that it was true, he was in greate feare, for that he had neyther an armye prepared, nor harnyes for theim; but because the mattier required haste, least that by long taryeng his aduersaries power might bee encreased and multiplyed, he commaunded the duke of Bedforde to mete theim with three thousande mēne, whiche were harnysed but barely, for theyr breste plates were for the moste parte lether; and he hym selfe in ŷ meane tyme would gather vp an hoste where he might in euery place. The duke hauyng his mē nigh to ŷ tētes of his enemyes, cōsulted w̄ certain of his cōpaignie, by what waye he mighte traine theim to peace withoute bloodde shedyng; after the whiche deliberation & aduisement had, it was decreed that certaine shoulde proclaime openly, ŷ all thei should haue their pardonne that woulde leaue battaile, the whiche proclamation anayled muche: for the lorde Louell, eyther for some feare or mystrust that he had in his people, or feryng hym selfe of his owne behalfe, fledde pryuely in a nyght from his compaignie to Lankeshire, & ther remained a space with syr Thomas Broghton, knight, and when hys army had knowledge therof, thei also submittyng theim selfes all to the duke, asked pardonne for their heinous offence. The lorde Stafforde also hearyng this was in a great agony, and for feare dyd take sanctuarye at Colname, ii. miles from Abindon. But be-

[1] at. ed. alt.

cause that sanctuary was not a defence for traytours, he was taken from that place and behedded, and his brother was pardoned, because he was thought not to haue done it of his owne will, but thorowe the counsaill and perswasion of his brother.

After this businesse was asswaged and Yorkeshyre set in peace and quietnes, the kyng went to London, and shortelye after that to Wynchester, where the quene his wyfe was deliuered of a prynce called Arthure, and from Wynchester he retourned agayne to London.

Sone after it chaunsed, that one syr Richard Symond, preest, borne by nature to be a traytour and sedicious personne, and yet well learned, had a chyld called Lambert Symenel to bee hys scholar, by whome he inuented this crafte and disceat, that he woulde make the chyld kyng of England, and hym selfe archebyshoppe, or some hygh potestate in the realme: for he knewe verely that many menne supposed kyng Edwardes chyldren to bee fled into some straunge place, and that Edwarde the erle of Warwyke, sonne to the duke of Clarence, ether was or should bee put to death shortly. And to the ende he myght ẏ better bryng hys purpose about, he taught the chyld bothe learnyng & good maners, and also to order hym selfe as one linially descendyng from a hygh progenie. Sone after the rumoure was that the younge earle of Warwyke was dead in prysonne. And when the preest heard of this, he intendyng therby to bring his matters aboute, chaunged the chyldes name, and called hym Edwarde, after the younge earle of Warwyke, the whiche were boothe of one age, and then sayled into Irelande, there opening his mynde to certain of the nobilitee, whome he knew to beare but lytle fauoure to kyng Henry, where he was promysed ayed of the lorde Gerardine, chauncellour of all that countree, and all that he coulde dooe. Whyche lorde fyrst callyng all hys frendes and louers together, desyred their helpe in restoryng the yong earle to his herytage, and dyd sende certain into Englande, to desire theym that were kynge Rychardes frendes to continue in their loue and faythfulnes towardes hym, and helpe hys nephiewes chylde to his ryghte.

And that hys power myghte bee the stronger to ouercome hys enemyes, he desyred lady Margarete, syster to kynge Edwarde, and wyfe to the duke
Fol. Cxiii. of Burgondy, to further hys purpose with her helpe; whyche lady beyng then in Flaunders, promised him by the messaungers that she would not onely maintaine his entente with large mony and substaunce, but with all the laboure and peynes that she myght occasion other to be of ẏ same conspiracie.

When kynge Henrye was certified of thys, he was sore greued, that by the meanes of suche a myscreaunte personne so great sedicion should bee. Neuerthelesse, the kynge consideringe that it shoulde bee to the destruccion of manye menne yf that he shoulde fyghte with his enemies in open feelde, called hys counsayle together at the Charter House, besyde Rychemounde, and

and there consulted to pacifie thys matter wythoute anye more dysturbaunce. Where fyrste it was decreed, that all thei shoulde bee pardoned for their offences and treasons latelye commytted, whiche hath frome that tyme borne theim selfes vpryght towardes their kinge, leaste that syr Thomas Broghton, whyche kepte the lord Louell from the king a great tyme, wyth other despeyring of theyr pardon shoulde haue made some sodaine insurrection agaynst hym. Further more, that men shoulde not thyncke but that the duke of Clarence was in Englande, it was appoynted that he shoulde showe hym selfe abrode, wherby the opynion that he was in Ireland myghte bee frustrate, and accompted as a lye. Also it was further determyned, that the ladye Elysabeth, wyfe to kyng Edward the. iiii. shoulde lose al her landes, because she had submitted her selfe and her doughters wholye to the handes of kynge Rychard, contrary to the promyse made to the lordes and nobles, whyche at her desyre lefte al that they had in Englande, and fledde to kynge Henrye in Brytayne, and there dyd sweare hym to marye her eldeste daughter, as she wylled theim to dooe.

But her purpose did not frame as (God would). Thys quene buylded a collage in Cambrydge, and gaue landes to the maynteyning of the same, whiche at thys houre is called ỹ Quenes Collage.

When thys order and determynacion of the kynge was ended, he wente to London, and the nexte Sondaye folowynge he caused the young earle to bee broughte out of the Tower, through the streetes to Poules, and there to shewe hym selfe to euerye bodye, and talke with the chiefe and noble menne that were thoughte to haue conspyred agaynste kynge Henrye, for thys cause, that they myghte perceaue the Iryshe menne to moue battayle vnaduysedly, and cause stryfe vppon no iuste occasion. Howebeit all thys nothyng auayled, for the earle of Lyncolne, the duke of Suffolkes soonne, and nephewe to kynge Edwarde, coulde not suffer kynge Henrye thus to reygne, but as a traytoure sayled into Flaūders to the ladye Margarete, takynge wyth hym syr Thomas Broghton, with certayne other, where also the lorde Louell landed twoo or three dayes before.

And there they beynge all together, determyned that the earle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louell shoulde goo to Irelande, and there attend vpon the counterfeyte earle, and brynge hym to Englande, with all the power they myghte agaynste kynge Henrye. *Fol. Cxii.*

So that yf their dooynges had good successe, that then the foresayde Lambarte (misnamed the earle) shoulde, by the consente of the counsayle, be deposed, and the true earle to bee delyuered oute of pryson, and enherite his right and iuste tytle of his dominion. But the kyng, not mistrusting any man to bee so foolysh hardy as to fyght in such a cause, or anye so vndyscrete (especiallye of hys realme) as to beleue it, dyd onelye mynde the suppressynge of the Iryshe menne, and theyr enterpryse to subdue. Yet hearynge that the earle of Lyncolne with other were fledde,

and gooen to hys aduersaries, he caused the borders to bee dilygentlye kepte, that none other myghte escape or geue theym socoure, and commynge to the abbaye of Saynete Edmundes Burye, it was certified that the lorde Thomas marques was come to excuse and pourge hym selfe before hym, for certayne thynges that he was suspected. To whome the kynge dyd sende the earle of Oxford to take him commynge, and conueyghe hym to the Towre of London, for thys cause, that yf he were his frende, as he was in dede, that he should not bee myscontented to suffer a lytle imprysonmente for the safetie of hys kynge; yf he were not hys frende, there to tarye, that he myghte haue no damage or hurte by hym.

And so the kynge wente forthe to Norwyche, and tariynge there Christemas daye, went after to Walsingham, and from thence to Cambridge, and so streyght to London. In this tyme the erle of Lincolne, & the lord Louell had got about two thousande Germaynes, wyth Martyn Swarte to be theyr captayne; and so saylynge to Ireland, came and made the fornamed Lambarte kyng of Englande at Deuelynge. And so wyth the greate multitude of Iryshe menne, aswell naked and vnarmed personnes, as other that the lorde Gerardyne had vnder hym, they sayled into Englande, and landed for a purpose wythin a lytle of Lancastre, trustynge there to bee ayded of. syr Thomas Broghton, the chiefe authoure of thys conspiracie.

The kynge not slepynge hys mattiers but mystrustynge that such thynges shoulde chaunce, sente certayne knyghtes throughe all the Easte parties to attende the commynge of hys enemyes, and gatherynge all hys hooste together went hym selfe to Couentree, where he beynge, it was certified hym that the earle of Lyncolne was landed at Lancastre wyth the newe kynge; whome the kynge appoynted to meete, after the consente and agremente of hys counsayle, and to goo vppon theym wythoute anye farther delaye least that theyr power by long sufferaunce should bee augmented and multiplyed.

And so after suche aduisemente taken, he went to Notingham, and there by a lytle woodde called Boures he pytched hys tentes. To whome shortelye after came the lorde Talbote earle of Shrowesburye, the lorde Straunge, the lorde Cheiney wyth a greate armye of menne, and manye other noble menne, whose names here after ensue;

Fol. C.xiii.

Rauff Longforde,
Ihon Montigomery,
Henry Vernone of Pek,
Rauff Shurley,
Godfrey Folgehan,
Thomas Gryfley,
Edwarde Sutton,
Humfrey Stanley & an other,
Humfrey Stāley,
Wyllyam Hugton,
Wyllyam Meryng,
Edward Stanope,
Geruase Clifton,
Brian Stapulton,

Henry

Henry Wylloughby,
Wyllyam Perpoyntes,
Ihon Babyngton,
Wyllyam Bedyll,
Robert Brundell,
Ihon Markhaī,
Wyllyam Merbury,
Edwarde Aborogh,
Wyllyam Tyrwite,
Ihon Hussey,
Robert Shefilde,
Wyllyam Newporte,
Roger Ormeston,
Thomas Tempest,
Wyllyam Knyuett,
Henry Wyllaybet,
Lord Edward Hastyngges,
Ihon Dygby,
Simō Digby Haringtō,
Richard Sacheuerell,
Ihon Vyllers,
Edwarde Fyldyng,
Thomas Polteney,
Nicholas Vaux,
Thomas Gryne[1],
Nicolas Griffin,
Edmund Lucy,
Edwarde Belknap,
Robert Throgmarton,
George Graie of Ruthin,
Guide Wolstone,
Thomas Fynderye,
Dauid Phillips,
Thomas Cheiney,
Robert Cotton,
Ihon Saint Ihon,
Ihon Mordant,
Thomas Terell,
Ihon Raynsford,
Robert Paynton,
Robert Danyell,
Henry Marney,
Edmunde Aroundell.

Also there came frō ŷ ferdest partes of his realme other noble men, as these.

George Oglye[2],
Rauff Neuill,
Richard Latemere,
Wyllyam Bulmere,
Ihon Langforde,
Wyllyam Norrys,
Ihon Neuill of Thortinbridge, and
Ihon Wyllyams.

The erle of Lyncolne, in the meane season, went forth softely with his compaignie into Yorkeshire without hurte or discommoditie of any māne that dwelt therabout, trustyng partely therby, & partely also bycause he was well knowen and acquainted emong theim, that he should get greate ayde and socour there. But when he perceiued very few or none to folowe hym, and that he could not (seyng his enemies were so nigh hand and he also so far entred) in safegard with his hoste returne backward; yet he thought it best to abyde & taste the chaunce of battaill, and so muche ŷ rather, because he sawe Henry within twoo yeres before accompaignied but with a fewe and small sorte of souldiers ouercome kyng Richard whiche brought with hym a greate hoste of well armed menne. Wherfore he, beeyng now in a greate hope of victory, toke his iorney thens towarde Newarke, there to sette his souldyours in araye and mete the kyng, whom he knew well

[1] Grene. *ed. alt.* [2] Ogle. *ed. alt.*

inough not to bee paste. ii. dayes iorney from hym. But before he could come thither, kyng Hēry whiche was surely certified of all thynges ẏ he did or wēt about, came to Newarke alitle before the euen that thei should fight on ẏ morowe other wyse then the erle loked for, and there tariyng not long, went forth three myles ferther and sette his tentes, and taryed all night. Of whose commyng although therle knewe, yet he went foorth lustely of his iourney, and came that night to a village nigh to his enemies, which is called Stooke[1], and there pitched his tentes.

Fol. C.xiiii. The next daie, the kyng so sone as he had sette his souldyours in due ordre and araye, went forwarde ẇ all spede to the place where the erle with all his laye. To the whiche place when he was come, & had appointed the felde, which was moste mete for the battaill to bee fought in, by & by gaue place for his enemies to come foorth, and prouoked theim to battaill. But as ready as he was to prouoke, so readie wer thei of their owne courage to come foorth: so that of bothe parties thei ranne to battaill, and fought moste egerly, in whiche cōflicte it did euidently appere that the Germaines whiche were sette in the forewarde, whose capitain was Martine Swarte, were nothyng woorse in manlynesse and cheualry (which thei gotte chiefly by daily and long exercise) then the Englishemen. And the Ireshemen although thei fought verie lustely, yet by the reason that thei ware not harnes (accordyng to their fasshiō and custome) were discomfeited and beate downe bothe more in nōbre, and soner then all the other. Yet was this battaill so earnestlie & boldly fought for a whyle of bothe parties, that it could not bee wel discerned to whiche syde the victorie would incline. But at the last, the kynges forewarde which there abode all ieoperdie, so lustely & couragiously ranne vpon their enemies, ẏ they were none hable to resist or abyde their power: so ẏ all aswell Germaines as Irish men were there slain orels made to flie, of ẏ whiche none at all could escape awaie. Whiche battaill, whē it was thus dooen, all mēne might se of what boldnes & audacitie these rebelliōs were. For their capitaines, Ihon erle of Lincolne, Frācis Louell, Thomas Broghtō, Martine Swart, & Thomas Gerardine, neuer gaue backe one foote, but were slaine all in the same place where thei began first to fight. There were kylled at that battaill with their fiue capitaines spoken of euen now of that partie about foure thousand. Of the kynges part there were not halfe of theim whiche fought in ẏ forewarde slain.

Thē was Lambert, the child whiche was falsly reported to bee the dukes soonne of Clarēce, and his maister sir Richard Simond preest, both taken, but neither of theim putte to death, because Lambert was yet but a child, and did seme to dooe that, more by compulsion of his maister thē of his owne will, and the other was a preest whiche for his defaulte was caste

[1] Stoke. *ed. alt.*

into perpetuall prisone. But this Lambert was taken into the kynges kechin, and after was made one of the kynges faukeners and is yet a lyue. And thus was all ẏ Margarete went about at this tyme, turned to naught and to none effecte, whiche thyng whē she heard tell of in Flaūders, she was verie sory at the hearte, & made greate mone. And yet could she not bee contēt, but immediately after, inuēted an other thyng to vexe and trouble kyng Henry, as it shalbe shewed here after.

Kyng Henry when he had all thynges brought thus to passe, and vtterly vanquisshed these his enemies, thought hymself at one tyme deliuered from twoo eiuils together, that is to saie, from bothe feare that was present, and also that was to come. For it was not to bee thought ẏ thei whiche were so fewe in nombre durste bee so bold to entre into the realme, *Fol. Cxv.* and make battaile against ẏ kyng whom they knewe wel ynough would bryng with hym a great and well armed hooste, but that they had other felowes of thesame coniuracion whiche would mete and ayde theim all that they could in tyme and place conuenient. Therefore when the kyng sawe the hoste of his enemies manifestly before his eyes, he commaunded that no mā shoulde kyll the earle of Lincolne, but that he should bee brought to hym alyue, to the entent that he might shewe and bewraye all the other whiche were of ẏ conspiracie. But that the sowdyers would not do, least the sauyng of hym should bee the destrucciō (as it should haue been in dede) of many other. This battayle was fought in the yeare of oure Lorde a thousande foure hundreth, foure score, & the secōde yere of this Hēryes reigne. In ẏ whiche yere also Thomas Burscher archebyshop of Cāterburye died, into whose roume succeded Iohn Morton late bishop of Ely, whome Alexander of that name the sixte bishop of Rome made cardinall. Now to retourne to my purpose.

After this, the kyng, when he had gathered al the prayes and spoyles together, and had buryed theim that there wer slain, went forth to Lincolne, and there taryed three dayes, and had euerye daie one procession to thanke God almightie that he had the ouerhande of his enemies. And incontynently sent his banner to Walsyngham to be consecrate to our Lady, there to bee kepte for a perpetuall monument of victorie. Then did he execuciō of suche rebellions as were there taken, & shortely after tooke his iorneye foorth to Yorke, and there lykewyse suche as were founde gyltye dyd he punyshe strayghtlye. When all this was dooen, he wente vnto Newcastle, and frome thence sente into Scotlande Richarde Foxe whiche not longe before was made bishop of Exeter, and Richarde Edgecombe knight as ambassadoures to kynge Iames for a leagne of peace. For this Henrye[1] thought it a great pleasure and cōmoditee to bee in

[1] kyng Henry. *ed. alt.*

peace

peace and concorde with kinges & gouernours whiche laye aboute this his realme, and specially and before all other with kyng Iames, because ŷ there no rebellions might trust (whiche otherwise perchaunce woulde haue trusted) to haue ayde or succoure at his hande: so that thereby there durste none againe take weapon against hym. The ambassadoures, when they wer come into Scotland to the kyng, were of hym both gently and after the moste louing fashion receiued and heard, and then dyd he plainlye declare and open to theim ŷ he hym selfe loued kyng Henrye and his, no man better; but that ŷ moste parte of his Scottes and subiectes could in no case agree with the English menne. Wherfore, excepte that he should offend or dysplease theim, he desired ŷ legates to bee contēt with truce for. vii. yeres in promesse[1], but in dede, he sayed, that peace betwene theim on his parte shoulde neuer bee broken, and or euer those seuen yeres should bee passed, that he would geue truce for seuen yeres lenger, so that kyng Henry and he would euer bee in peace and moste assured amytie. And this did kyng Iames, because he knewe that no facte of his people shoulde bee alowed. When the ambassadoures hearde this, they tooke the yeres that were offered theim, as concernynge peace, and by and by retourned home to kyng Hēry againe, and shewed hym all the mattier in ordre. With the whiche tydynges he was veraye well contented.

Fol. C.xvi.

Shortely after, the kyng departed thence towarde London, and in the waye at Leicetre mette hym ambassadoures from the Frenche kyng which shewed hym, that their kyng Charles had recouered many tounes and cyties, whiche before were possessed of kyng Maximilian, and that he kepte battayle nowe with Fraunces the duke of Brytayne, because he kepte and socoured in his dominion certaine that were traytours and rebellions against hym, of the whiche the chief was Lewes duke of Orlyance, and therfore he desyred hym of his frendship & familiaritie, that either he would helpe hym orelles medle of neyther partie. But kynge Henrye, althoughe he had founde muche frendship at the Frenche kynges hande, yet for as muche as he spyed whereof this stryfe beganne, with this message was not well contente. For, the cause that the Frenche-menne tooke battayle was because they sawe that the duke was an olde manne and had neuer a chylde, and thereby that they myghte brynge that dukedome into their subieccion.

When kyng Henrye perceiued this, and also howe louyng the Brytaynes had been euer to Englande, and finally remembred the tendre loue which was betwene the duke and hym, thought it best, if nede wer, to helpe the Britaynes. Yet for as muche as he had founde the Frenche kyng veray

[1] processe. *ed. alt.*

kynde

kynde in tymes past, and had partely by his helpe recouered his kyngdome, he was veraye lothe to medle: in so muche that he coulde not well tell what was best in this mattier to bee dooen. But at the laste he fully purposed, if necessitie shoulde require, to helpe the duke in all that he might. Yet, least he should make of his highe frende hys extreme enemie, his aunswere was to the ambassadoures, that he did intende to make their kyng and the duke frendes again. Wherfore assone as the Frenche kynges ambassadoures were dimissed, he sent on message Christopher Vrswycke to Charles the kynge of Fraunce. Firste to certifye hym, that he was veraye glad of the victorye that he had vpon Maximilian, secondarely what tumulte and insurreccion was made here in Englād, thyrdly and especially to desyre hym to bee at one againe with the duke of Brytayne. And then he commaunded this Vrswycke, that if the kyng of Fraunce shoulde bee so contente, to go foorthe immediatlye to the duke, and desyre hym lykewyse of thesame.

But when the kyng was come againe to London, there was ioye and myrthe for the victorye ỹ he had on euery syde. For not onely the kyng, but also euerye one of his cytezyns reioysed veraye muche. Wherfore the kyng shewed hym selfe both veraye humane and courteous toward all menne, and also rewarded all theim that tooke paynes in that battaile moste bountefully. And not long after delyuered lord Thomas marques out of the Toure, and loued hym veraye well.

In the meane season Christofer Vrswicke was come to the Frenche kyng, *Fol. Cxviii.* & of hym, after the most loning fassion ỹ coulde bee, receiued. And as sone as he had shewed his message, ỹ kyng shewed him selfe to bee therew veray well pleased. Then went ỹ ambassadour streight thence, as it was cōmaunded hym, into Britain, and shewed the duke what kyng Henry would haue dooen. But the duke (because hym self had been sicke a great while, & ther by his memory & wit was decaied) called to hym to heare the message bothe Lewes the duke of Orleaunce and other of his councell, whiche Lewes in no wyse woulde haue any peace to bee made, but saied that it was more mete that kyng Henrye (seing he had founde suche kyndnesse at the dukes hande, and Britaine was suche a good defence to England) to helpe to kepe battayle all ỹ he might against the Frenchmen. Then retourned this Christofer againe into Fraunce, & declared to the king Charles what aunswer was made of ỹ Britains, and shortely after came into Englande againe. But still in the meane time, ỹ Frenche kyng went aboute busely to ouercome the Brytains, and the more he was nigh of his purpose so much ỹ more did he exhorte & desire kyng Henry to make peace betwene theim, wherfore he sēt Bernarde Daubeney knighte in all the haste to kyng Henrye to desire hym in any wise to make some ende of this cōtrauersy. And therupon the kyng being desirous of the same, chose thre oratours, ỹ abbot of Abindon, Iohn Lilie the bishop of

of Romes collectoure and Richard Tonshal[1] a knight and a veray wise man, to gooe firste to the Frenche kyng, and then to the duke to make amitee and frendshyp againe betwene theim. But or euer these ambassadoures proceded on their iourney, Iohn Lilye fell sicke of the goute: therfore for hym was chosen Christofer Vrswycke, and they together wente (as they were cōmaunded) firste into Fraunce to the kyng, and thence withoute delaye into Britain. But Fraunces the duke in no case would take suche condicyons as wer there offered, wherfore they came back againe into Fraunce without their purpose, and there tarieng, signified to kyng Henry by their letters all that was dooen. But or their letters came to the kynges handes, Edward Wooduile, a bold champion, came to hym & desired veraye earnestly that he myght haue an host of men to helpe the Britains, and leaste it should cause any dissencion betwene the Frenche kyng and hym, he saied that he would gooe priuely and without a pasporte, to thentent it might bee thought that he stole out of the land. But the kyng, for as much as he trusted that peace shoulde bee made, woulde in no wyse graunt his peticion. Wherfore this Edward wēt streight into the ysle Veches, which was in his dominacion, & there so sone as he had gathered his menne together about foure. C, sayled ouer to the Britaines, & ioyned hym selfe with theim against the Frenchmē, whiche thing when it was knowen in Fraunce, made ẏ ambassadours greatly afraid of their liues. But whiles they were in this feare, and the Frēchemen thought it dooen maliciously of kyng Henry, there came other ambassadours frome hym to the Frenche kyng, certifieng hym & declaring (by most euident
Fol. C.xviii. tokēs) that it was nothing in dede as it was thought to haue been. To the which message, albeit ẏ kyng had lytle credēce, yet he made as thoughe he had not bene angry at all. So ẏ ambassadours renewed peace betwene their king & hym for. xii. monethes, and retourned home again, & shewed the kyng all such thinges ẏ they had either hearde or sene there, wherof he gathered that ẏ Frenchmen did nothing lesse entend then to haue peace made. Wherfore without delay he called a parliament, & there consulted of the aidyng of the Brytains: then of the exspence that should bee therin made, & after of other mattiers.

And assone as the parliament was broken vp, he caused musters to bee taken in euery toune thorowoute his realme. Yet leaste peraduenture he might seme willingly to breake the amitee whiche was betwene the Frenche kyng and hym, he sent ambassadours into Fraunce to certifye the kyng that of late he had kepte a parliament, and there ẏ it pleased all the nobles that he should sende helpe to ẏ Britains, because they at all times had dooen more benefites to Englande then all other naciōs, and therfore that he should either leaue of battail orelles that he shoulde not bee

[1] Tonstal. *ed. alt.*

greued

greued if he dyd obey ỹ myndes of his lordes and prelates, and yet that he woulde promise hym this one thing, ỹ his' should medle ẅ hym no lēger then he was in Britain & kepte battaile vpon theim. With these commaundementes ỹ ambassadours went foorth, and declared to ỹ French kyng all the minde and wyll of their kyng, which thyng he litle cared for, and thought, as it came to passe in dede, that the Englishemen there coulde lytle auayle.

In the meane season the Britains fought one felde at a place called Sainte Albanes & there sped veray euel. For of theim, Lewes duke of Orleaūce, with many mo, were taken, and Edwarde Wooduile, Iames Galeot, an Italian, and a veray good warryer, with diuers other noble menne slaine. Whiche thing, when kyng Henry heard tell of, he thinking it tyme to make haste, sente spedely Roberte Brooke, Lorde Iohn Cheinye, Iohn Midelton, Raufe of Helton, Richarde Corbet, Thomas Leightō, Richard Lacon, & Edmond Cornewell, all lustye capitaines, with. viii. thousand wel armed men to ỹ Brytains, to helpe theim in theyr nede; whiche by reason ỹ wind serued theim, came thither so sone as they could desire. But when the Frenche menne knewe of their comming, (whome they knewe so longe as they were freshe and lusty to bee in a maner inuincible,) at ỹ firste wer blanke all, and durste scarsely looke oute of their tentes, but afterwarde, trusting ỹ they might wery theim, they went many of theim together into diuers places, and kepte many bikeringes with the English menne, but they theim selfes euer bare the worste away: howsoeuer the Englishmen sped, they sped naught. Whiles they this kynde of warre did exercise, the duke Fraunces died, and then was all dasshed, for the chyefe rulers of the Brytains being some of theim corrupted with money, & some sturred vp with ambicyon, fell into deuisyon amonge theim selues, and semed nomore to endeuoure to defende their commune weale, but rather to destroy and vtterly extinguishe it; which thing the Englishe menne perceiuing, and also suffering muche colde, were compelled of necessitee within fyue moonethes that thei wente thyther, to come backe agayne into Englande. *Fol. Cxix.*

Then Charles the French kyng maried Anne the dukes doughter, and gat al Britayn by that meanes into hys hādes. But of this it shalbe spoken more here after.

It was decreed here in Englande before there were any souldyours sent into Brytayne, that for the expence of that warre, euery man should paye as thei were hable, a tribute, whyche the mooste parte of theim that dwelte in the byshopryke of Durhā and Yorke shyre, dyd vtterly refuse to pay, and complayned of the matter to their lorde the earle of Northumberland: and he immediately signified to the kyng, by his letters, that the

' he. *ed. alt.*

people dyd greatly lament and was sory, saiyng, that thei were neuer put to so muche coast, as thei had been of late dayes, & nowe that ther was so much requyred of theim, that neither thei were hable to pay so great a summe, nor would pay it. Yet for al that the kyng cōmaunded the erle to get it on thē and make theim pay it whether thei would or not, least peraduenture it myght be a cause, that yf at any time a tribute agayne should bee required of thē, to make an insurreccion. Which thyng when the people hearde of, by and by they ranne vnto the earle, and, as the authoure of the tribute paiyng, kylled hym out of hande. And when thei had so done, thei chase Ihon Egremon knight a verey dicious[1] personne to bee their captayne, and so arraied them selfes, and went agaynst the kyng, makyng cries in euery towne, that thei came to fight for no nother cause but to defēde ŷ cōmon libertie.

The murderyng of the erle of North̄berland.

But when the mattier shoulde come to blowes, thei waxed colde all the sorte of theim, and euerye one wished that this tumulte wer retracted which was nowe alredy begonne, so that at the cōclusiō not one scarcely scaped without his great discommodite. For the kynge, assone as he hearde of this insurreccion, went downe with an hoost to Yorke, wherof these slaues and traitours beyng greatly afraied, fledde some hether, and some thether, and durst not abide and sustaine the power of ŷ kynges army. Wherfore thei wer sone taken and punished greuously, accordyng to their deseruyng euery one of theim. But Ihon Egremont, whiche was their captain, fledde into Flanders to Margarete, of whome we spake before.

And the kyng, so sone as this busines was quēched, tooke his iourny back again vnto London, and committed the tribute, whiche was in Yorke and about Yorke to bee taken vp, holy to Richard Tonstal. And this was ŷ yere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred. xc. and the fourth yere of the reigne of this kyng Henry.

The. iiii. yere of Hēry the. vii.

And in thys yere also the kynge of Scottes was sore vexed. For his subiectes roase agaynst hym, and made his sonne Iames, whiche was as yet but a chylde, their capitain. Wherfore, he sent to the kynge of Englande, to the Frenche kyng, and to the byshoppe of Roome Innocentius, to desire theim to make some end of thys ciuile battayle and contencion whiche was betwene hys people and hym. Whiche afterwarde sente theyr ambassadours as they were desired, but all in vayne. For ŷ rude sort would nedes fight onlesse he would resygne his crowne; wherfore, shortely after, thei fought, and in that battayle kylled the kyng, and gaue his sonne Iames, whiche was the fourth of that name, the crowne.

Fol. C.xx. The kyng of Scottes slain of his subiectes.

But the byshoppe of Romes legate, Hadrian, came to late; for whyles he was in Englande w̄ kyng Henry, worde came that the kyng of Scottes

[1] *sedicious. ed. alt.*

was

was slayne in battayle, and hys soonne made kyng. And therfore, he taried here in England for a space, and was veray muche made of, and hyghly commended to the kyng by Ihon Mortō archbyshop of Canterburie. Whereby he came into so high fauour with kyng Henry, that he made him bishoppe of Herforde, and shortly after, [that least] gaue hym the bishopprike boothe of Welles and Bathe. And not longe after he retourned ẅ these honours to Roome, and there of Alexander was made cardinall.

There beganne also of freshe, certayne businesse as concernynge Brytaine before this geare was appeased: whiche was, that Maximilian, beyng at that tyme without a wyfe, would haue maried the duke of Briteines doughter, and had one that wowed for hym, which lady promisyng hym fayth & trueth, to the entent that she might not go from her word, he vsed this way ẅ her, when she went to her bed the night after, as to the bedde of wedlocke, the wower that was hired, putte one of his fote into ẏ bed to the knee in ẏ sight & cōpany of many noble matrōs & ladies, for a token & testimony ẏ the mariage was consūmate, & thei. ii. as mā & wife: but this did nothing auaile, for Charles the Frenche kyng was desireous to marye her, & hearyng that Maximiliā was sure to her, dyd the more busely set vpon the Britaynes, to thentent he might both haue the ladye and the countree also at his wyll, for he estemed that mariage to bee of no strength or force. Neuerthelesse, he feared kyng Henry muche, least that he would stoppe his purpose, whiche kyng had made a league, and Ferdīnande also, the kyng of Spayne, had made ẏsame with the Britaynes, to assist theim in all their ieoperdies and perilles that should chaunce to theim by foren countrees; wherfore he sent in al post hast Francese Lucemburgense, Charles Marignane and Roberte Gaguine, to kyng Henry for a peace to bee confirmed and hadde, desyrynge hym, that their kyng might ordre the mariage of the ladye Anne as wer thought best without any let or hynderaunce of it by hym: but kyng Henry would not agree to theim, that the lady should bee maried to hym, consyderyng she was made sure to the kyng Maximilian, for that it was against all right and lawe bothe of God and manne. Albeit the kynge would gladly make a peace betwene theim bothe, and so demissyng ẏ kynges ambassadoures with a large and ample rewarde, sent Thomas Goldestone abbot of Cantorbury, and the lord Thomas of Ormondye, ambassadours, streight after theim.

In this meane space, Alexander b. of Rome, the sixt of that name after Innocētius, sent the bishop of Cōcordiense, legate, to the Frenche kyng for certayne mattiers, and emong other for a peace and vnitee to bee confederate betwyxt hym and kyng Henry; the whiche when he had easely obteyned, he came to Englande, and there beyng entretained moste roially of the kyng, had his purpose and desire of hym. The Englishe ambassa-

dours then beyng with the Frenche kyng, purposed to haue a peace concluded, whiche first demaunded certain thynges of the kyng ere that it should bee made, albeit the kyng would graūt theim nothyng, and was sore moued with their request & askyng: so ẏ shortly after, the Frenche kyng sent to the noble menne of Britain greate giftes and rewardes to the entent thei might moue the ladie Anne to giue her troweth to hym, and also sent to herself many princely giftes & tokens, ẏ she would beare loue to hym. And ẏ she might not feare but that she might lawfully marie to hym, certified her ẏ the promise was of none effecte ẏ she had gyuē to Maximiliā, for ẏ it was geuē & made wout his cōsent, whiche had ẏ gouernaunce & dominion ouer all ẏ countre. And this was the cause that no concorde or peace could bee kept betwixt theim. And where as that the kyng had taken Maximilians doughter ladie Margaret to bee his wife, he saied that it might bee lawfully dissolued, because ẏ ladie was vnder age, and not ripe to bee maried. This ladie Anne of Britain, through the persuasion of many noble menne of that countree, was contented to bee his wife and ladie. And when the kyng was certified of this, he hastened the mariage with all the expedicion and celeritee that he could. So that the Englishe ambassadours returned again to their countree, and nothyng dooen or agreed vpon in their matter. When the kyng was certified of this by his ambassadours, he purposed to make battaill against hym, and to reuenge the naughtie entent of his with the swerde, and assemblyng his counsaill together, showed theim the matter and the iuste cause he had to fight, desieryng theim for the maintenaunce of thesame warres to helpe hym with money; neuerthelesse that menne should not thynke it to bee extorte of theim, he willed euery māne to gyue as muche and as litle as he would, and theim to bee estemed and taken as his moste beste and assured frendes that gaue ẏ most money. When this somme was gatheryng, and preparaunce made for battaill, Maximilian the kyng warred sore with the Frenchemen, whiche kyng was taken alitle before at a certain brunt and skirmishe made, and cast in prisone, after the whiche tyme kyng Henry sent to hym Giles Dabeney, capitain of Calais, to aide hym with three thousād harnissed mēne. At ẏ length, Maximilian hauyng the better hand of the Frenchemen, entēded to reuenge hymself of the Frēche kyng, for that he had repudiate his doughter ladie Margarete, and taken to hym as wife quene Anne; but because he was not fully hable of hymself to sustein that battaill, he sent Iames Contibalde ambassadour to kyng Henry for helpe, whiche Iames, when he had dooen his message, the kyng promised that he would dooe for hym all that he could in mainteinyng his warres.

In this tyme, Charles the Frenche kyng maried ladye Anne, chalengyng by this mariage the dominion and gouernaunce of ẏ Brytaines. Maximilian the kyng beyng certified of this, was greately moued, for that he did

not onely forsake and repudiate his doughter ladye Margarete, but also receiued in mariage ỹ ladye and quene Anne to his wife; and in this furie he sent to kyng Hēry, desieryng hym to prepare an armie, for he would goo vpon the Frenche menne, and kepe open battaill with theim: whiche kyng Henry gathered an hoste of menne, and proclaimed battaill in all his realme. After the whiche proclamacion there came to London an houge armie of menne with their capitaines, whiche herafter ensewe and folowe. *Fol. C.xxii.*

Rycharde Thomas, with a greate compaignie of Welshe menne,
The erle Thomas of Derbie,
George erle of Shrowesburie,
Thomas erle of Harundell,
Edmunde duke of Suffolke,
Edwarde erle of Deuenshire, w̄ his noble young soonne,
Thomas erle of Ormōdye,
George erle of Kent,
Lorde Thomas Dorcet marques,
Iohn Cheyney,
Gyles Dabeney,
Richard Gylforde,
Ihon Raynsforth,
Iames Terell,
Ihon Sauage,
Thomas baro of Heltō,
Wyllyam Bulmerey,
Edwarde Stanley, with other.

After that all this armie was araied, the kyng sent sir Christopher Vrswycke and sir Ihon Rysdey, knyghtes, to the kyng Maximilian, to certifye hym that thei were all in a redynesse to kepe battaile when he would haue theim. When they had dooen their message, thei returned backe again to their kyng, certifiyng hym that Maximiliā was so poore and nedye of monye and menne, that he could not be hable to susteyne any battaile: neuerthelesse his mynde and will was good, if his power and habilitee had been correspondent to it. The kyng, after the receipte of these letters, was displeased muche with hym, albeit consyderyng he had gooen so farre in it, and had suche furnyture of all thynges prepared, least that menne shoulde impute it to hym as cowardnesse to fayntfrō battaile, he proceded forth towarde Fraunce, and about ỹ. vi. daye of Septēbre he landed at Calise, & there rested his armye, wher worde was brought to all the hoste, (for thei did not knowe of it before,) that Maximilian could make no preparaunce for lacke of mony: at ỹ whiche thei maruailed greatly, consideryng that he had suche vilanye shewed hym not longe before at the kynge of Fraunce hand, yet thei wer neuer discoumfeyted at it, but like stoute and valiaunt warryars had great confidence in their owne power and strengthe, wyth whō the kyng of Fraunce, (after ỹ he perceaued it best for his profite & ease,) would gladly haue been reconciled, although he had a ready hoste to fight against theim & withstāde their power, and especially he desyred peace for this cause, ỹ he might haue the loue of his neighboures, to the entent his realme might bee in better sauegarde and quietnes, whē he should warre against

against Ferdinād kyng of Napels, at ẏ desyre of Ludouike Sfortia, duke of Millayn, whiche at that present tyme did inuite hym to it, wherfore he did sende Philip Desquerd, chief of Annonye, to desyre kyng Henrye of peace,
Fol. C.xxiii. whiche Philip did send ẏ letters to hym, before he came into the countre hymself, wherin he signified that he would take suche paines in bryngyng his purpose about, that he would, if it should so please his grace, reconcile bothe hym and their kyng to loue eche other as thei haue dooen heretofore, and saied that it should bee for his honour to take thesame condicion, whiche condicion if he would send certain of his capitains to mete with hym in any parte of Fraunce, and there to determine of it, he should haue it there promised & hereafter duely to bee performed. The kyng, after he had red these letters, did send the bishop of Exceter and Giles Dabeney to the forenamed Philip for peace to be agreed vpon & concluded; the whiche, after a space, determyned vpon certain condicions, whiche here after shalbee shewed, that peace should bee had on bothe parties. When thei were thus consultyng, ẏ kyng hauyng his hoste at Caleis, remoued from that place to Bononye, & there pitchyng his tētes, beseeged the toune with all the power he might; whiche toune, because it was strongely defended & furnished with all thynges necessarye for warre, it could not bee ouercome without greate labour, & before ẏ he either could or did ouercome any parte of it, woord was brought that a peace was cōcluded and made: whiche heard, as it was pleasure to the Frenchemen, so it was sorowe to the Englishe men, for thei cried out of the kyng, and saied it was not for his honour so to dooe; but the kyng, as a wise manne & moste prudent prince, saied it should be the death of many noble & puisaunt capitaines if he should continue thesame battaill, & therefore it might be to his sore reproche, if it wer in his power, not to tendre aswell the health of his cōmons as his owne, whiche saiyng did somewhat coule & pacifye their grief. And after this dooen, the kyng returned backe to Calise, for because it was enformed hym ẏ one Richard, ẏ named hym self ẏ sonne of kyng Edwarde, had made an insurreccion in Flaūders, through ẏ counsaill of lady Margarete ẏ quene, to fight against hym, which thyng kyng Henry consyderyng, did the more spedely hasten to conclude a peace; and the condicion of this peace to bee made was this, ẏ the Frenche kyng should paye to kyng Henry a certain summe of mony, the whiche was leauyed by the ambassadours, for the cost and charges that the kyng was put to in that battayll, and also should yerely, for a certain space, paye or cause to bee payde to the kyng of Englād for a full recompence. xxv. thousand crounes: the whiche Frenche kyng, after that beyng in warre with the Italians, payd the said tribute to ẏ most noble prince and our souereigne lorde kyng Hērye the. viii. sonne to Henry the seuenth, for a full recōpensacion and frendship to bee had for euer. This was the yere of our Lorde a thousand, foure hundreth, foure score and thirtene,

thirtene, and the seuēth yere of his reigne. Also in this inuadyng & besiegyng of Bonony[1], (whiche we spake of before,) there was none killed, sauyng onely syr Ihon Sauage, whiche goyng out of his tent ẇ syr Ihō Riseley, was taken priuely rydyng about the walles of ẏ toune, and there, because he would not yelde, was slain of the Frenche men, albeit the other syr Ihon Rysely fled and escaped their daunger. The. vii. yere.

After this the kyng went frō Calis to England again, & yet that he might not be wont some trouble or busynes [quene Margaret of Spaine,][2] (whiche euer watched to do hym a displeasure,) perceauyng ẏ the erle with his cōpaignie could not haue suche successe in their businesse as she would haue wished theim, she inuēted a new way to worke treason against him. There was a certain yoūg mā of Tornace, very beautiful & faire in coūtenaunce, & of a pregnaunt witte, whiche yoūg mā was called Peter & surnamed Warbecke, & for his cowardnes nycknamed of the Englishe men & called Perkyn; which yoūg mā trauaylyng many countrees, could speake many lāguages, & for his basenes of stocke & birth was knowen of none almost. Therfore ẏ quene[3] thynkyng this yoūg man to bee mete, whō she might feigne to be the duke of Yorke, and sōne to her brother kyng Edward, kept hym a certain tyme ẇ her priuely, and tellyng hym what he should be, ẏ he might the rather persuade mē to be the kynges sonne, did send hym into Irelāde, after what time she knewe that kyng Henry had apointed to fight against the Frenche kyng, where he was honorably receaued & taken of euery manne as a prynce, for whose right they promysed all to fight, and helpe hym in all ẏ they could. After this it came to ẏ Frēche kynges care ẏ such an one was in Ireland, for whō the kyng did send to see, & caused hym to be brought before him: & when he came into his presence, ẏ kyng accepted hym gladly, & after a princely fashiō intreteined hym. But after ẏ he came in loue ẇ the kyng of England, the sayd Charles did dimisse ẏ yoūg mā, & would no lōger kepe hym, least that some inconueniencie or cause of strife should chaunce thorough it. Wherfore ẏ young manne went to Flaunders agayne to the quene[4] Margarete, whiche quene[4] did receaue hym with suche gladnesse, that she coulde not well rule her selfe, & for this cause onely she dyd shewe her selfe so ioyfull and merye, that menne mighte perswade theim selfe that this was Richard the kynges soonne, and vpon that cause truely men did ẏ more reuerence to the younge manne, and ẏ more firmely beleue hym to bee the righte heire & sonne to kyng Edwarde. Also after this rumour blased abrode, aswel in England, Fraunce, as Flaundres, there beganne great sedicion to spryng, and firste, they that were long in sanctuary for the greate offiences that they had commytted, and other that wer cast in pouertie, gathered a compaignie of mē, and sayled ouer into Flaunders to the counterfaicte Edwarde[5], otherwise Fol. Cxxxiii. Perkyn Warbeck.

[1] Boleyne. *ed. alt.* [2] lady Margaret of Burgoyn. *ed. alt.* [3] duches. *ed. alt.* [4] ladye. *ed. alt.* [5] Richarde. *ed. alt.*

named

named Peter. Also many of the noble men conspired together, and to the entent they might bryng their purpose wel about, they did send certain to the quene[1] Margarete, to knowe when thesame Edwarde[2] might come conueniently into Englande, ẏ thei beyng certified of thesame might ŷ more easely receaue & bryng hym into ŷ realme; so ẏ by the consent and agrement of theim all, syr Robert Clyfforde knight & Wyllyam Barley wer sent to shewe all their myndes & aduyce, as concernyng the newe founde duke, to the quene[3] Margarete, whome [the quene][4] did accepte gladlye, and persuaded theim that it was true that was publyshed of Rycharde the duke, *Fol. C.xxv.* and streight vpon shewed theim thesame Peter, whiche was muche lyke Richarde, praysyng his vertues and qualitees that he had wonderfullye.

The said Robert, whē he had seen thesame yoūg manne, beleued surely that he was of the kynges bloode, and wrote to Englande to his coumpaignye and felowes of his conspiracie, that he knewe hym to bee the kynges soonne by his face & euery proporcioñ of his body. And when these letters came vnto Englande, the chief capitaynes of this businesse did openly diuulgate and publyshe that it was trewe that was spoken and saied abroad of the duke; but it was dooen by suche a crafte, that no manne coulde tell who was the authoure of that rumoure.

When the kyng perceiued that many men did geue credence to his vaine fable, he thought beste for his owne safegard to prouide a remedy for it, & also mystrusting that some conspiracye had bene made bicause that sir Robert Clifford had fled priuely into Flaundres, commaunded certain knightes that were chosen and piked menne of warre, ẇ a bonde of menne to kepe the borders surely, ẏ no manne might escape or sayle ouer the sea without a pasporte or licence geuen by hym. Also that men myghte not contynue in the false perswasion and belefe that they had conceyued of the duke, he caused certain spies to search in all the citees of Belgike, to knowe of what progenie this mysnamed Richarde was, and to geue theim highe rewardes that would shewe the verite and truth of the same matter. So that they sailynge into Fraunce, euerye manne dyd gooe into a contraye quarter, and enquired diligently for hym, and at ŷ length certain of theim came to a towne called Tornace, and there were certifyed by the testymonye of many honest menne that he came but of a lowe and course parentage, and he was named Peter Warbecke, whiche thing also the kynges frendes certified hym by their letters and writynges to hym more plaine and euidentelye. Therfore when the kyng had knowen the matter wholy, aswel by his frendes as by his spies sent foorth purposelye for the same, he caused it to bee proclaimed openly aswell in other regions & countrees as in England, that the disceate and deuelish crafte might appere euident to euery manne. And firste he sent ambassadours to Philyp the chiefe capitaine in Flaundres, and

[1] ladye. *ed. alt.* [2] Richarde. *ed. alt.* [3] duches. *ed. alt.* [4] she. *ed. alt.*

to his councell, because he was but of a younge age, whiche were sir Edward Poninges knight, and sir William Varame, preest and lawyer, that they might shewe euidently howe falsely the younge manne hath vsurped the name of Richarde duke of Yorke, whiche was kylled with his brother Edward in the Towre of London, at the cõmaundement and will of kyng Richard his vncle, as euery man coulde testifye and affirme most surely.

Also that he was borne of a poore stocke and an obscure famulie in Tornace, and there named Perkin Warbecke, and therfore that it woulde please hym & his councel not to suffer theim selfes to bee blynded or seduced with suche mere impostures and craftie illusions, nor yet to aide hym at any hande to cause sedicion or strife, considerynge that he had no iuste title to the enheritynge of the same, and that they would the rather bee his frendes nowe, because ỹ he helped Maximilian, theyr kyng, the yere before againste the power and violencye of the Frenche menne, whereas he of hym selfe was not hable to resyste theyr myghte and stronge power. When the ambassadours had dooen their message, they were gentely entretayned of hym, and had their request, that he woulde not (for the loue that he oughte vnto the kynge,) no nor any of his counsaile helpe thesame Perkin any thinge at all. *Fol. C.xxxix.*

Neuerthelesse, yf the quene[1] Margaret would persiste and continewe in her malice towardes the kyng, (whome the ambassadour sir William Varame[2] had reproued and checked sore, for bringing vp of suche monsters and commune plagues to the publike weale, in his oration that he made vnto Philippe and his counsayle,) it was not in their power to withstande it, for because that she might doo in her owne herytage all thinges at her owne wyll and pleasure; whiche quene[1] entended fully to arme this Perkin with a stronge compaignye of menne against kyng Henry.

After that kynge Henrye dyd heare of this, he purposed to pacyfye all this busynesse, that was like to chaunce, by wytte and policye, and streight dyd sende foorthe certaine spies, whiche shoulde fayne theim selfes to haue fledde vnto the duke, and by that meanes searche foorthe and knowe the whole entente of theyr coniuracion, and after what waye they framed theyr matters.

Other also shoulde promyse a pardon and remyssyon vnto syr Roberte Clyfforde and Willyam Barley, for their offence committed to the kyng: and when they had so dooen, many of theim returned to Englande, and broughte the names of certayne that were chief of the same conspiracye. Other taried vntyll suche tyme that sir Robert Clifforde came to Englande agayne. And when the kyng had knowen the chief capitaines of this tumulte, by his spyes that were there with theim, he caused all them to bee attached & brought to London before his presẽce, whose names wer sir Iohn Rat-

[1] lady. *ed. alt.* [2] Warame. *ed. alt.*

clyffe, syr Simon Monforde, syr Thomas Thwarte knightes, William Dabeney, Roberte Ratcliffe, Richard Lesey, ẅ many other; also certaine preestes and religious menne, as sir William Richeford and Thomas Poynes, bothe monkes[1] of sainct Dominikes order, sir William Sutton, sir William Vrsley deane of Poules, & Robert Layborne. Other that were giltie of the same crime, hearing that many of their compaignie wer taken, fledde and did take sanctuarye. And the other that were taken wer condempned all of treason, of ẏ whiche there was heded sir Simon Monford, [sir Robert Ratcliffe,][2] and William Dabeney, as authours & chiefe capitaines of this busines: the other were pardoned, and the preestes also for their order that they had taken. Also [sir Iohn Ratcliffe][2] was pardoned of his lyfe; but after that he came to Calisse, & there, caste in prisone, he was behedded, because he corrupted the kepers ẅ many promises, to haue escaped out of the same. Shortly after, sir Robert Clifford, trusting to find fauour & grace at the kynges hande, came to England; of whose cōming, when ẏ kyng
Fol. Cxxvii. was certified, he went streight to ẏ Towre of London, & there taryed tyll suche tyme ẏ syr Robert Clyfford came, whiche thyng he vsed vnder this pretence, that yf sir Robert Clifford had accused any man to hym of ẏ treason, that then euerie suche person mighte bee called thether withoute anye suspectiō of anie euel, and there streight to bee cast in holde. But before I goo furder, I wyll shewe the opinion that many men conceaued of the knightes goynge to Flaunders. Some men helde this opinion, that kyng Henrye dyd sende hym as a spye to Flaunders, and therfore he came the soner into his fauoure; neuerthelesse, this is not lyke to bee true by diuerse reasōs: fyrst, that it tourned to ẏ great infamye and hurt, both of hym selfe and his frendes: secondarly, that he was not in so greate fauoure with the kyng, as he had ben in tymes past, for because that he was giltie in that part. Therfore the saied sir Robert now comming to the king after his retourne into England, kneled mekelye downe at his feet, and desired pardō of his grace, and after that beyng enquirēd of the coniuration, and examined who wer the authours of this mischiefe, he pronounced & saied that William Stāly, whome the kynge made earle, was one of the chief. When he had so saied, the kyng was greatly dismayed & greued, that he should offend, whō he had made chief of his priuie chamber, considering also that he had founde great kindenes hertofore at his hande, and that he dyd ouercome kyng Rychard chiefly by his helpe and meanes; so that the kyng coulde not bee perswaded that he was any suche offender, had not it bene shewed him after by manifest tokens and apparēt argumentes ẏ it was true as he saied: whom the king thē caused to be taken and examined of the matter, after the which examinacion he was proued to be an offender. Then the kynge doubtynge what to dooe with him, dyd consult and breath a lytle

[1] *freers. ed. alt.* [2] Sir Robert Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwater. *ed. alt.*

with himselfe, for he feared that his brother lord Thomas, by whom he had shewed great kyndnesse, woulde take it greuously; also & yf he shoulde remitte that faulte, other would abuse his lenitee, and trespace more highly: albe it at the laste he wylled that he shoulde suffer for his offence, and so caused hym to bee behedded. The cause that their loue (as mē reporte,) dyd chaunge into hatred was this: the lorde Wyllia consideryng that he saued the kyng, and brought hym to this realme to be gouernour, thought he could neuer bee recompensed for hys so doyng: and wher as the kyng also remembring this benefyte, dyd make hym his chiefe chamberlayn, and gaue hym the hyghest promocions that he had, he lytle regarded them and loked for some greater rewarde: wherfore the king perceauynge that, was sore greued with hym, and so thei bothe dyd fall at debate and hatred eche wyth other.

Also at this time the king thought best to vse some asperite in correcting the offēces of hys subiectes, because ẏ some had taken suche heart and audacitee to them, ẏ thei feared not to speake euel of his maiestie with most spiteful and contumeleous wordes, trusting euer that ẏ fayned Rychard duke of York, now lately rysen from death to lyfe on Gods name, should claime the crowne, & enheret his counterfeted fathers possessions; & when such persōs had suffered due ponishment for their offences, other learning *Fol. Cxxviii.* by their neighbours mischaunce to beware, dyd frome ẏ tyme beare theim selfes as true & faithfull subiectes, & assysted him with al their power, at what time he required help of thē. After the death of this William Stanley, Giles Dabeney was chosen and made chiefe chāberlain. And now ẏ kyng was in a good staye for his realme, sauyng ẏ Ireland was not wel weded of the pernicious sede ẏ was sowed by the young mā Perkin Warbeck and his secte; wherfore he sent sir Henry Deny, late abbot of Lanktō abbey, thither, & made him chauncellour ouer al that ile, and Edward Ponyng, to serch all places that the forenamed Perken was in, to punish thē extremely in the example of other ẏ were giltie of ẏ crime. But when thei heard of this, thei fled for the most part into woddes & marysh places for the defence & safgard of them selfes, there consultyng to kepe open warre agaynst hym, whiche Edwarde after that he persued theim many times, and coulde neuer try it wyth them because thei wer so disparsed as foren and wilde people, he returned backe; and suspectinge that the earle of Kyldare was the occasion of this, attached him at the counsayl of the erle his enel wallers, and brought him as prisoner to England; wher, when he was arained, and certain matters of treason laied to his charge, he aduoided thē all & clerly quite him selfe: whome the kynge dimissed and sente hym to Irelande, there to bee gouernour and captayne ouer theim as he was before. So that now the kyng beeyng oute of all feare of battayle, dyd take hys progresse to Lankyshyre, there to recreate his spirites, and solace him selfe with his mother lady Margarete, wyfe and countesse to the erle of Derby. Yet when ẏ king was thus delityng hym selfe, Perken Warbecke could not

moderate or rule hym selfe, although so manye suffered and were put to execucion for his mischife; but to proue again the chaunce of battel, gathered a great armye of men, aswell prisoners, slaues, sānctuary men, as other, & came into Kent, because the wind so serued, & ther caused certayne to land, & to enquire yf ŷ Kentish men would bear with him, with whō the Kentish mē working guiles, promised ŷ thei would assist him yf he & his cōpanie would land ther. Albeit the same Perkē fearing ŷ thei meaned falshode and craft, would not descende him selfe, but caused certain of his souldiours to lande, whiche persones beynge a pretye way from their shippes, wer sore beatē and put to flight, and many of theim taken prisoners, & after wer condempned to dye; wherfore Perkē failing of his purpose, fled [backe] to Flaunders, and there consulted with his frendes vntyll suche time he had been better prepared bothe of men and counsayle. The kynge herynge that hys enemyes had made ētraūce into his realme, left of his progresse, & purposed to go to London; but beynge certified the next day after, how wel thei had sped, continued & went forth of his progresse, sendyng to theim Richard Gilford, to geue thankes and promise of a good turne herafter, for ŷ good seruice that thei had done him in those tumultes and assaultes of his enemies. Also that thei might not haue any accesse herafter into those parties, the king commaūded ŷ lordes to bee defēded strōgely w̄ bulwarkes & other sure munimētes & fortresses; of the whiche this same Perken beyng certified, hastened ŷ more to renue battaill against the kyng, ŷ he might not haue longer space, through his delaye, to dooe all these thynges for the defence of his realme; and so came to Irelande with all his armie. And there tariyng a space, sailed to Scotlande, for ayde and succour of kyng Iames, trustyng to finde grace at his hand; to whom he spake after this maner: "I thinke it is not vnknowē to you, moste noble kyng, in what ruine the stocke of Edwarde[1] the fourth of that name is now of late, whiche if you dooe not know, and it please your grace so to take me I am his soonne, & by the power of God, preserued a liue at this houre from the mightie hand of a tiranne: for my father, when he died, apointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucestre to bee our gouernour & protectour; albeit he was rather a destroyer of our progenie then a mainteiner of it: for he wyllyng to be kyng hymself, and depriue vs of our right and title, commaunded that we should bothe bee slain and dispatched out of this worlde. Therfore he hauyng then full power to ordre vs at his will, did cause my brother to bee destroyed; and because ŷ he might bee without some parte of that offense, and not shewe hymself all a tirāne, he caused me to bee conueighed to some straunge and foren countree, and there to bee desolate of all comforte and helpe. And so kyng Richard did hold his croūe by dispatchyng away of vs two, so that I could not tell, by the reason of my

Fol. C.xxix.

[1] kyng Edward. *ed. alt.*

tendre

tendre age, what I was, vntill now of late that myne aunte ladie Margarete, beyng in Flaūders, did shewe me what I was after she had seen me; and to the entent I might recouer again my fathers possessions, she hath geuen me for her power a bonde of mēne, wyllyng me ẏ I should desire the helpe of externe nacions and countrees. And so I am come to you for succoure, whō, as it is reported, will helpe at all tymes euery manne in his right; and in case bee I shall finde you fauorable to me, you shall binde me and all myne neuer to thynke ourselfes hable to make you amendes." When he had thus saied, the kyng promised hym that it should neuer repente hym of his commyng to hym, and bad him to take a good hearte. And after this the kyng assemblyng his counsaill together, asked what thei thought best in that matter, and whether any deliberacion should bee takē of it or no? To whom some of theim that were wisest, aunswered that it were folishenes to go furder in suche a matter, consideryng that he was but a painted and feigned duke, and had no right to England. Other also saied, that it was for diuerse causes moste profitable to the cōmen wealth, partely that this Parkyn, if his matters goo well forwarde, would rewarde theim as thei would desire, and enriche their realme moste plentefully by his liberalite: partely also, that Henry the kyng perceiuyng their kyng to assist hym, would gladly paie tribute to hym for a peace and concord to bee had. When this counsaill was gyuen, the kyng did gladly folowe it; and that his loue might bee more apparent to the people, he caused ladie Katherine, doughter to therle of Hūtley, his nigh kinsemā, to be maried to hym. After this was dooen, the kyng wyllyng ẏ this Perkyn should reigne in Englāde, hastened his iourney towarde the borders, & there cōmyng, proclamed openly ẏ all should bee pardoned ẏ would beare with the duke of Yorke, & fight in his quarell; and that mēne might for feare submitte theim selfes, thei burned, spoyled, & killed ẇ out all mercie as ferre as thei did go. But the kyng perceiuyng ẏ no Englishemen came to aide this young duke, & that his souldiours wer so loden ẇ praies & spoiles ẏ thei would not gladly go further, he returned backe to Scotlād, cariyng ẇ hym infinite goodes & riches. And when this duke came to Scotlande again, consideryng the greate distruccion and losse of the Englishmen, & that none came to aide hym, to the entēt that his inglyng of his countrefeict dignite might not be perceiued, he saied verie craftely with a loude voice, "Oh wretch and stonie hearte, that I am not moued with the losse and death of so many Englishemen of myne!" And at that woorde he desired the kyng ẏ he would not molestate his realme herafter with suche cruel tormentyng and fierying. To whom the kyng shaped hym this aunswere right shortely: "Truely, sir, me thynke you take charge and thought of an other mannes realme and not of your owne, because that I coulde se no manne that woulde take your parte, and helpe you with his power, whe you were now last emong theim." And for this cause ẏ kyng did litle esteme hym

Fol. C.xxx.

hym after that tyme, countyng hym incōstant, vnstable, and speakyng woordes not agreyng to his promise. When ŷ English lordes and captaines hearde of this busines, thei wer in greate feare, & fled for safegarde of their liues, euery manne to his castell and holde, and gatheryng an armie to withstand their enemies, certified the kyng in all post haste of the Scottes enterprise: whiche hearyng, prepared an armie in all the hast to fight against theim. But the Scottes beyng lodē with their praies and spoiles that thei had, were gone backe to their countre ere the Englishe menne could bee readie. And this was the first commocion & busines of the Scottes against the Englishemen. When the Scottes were thus gone, and the kyng certified of it, he thought not to suffer theim lenger, leste that by long tariyng & deferryng of ŷ matter, thei should take heart, and so with more fearsenes inuade the realme again.

And assemblyng his counsaill together, shewed theim that it was for the profite of the publique weale to warre against his enemies, to whom thei all agreed right gladly. And for the mainteinyng of this battaill, there was leuyed a certain summe or tribute, to be paid on euery mannes hed; whiche paiment, although it was but easie and small, yet many of the commen people grudged to paie it. At this parliament also and conuocacion, there was certain lawes, actes and statutes confirmed and made, as thought moste expediēt for the publique weale. And after this was dooen, the kyng prepared to fight in all the haste, and gatheryng an armie, made Giles Dabeney graund capitain ouer theim, and in his goyng to Scotlande, there beganne sodenly ciuile battaill in the realme, whiche was for the paiment of this money; for that ŷ Cornishemen (whiche made this insurreccion) beeyng but poore, could not well paie this tribute. And so they gatheryng all together, one Michael Ioseph, smyth, and Thomas Flāmoke, did take vpon theim the gouernaunce of all this compainie; and seyng theim greued sore that they should paye so muche, did more and more incense theyr myndes againste their prynce: albeit they layde this faulte and cause of exaction to Ihon Mortō, bishoppe of Cātorbury, and Ruigenald Braye, because they were chief of the kynges house.

Fol. C.xxxi.

* The blake smyth.

Thus they preparyng theimselues to warre, whē they had aswell sufficiente viandrye as all other thynges ready, they tooke theyr iourney to Welles, and from thence entended to go to London. When the kyng was shewed of this by his auditours that they wer vp, and that the lorde Twychet, and the lorde Audely, with other of the nobylitee, had taken their partes, he thought fyrste to scoure his realme of suche rebelles and traytours ere he would fight against the Scottes. And therfore he caused Giles Dabeney to returne backe agayn then goyng vpon the Scottes, whose armye he encreased and multiplyed with many pycked and freshe warryers, that he might the better, with lesse labour, ouercome these rebelles. Also[1]

[1] And. *ed. alt.*

least

least that the Scottes might nowe (hauyng good oportunite) inuade the realme again, (in this time of ciuile battyle) he caused lorde Thomas, erle of Surrey, a puissaunt and most redoubted warryer, whome he had taken prysoner at the ouerthrowe of kyng Richard, and a litle before that had set at libertie, and made treasourer of Englãde, after the death of Ihon Dynham, to gather a bond of men at Durham, & there to kepe of ỹ Scottes, yf they should chaunce to come, vntyll suche tyme that ỹ Cornyshe menne beyng pacified and subdued, he might send to theim the forenamed Giles agayne with all his power and armye. When as the nobles hearde of this busynes, they came to London euery mã, with as many as they could make, to ayde the kyng, yf nede shoude be. In the which compaignie there was the erle of Essex, the lorde Mongey, the erle of Suffolke, Richard Thomas, William Say, lorde Haward, the erle of Surrey his sonne, a noble young man & of stoute courage.

Robert Lytton,
Thomas Bande,
Robert Clyfforde,
Wyllyam Dauers,
George Verye,
Thomas Terell,
Richard Fizlewes,
Ihon Raynsforth,
Thomas Mõtigomery,
Ihon Wyngfilde,
Roberte Brougthon,
Iames Terell,
Iames Huberte,
Ihon Wyndham,
Robert Fenys,
Wylliam Cãrye,
Robert Drurye,
Ihon Audely,
Robert Wyngfild, with his brother Richarde,
Robert Brandon,
Thomas West de Lauare,
Thomas Fenis Dacres,
Dauid Owen,
Henry Rosse,
Ihon Deuenysse,
Henry Selenger,
Ihon Paulet,
Ihon Burshere,
Thomas Woode,
Mathewe Broune,
Thomas Troys,
Wylliam Sandes,
Edmũde Graye of Wiltone,
Ihon Verney,
Thomas Brian,
Richard Poole,
Thomas Harcecourte,
Ihon Hampden,
Edward Barkeley,
Willyã Bolongne, with his sonne Thomas,
Henry Haydon,
Robert Clarence, *Fol. Cxxxiii.*
Philip Calthorpe,
Robert Louell,
Ihon Shaye,
Thomas Frouwike, with many other of lower degree that wer moste noble & cunnyng warryers.

In this meane space, Charles ỹ Frenche kyng, commyng from the warres that he had at Naples with Ferdinande, sente ambassadours to the kyng for a peace and leagne of amitee to bee confirmed. When the kyng was enformed

enformed of their cōmyng, and that they were at Caleis, he sente certayn of his nobilitie to mete theim commyng, and to kepe theim purposely at Douer, vntyll suche tyme that this busynesse were ended, that they might not knowe of it in any wise.

And nowe the Cornyshemenne gooynge from Welles, (where they had theyr graunde capitayne lorde Audeley) went to Saulisbury, and frō thence to Wynchester, and so to Kent, where they looked for helpe; but they were deceaued: for the earle of Kent, and the lorde of Burgone Poole, the lorde Cobham, Thomas Burcher, Edwarde Ponyng, Richard Gilforde, Wyllyam Scotte, Iames Cromer, Ihon Peche, Iohn Darel, Henry Wyat, Rychard Haulte, Ihon Fogge, and other were ready to withstande theyr power, and to cause the people to beare trewe heartes to theyr kynge; for the whiche many of the Cornyshe men faynted, and had lesse mynde to fight, and for feare fled priuely in the nyght from their compaignie. But the captaynes perceauyng they coulde haue no helpe at theyr handes, trusted to theyr owne power, and brought theim to Blackeheath feld nigh London. and there pytched theyr tentes in the playn, to byd battail to the kyng, if he would mete theim, or els to inuade the cytie. Whome the kynge perceauyng to be there readye to fight, he caused Henry Burschere, erle of Essex, Edmunde Polam, erle of Suffolke, and Richard Thomas, three noble warryers, to besiege theim on both sydes wyth two wynges, and so came hym self in the myddest, sendyng before Giles Dabeney with a greate power. And after his commyng thus to the felde, bothe the erles and Richard Thomas sette vpon theim violently, and at the first brunt put theim to flight, and killed aboute two thousande that resisted, and tooke prisoners more then could bee told, and emonges theim ẏ captaynes, which shortely after wer put to death. But this Michael Ioseph was a mā of suche stoute courage & valiaūtnesse, ẏ he neuer fainted or once gaue backe vntyll such tyme he was stryken downe and kylled openly.

When this battaile was ended, the kynge loste but thre hundreth in all his compaignye that wer kylled at that presente. Also the prysoners that were taken he pardoned, sauyng the captaynes and first autours of that mischief, whose quarters he would haue to bee put on stakes, and set in dyuerse places of Cornewell, that theyr naughtie dooynges and foolishe entrepryses might bee a document for other hereafter to beware; but because there were many of that coūtree that would gladly haue renewed battaile, yf they might haue had some capitayn, and ẏ they wer nothyng abashed for ẏ ouerthrowe of theyr late insurreccion, he turned his mynd, so ẏ thei wer not had thither, nor their quarters set vpō any stakes there.

Fol. C.xxxiii. Whē this busines was in hād, ẏ kyng of Scottes being certified of it by certain spies, thought best to inuade Englande againe, and burned all the waye as he did before, lest that the kyng should prouoke hym to it of force, because he had dooen so muche hurte to it before; and thus came

to

to Durham, and there burned all aboute, entending also to wynne Norham Castle, whiche the bishoppe had furnished a litle before with menne and vitaile sufficiently, so that he coulde haue none accesse into that castell. And this was the bishop Foxe, that was bishop of Exeter, and for his godlines and verteouse lining, after that made bishoppe of Welles and Bathe: whiche bishop nowe being in this businesse, certified the kyng of it in all the haste, and also therle of Surrey, that was then in Yorke shyre with a greate army of menne. To whome the erle came shortly after with his compaignye, and after hym folowed other noble menne of all quarters, euery one bringīg for his habilitee as many as he could to aide the bishop, and fight in the defence & quarell of theyr kyng. And in this compaygnie was there many lordes, therle of Westmerland, Thomas Dacres, George Graunge, Rafe Neuel, Richard Latimer, George Lumley, Iohn Scroppe, George Oglie, Thomas baron of Hilton, Henry Clifford, William Coyners, Thomas Dercy.

Also knightes.

Sir William Percy, and thre other of ỹ name, as Bulmery, Gascogne, Penington [Percy.]
Sir Rauffe Bigot,
Sir Rauffe Bowes,
Sir Rauffe Elaker,
Sir Thomas Appar,
Sir Thomas Thwarton,
Sir Thomas Stranguishe,
Sir Ihon Constable,
Sir Ihon Ratcliffe,
Sir Ihon Sauell,
Sir Ihon Gouer,
Sir Musgraue,
Sir Iohn Waller,
Sir Iohn Aloder,
Sir Iohn Euerinham,
Sir Brian Stapelton,
Sir Thomas Vortell,
Sir Marduke Constable,
Sir Christopher Pikeringe,
Sir Christopher Ward,
Sir Walter Stringlande,
Sir Roger Bellinghā,
Sir William Heron,
Sir Rauffe Graye,
Sir Nicholas Ridley,
Sir Walter Griffit,
Sir Ihon Heron,
Sir Rauffe Fencuike,
Sir Thomas Graye,
Sir Christo. Curwen,
Sir Robert Varcoppe,
Sir Rouland Tempest,
Sir Iames Medcalfe,

With many other capitaynes, althoughe not so noble in degree, yet as valiaunte in martiall feactes and prowesses of warre. The Scottes hearing of the earle of Surrey that he was cōming, and at hande with a greate power, then beseging this forenamed castell, whiche they coulde by no meanes ouercome, they fledde streighte backe to Scotlande, whome the earle folowed as longe as his vyttailles serued, and after that returned backe

to Durham, theyr abiding vntyll such time he knewe furder of the kynges pleasure.

And in this meane space, one Henrye Hailes was sente ambassadoure frome Ferdinand vnto the kyng of Scottes, for a generall peace to bee had with hym and the kyng of Englande, for he loued hym well; and kyng Henrye also, to whose soonne the younge prynce Arthure he woulde haue
Fol. C.xxxiiii. geuen his doughter ladye Katheryne in mariage, that by affinytee and kyndered of blood their loue might continue for euer.

So this Henrye entreated hartelye the king of Scottes for a peace; and when he had some hope in it, he wrote vnto the kyng of Englande, that it would please hym to sende one of his nobles to helpe to conclude this matter with hym and the Scottes. The kyng, because he had been in greate trouble, and then veraye desierous of peace, he sent the byshoppe of Durham to hym in all the haste; so that this Henrye and the bishop reasoned with the Scottyshe ambassadours as concernyng this peace to be had. Albeit thei could not agree, because that kyng Henrye desiered to haue Perkyn Warbecke that was the cause of all this busynes, and had so greatly disquieted his realme, whome the kyng woulde not delyuer, although he might of ryghte, consideryng his falsehode and deceyte that he had vsed with hym.

Therfore after that they had reasoned much of this matter, & could bring it to no ende, yet a truce was taken for certain yeres of this condicion, that the same Perkin Warbecke should bee conueyghed oute of Scotland, & not to tary there longer. Whyle this was dooinge, kyng Henry caused the ambassadours of ỹ Frenche kyng to bee brought to hym, which, as it is shewed before, wer stopped at Douer of their iourney, vntill suche tyme ỹ the insurreccion of the Cornish men was ceassed, and hearing ỹ they came for a peace and league to bee made, graũted theim it right gladly. So ỹ nowe beīg reconciled w̃. ii. kynges, & thesame his neighbours, he thanked Fernand & his wife Elizabeth, for ỹ they caused this peace to bee made betwixte hym and the Scottes, and rewarded the ambassadoure moste worthely after a princely maner. And the tyme that this vnitee and concorde was made, it was the yere of oure Lorde a thousande foure hundreth foure score and eighten, and ỹ. xii. yere of kyng Henry his reigne.

The. xii. yere of Hery the. vii. And the kynge of Scottes kepte his promesse well ynoughe: for when he perceiued manifestly that he was deluded, he called vnto hym Perkin Warbeck, and first declared his benefites & pleasures that he had dooen vnto hym, and then counsailed hym to gette hym vnto some place where he mighte byde in safegarde, and come againe another time when he shoulde haue more oportunitee, but neuer after to looke for any helpe at his hād, partely because he had made peace with the kyng of Englande, and partely because he sawe that no Englishemen came to take his parte; wherfore he desired hym not to bee misgreued that he did thus leaue hym, & also counsailed

counsailed hym to goo into some other place or regyon. Wherfore this Perkin was veraye sorye, & (as the kyng had counsailed hym) departed thence with his wife, and went into Ireland, determining with hym selfe if he might haue no helpe of the menne of Cornewale, to retourne thence as faste as myght bee home to his greate mastres & aunte Margarete into Flaundres; but he was no soner come thither, then he heard by diuers messengers ỹ they of Cornewale were as ready to fyght against kyng Henry as euer they wer before. Of hoope of the whiche he went streyght into Cornewall, & there dyd sturre vp their heartes with gyftes and promyses, that all immediatelye called him their capitain, & saied that thei woulde folow hym, and in all thinges obey promptly hys commaundementes. Thē was Perkē in as good hoope as euer he was; and (because he would do nothynge rashelye and withoute aduisemente) he purposed fyrste to ouercome citees and all wel defēded places that lay in his way, and so to get as many as he coulde to folowe hym and to take his part, and incontinently to buckle with ỹ kynges host. Whē he had thus deliberate, he wēt streight to Exeter, which was the next citee that he coulde come vnto, and besieged it; and because he had no gunnes to breake downe the walles, he laboured all that myght bee to breake the gates: but when he saw that thei could not easely be betten downe with any thyng, streight with he set fyre on theim. *F.l. C.xxxv.*

Whereof the citezins were veray sore afraied, and priuely in the night let downe diuerse ouer ỹ walles with ropes, to go certifie the kyng of their trouble. And in the meane tyme, whē thei saw that their enemies had almost brēt vp the gates of the one side, tooke great blockes and set them on fyre on the other side, for none other cause but that aswell their enemyes therby might be excluded, as thei them selfes included. And thei not trusting to this only, made also vin great ditches & other thīges to defend thē from the inuasiō of the rebelles. When Perkē saw this, he got ladders, and would by that meanes haue come into the citee, but they came not so sone vp, but thei were beate downe again, and by this meanes many were there slayne; yet would he not thence depart, but trusted surely at the laste that thei should be glad to yelde theim selfes al that wer within for lack of viandrie. But as sone as the kyng hearde of this, he hasted with his hoost toward Exeter as faste as was possible, and sente dyuerse souldiours beefore to certifie all menne of his commyng and preparaunce; for at that tyme there was set forth to helpe theym of Exeter, Thomas Trencherd, William Corteney, Walter Cortney, Edmond Carre, Ihon Halemel, Peter Eggecomb, Thomas Fulford, Ihō Crook, William Saintmaur, with a great host, whose capitain was Edward Corteny, erle of Denshire, & his sonne William, whiche was a young man of mooste noble courage. Whiche thyng when Peter heard tell of, he left besiegyng of Exeter, and went to ỹ nexte towne, whiche is called Taūtun, & there

vieued his hoost, and set it in aray redye to fyght: howbeit, he had but lytle affiaunce in the same, because many of his souldiours were so slenderly harneissed, and no better skylled in warre. When the kyng sawe he was gone to Taūtun, he hasted thither after him with all spede. Thether came also Edward ŷ duke of Buckingham, a young mā veray valiaunt and of lustie courage, and hym folowed a greate compaignye of noble men, as Giles Brigge, Alexander Brayhā, Moryshe Barkeley, Robert Tame, Ihon Sapcot, Ihon Wadhā, Hugh Lutrel, and Nycholas hys sonne, William Storton, Thomas Lynde, Ihon Semar, Wylliam Norris, Thomas Blunt, Ihon Guyse, Roberte Poynte, Harry Vernon, Ihon Mortimer, Ihon Speke, Rychard Beaucāp, Fraunces Chenie, Roger Tokete, Roger Wenburg,
Fol. C.xxxvi. Henry Roger, Edwarde Darell, Ihon Langforde, Richard Lacon, Thomas Tremaile, Edwarde Sutton, Amis Paulet, Ihon Byknell, Wyllyam Sayntemaur, Thomas Longe, Nycholas Latimer, Ihon Turbaruyll, Wylliam Martyne, Walter Hungorforde, Moryshe Barons, Rycharde Corbet, Thomas Cornuall, and many other besydes these.

But the king when he came nygh to the towne, sente before to begynne battayle Roberte Broke, lorde Rycharde Thomas, and Giles Dabeney, with a great and stronge hoost, to the entent that he hym selfe with his souldiours myght set vpon them behynd. But this deuise and purpose of the kyng was al superfluous: for Perkin, so sone as he espyed that the kyng was redie to fight, fledde priuely in the nyght into a sanctuary at Bellylo abbey, and there lurked. But whether this Perkē so dyd for feare least his men should forsake hym, or for the timeditie of hym selfe, it is as much vncertayne, as it is probable and sure that the kyng tooke by hys flyght greate commoditee.

For the Corneshe menne were surelye purposed eyther to wynne and ouercome theyr enemies, or elles not one of theim to haue lyued anye daye lenger. When kynge Henrye knewe that Perkin was gone, he sente after hym many horse menne, that, yf it myghte bee, they shoulde ouertake hym in hys iourney, and brynge hym backe.

But Perkyn Warbecke made suche spede that he was not seene before he came into the sanctuarie; but his petie capitaines coulde not scape so clene: for of theim the moost part were taken and brought backe againe to the kyng. The residue of the souldiours when thei vnderstode ŷ Perkyn their chief capitain was fled, and ŷ other taken, gaue vp theim selfes by and by to the king without any more busines, and of hym most gently wer forgeuen. When all was dooen, the kynge went again to Exeter, and there both gaue great thankes to such as wer worthy, and punished the authoures and sturrers vp of this insurrection moost straitlye. And in ŷ meane tyme many of the souldiours road to S. Mighels Mounte, & there (as chaunce was) found Katherin Perkins wife, and brought her streight like a bond woman and captiue to the kyng, and the kyng sent her by and by accom-

panied with a goodly sort of matrons, (because she was so goodly a young woman.) to London to the quene, as a true and sure token of vyctorie. And whiles he taried there at Exeter, supposyng with him selfe that he could haue no perfect victory vntyl he had gottē Perkin him self, which was the beginner of all this sedicion and strife, sent forth two companies of menne to besiege the sanctuarye wher Perkin was, that by no meanes he myght scape away, and sent him worde also by certain [trustie] messengers that yf he would humblie submit him selfe, he should be forgeuen of all that was committed. Wherfore, Perkin now seynge and ponderynge the state of miserie that he was in, wēt voluntarily out of the sanctuary, and commytted hym selfe to the kynges pleasure.

Then was the kyng weray glad, and toke his iourney immediatly after towarde London, not without the great metyng of people whych came out *Fol. Cxxxxvii.* of euery quarter to se this feloe as he were a monstre, because he beyng but an aliente, durst bee so bold to come in to this so noble a realme to make battaill, and delude noble menne after suche a fassion. But whē the kyng was come to London, he appoīnted certain menne to kepe hym bothe night & daie verie vigilantly, to thentent that he might neither conueigh hymself out of the lande, ner goo any whether within this realme to make any like perturbacion and disquetnes.

After this, the kyng perceiuyng ẏ there were many as well in Somerset as in Deuēshire, whiche were helpers of the rebelles greatly, bothe goyng foorth & commyng homeward, thought it good to punishe theim also, least peradnenture thei might be ẏ more bold to dooe a like thyng after; and therfore he committed this busines to Amis Paulet knight, and Robert Sherburne deane of Poules, to be dooen, which in serchyng out all suche thoroweout bothe the shires, wer verie exacte and diligent; but thei wer fauorable to al such as did it for feare or compulsion, yet were thei to none so fauorable but thei were thought for their defaultes indifferently to be punished. So that equitie therin was verie well executed.

In the same yere, of a small matter befell greate strife betwene kyng Henry and Iames kyng of Scotlande, whiche strife beganne of this fassion. Certain younge menne of ẏ Scottes came armed vnto Duresme castell, & beheld it wonderous circumspectly as though thei had been desierous to know what was there dooen. But whē the kepers of the castle could not perceaue ẏ thei went aboute any hurte or displeasure, & seing theim go awaie of their owne accorde, thei made no woordes, but let theim alone. But when thei came again the nexte daie & viewed it likewise, the kepers of ẏ said castel demaunded of theim what was their intent. Thei aūswered theim (like rude and vnmanerlie ientlemenne) as frowardly as could bee thought, in so muche ẏ at the laste through muche altercacion of bothe parties, thei fell together by the eares, and there were some of the Scottes slain & the residue put to flight. Which, whē thei came home, certified

certified their kyng of thesame. Wherwith he beyng sore moued to angre, sēt woorde to kyng Henry that he would ẇout doubt reuenge his querell: wherfore kyng Hēry being verie sorie, not so much for feare, as for to liue in quietnes & peace in his age, made him aūswere ẏ it was not doē through his default or coūsaill, but rather by the rashenesse of his subiectes, whiche, if thei could bee proued guiltie, should be accordyng to the faulte punished: wherfore he desired him moste louingly to be cōtēted. But this was not hable to mitigate or swage the Scottes angre & outrageousnesse. For the whiche cause Richard bishop of Duresme, whiche was more heuie then all other, because his seruūates were ẏ beginners of this discord, wrote many letters to kyng Iames to desire hym to kepe peace & bee at quiet. With the whiche letters the kynges rage was so quenched, ẏ he bothe sent verie kynd letters again to hym, and desired hym hartely to come ouer and talke with hym. Of ẏ whiche tydynges the bishop was verie glad, and went streight to kyng Henry, to shewe hym
Fol. Cxxxviii. the matter, and had leaue of hym incontinently to go ouer to hym.

When he came into Scotlāde, he was receiued as louyngly as coulde bee thought of the kyng hymself, at an abbey called Melrose, and there after that he had complained muche of the crueltie that was vsed toward his menne here in Englāde, he beganne to commen secretly of other matters, and especially of the amitie betwene kyng Henry and hym, the whiche to bee for euer stablished and confirmed, he desired ẏ kinges doughter Margaret in mariage. Of the whiche thyng albeit the bishop was glad in his heart, yet he would make no perfect aunswere or sheweforth any sure hope of ẏ same, but saied that when he came home, he would dooe the best in the matter that laie in hym. Wherfore the kyng shortly after dimissed hym, and desired hym ernestly to breake ẏ same matter to kyng Hēry. And whē he was come home, so he did, and ẏ proffer pleased ẏ kyng verie well, because he was a manne whiche was alwaies more delited ẇ peace & quietnes, then ẇ the troublesomnesse of battaill.

And now did approch ẏ death of Perkin Warbeck, and of Edwarde erle of Warwicke whiche had so long lyen all readie in the Towre. But Perkē thought that he would saue hymself, and therfore on a tyme he tooke his leggues and ranne awaie; but so sone as the kyng harde tell therof, he made menne after hym with all the spede ẏ might bee, ẇ whose clamours and shoutes Perkyn was so feared, ẏ of necessitie he was compelled to go to an abbaie which was called Bethelē, & ther intreacted ẏ abbot of the place to desire the kyng of his pardon that he might not dye. Whiche thyng the abbot did for hym and obteined it. Wherfore Perken was brought bounde & fettered, to Westminster, and there stoode an whole daie in the sight of all menne to the great shame and reproche of hym self. And after (partely because the kyng had promised hym his life, and partely because he should no more renne awaie) he was cōmitted to ẏ

Towre;

Towre; where his wickednes boylyng so hote within his brest, would not suffre hym to escape the vēgeaūce & punishemēt of God, but shortly after was moste iustly & worthely put to deathe as herafter shalbe shewed. Then it chaunsed ẏ a monke, whose name was Patricke, had a scholer, whome he promised if he would folowe his counsaill, should easely come to the kyngdome of Englande. Whiche scholer, when he had ones heard his maisters mynd, was verie instaunte in the matter, and desired his maister, not to forget his purpose, but rather begynne it as sone as was possible. Wherfore, when thei betwene theim selfes had taken deliberacion, and counsailled of the thyng how it should be brought to passe, thei went bothe together into Kent. And there beganne this young feloe to tell priuely to many that he was the erle of Warwicke, and had gotte out of the tower by the helpe of this monke. To the whiche, when he perceiued credence geuen, he declared it openly, and desyred al men of helpe.

But or euer this sedicion beganne to goo foreward, the heddes and principalles of thesame wer taken and caste into prysone; of whiche the one was condempned to death, and the other condēpned to perpetuall pryson and darkenesse: for at that tyme here in Englande was so muche attrybuted to prestes, and al religious mē, that though they had committed felonie, murder, yea or treason, they should not haue bene therfore condempned to death. Moreouer, whosoeuer could reade, though it wer neuer so lytle, what crime soeuer he had committed, (sane treason) should by his booke bee saued; and therfore it was inuented, that if the default wer so great, that another manne shoulde suffer death for thesame, he should onely be burnt in the hande: wherfore he ẏ had committed thefte, should bee marked in the hand with this letter T. if he had committed murdre, with M. and after that, yf he were deprehended in lyke cryme, then there should no fauour at all, more then to other menne, bee shewed. Whiche acte was made and confyrmed, by this kyng Henry in the second yere of his reigne, and takē of the Frenchemen, whiche are wonte, if thei take any suche, to cutte of one of his eares, and let hym go. Whiche priuiledges of bookes made thefes both bolde & plentie thorowe out all the coastes and parties of this his realme of Englande. *Fol. C.xxxix.*

But nowe to my matier again. Perkyn, of whom we spake muche before, whyles he was in ẏ Towre, corrupted many of the kepers, partly with giftes and partely with fayre promyses, so that they were all agreed (saue the leuetenaunt, whome he fully determined to kyll.) that he and the erle of Warwike should gooe theyr waye out of the Toure and afterwarde to make the best shyfte that they could for theim selfes. But this his purpose came not to full effecte; for it was knowne within shorte tyme after, for the whiche he and his felowes all of the same counsayle were hanged by the neckes. And the earle of Warwike, because he was founde

gylte

gylte in thesame defaulte, was beheedded ; whiche was dooen in the yeare of oure Lorde a thousand foure hundreth and. xcix. and in the. xiii. yeare of this kyng Henry his reigne.

The nexte yere. The nexte yere after, was here in Englande a greate plague, wherof menne died in many places vereye sore, but especiallye and mooste of all in London ; for there died in that yere aboue thyrtye thousande : wherfore the kynge sayled ouer to Caleis, and there taryed a greate while. In his beyng there came ouer to hym Philippe erle of Flaunders, and was receaued of hym as louyngly as could bee thought, and also or euer they departed, the league whiche was made betwene theim two not longe before was renewed.

Sone after, when the plague was slaked, the kyng returned agayne into Englande, and was no soner come thyther, but there met him one Gasper Pons, sente from Alexander the byshoppe of Roome, which brought with hym indulgences and perdones, whereby he made the kyng beleue that he and his should flye streight to heauen; but those could not bee graunted withoute a greate somme of money, the whiche the rather that he might obteyne, he promysed parte of it to the kyng hymselfe, so deceauyng both ŷ kyng and ŷ people. In this same yere was burnt a place of ŷ kynges, whiche he after buylded vp againe and named it Richemount.

Aboute this tyme died three bishoppes here in England, Ihon Morton *Fol. Cxl.* bishop of Cantourbury, Thomas Langton bishop of Wynchester, and Thomas Rotherham bishoppe of Yorke.

Also in this yere, there were greate maryages made, for kyng Henry had geuen his doughter ladye Margarete to the kyng of Scottes, and his sonne prince Arthur to ladie Katherine, doughter to Ferdinande, kyng of Spayne ; whiche mariages were made specially for this cause that he might liue in peace with those kynges in his olde age.

After this, prynce Arthure that came to Londō purposely to bee maryed, went to Wales agayne with his lady and wife to ouersee all thynges well there ; and to the entente he might not miscarye or go out of the waie in rulyng his dominion, he had with hym many noble mē, as first Richard Poole his nighe kynsman, which was made chief of his priuie chaumbre, and Dauid Philippe husher of his halle. Also he had of his counsaill; certayne knyghtes, as Wyllyam Vdall, Richarde Croft, Peter Neuton, Henrye Varnam, Thomas Englefelde ; and other besides theim, as Ihon Walestone, Henry Marine[1], Wyllyam Smyth preest, chief of his coūsayle, late bishop of Lincolne, & syr Charles Booth a lawer, then byshop of Herforde.

A litle before this mariage, Edmūd Poole, erle of Suffolke, sonne to ladye Elizabeth, the syster of kyng Edward, was accused for killyng of a mā, &

[1] Martyne. *ed. alt.*

although

although the kyng pardoned hym, whō he might iustely haue condēned for that offence; yet because he was rayned at the barre, whiche he thought a great main[1] and blemishe to his honoure, tooke it heuely, and shortely after fled to Flaunders wout any passeporte or licēce of the kyng, to quene[2] Margarete his aunte, but he returned again, & so excused hymselfe before the kynge, that he was founde fautles in any thyng ẏ was obiected vnto hym. Also when this mariage was kepte at London, with great pompe & solēnitee, this Edmunde fled again to Flaunders ẇ his brother Richard, either for ẏ he had been at great charges at thesame mariage, and so farre cast in debte that he was not hable to paye, either because ẏ quene[2] Margarete his aunte had allured hym, orels for eiuill will & enuie that the kyng should prosper so well. Whē it was knowen ẏ he was gooen, & the kyng certified there of, he feared ẏ some busynes should ryse by his meanes, & was sory ẏ he had pardoned hym for his offēce lately cōmitted. But sone after, ẏ the erle came from Flaunders, syr Robert Cursone knight & capitaine of Hāmes castel, feignyng hym selfe to bee one of that conspiracye, wente purposely to espye what the quene[3] entended against kyng Henrye, whyche afterwarde for his so doynge was in greate fauoure wyth hym. For the kynge was so vigylaunte and circumspecte in all his matters, that he dyd knowe theim namelye that either bare hym eiuill will, or woorked any in theyr mynde, whom he caused to bee attached and caste in holde. And emong theim Wyllyam the erle of Deuonshyres sonne, whiche maried ladie Catheryne, daughter to kyng Edward, was taken, and another Wyllyam brother to Edmonde earle of Souffolke, Iames Tyrell, Ihon Wyndham. But these two Wylliams were taken rather of suspection then for any offence of gyltines. Wherefore *Fol. Cxli.* Wylliam this earles sonne of Deuonshyre, after the death of kynge Henrye, was deliuered & had in great fauour wyth the kinges sonne Henrye[4] the eyght; but shortly after, whan he beganne to exercyse hym selfe agayne in marciall feates of warre, he sickened of a dysease called (Plureses) and died therewith, whyche because it was straunge and vnknowen to the phisiciās, it was incurable. He lefte one sonne behynde hym alyue to vphold the name of that auncetree. The other Wyllyam, brother to Edmunde the earle of Suffolke, had also greater fauoure showed hym in pryson, then he had before. And as for Iames Terel, and Ihō Wyndham, because they were traytours, and manifestly accused of the same, wer put to death, and behedded. But when the earle of Suffolke heard of thys, he was in great despayre wyth hym selfe that he should neuer frame hys matters wel, and so wente all aboute Germanye and Fraunce for ayde and socour, prouyng yf he coulde fynde any helpe at their handes, whom when he perceaued to showe no token of loue towardes him in that be-

[1] maim. *ed. alt.* [2] lady. *ed. alt.* [3] duches. *ed. alt.* [4] kyng Henry. *ed. alt.*

halfe, he made hym subiect to ẏ prynce of Flaūders, but hys brother Rychard beyng an experte man, dyd so wysely order and behaue hym selfe in that businesse, that he was not greatlye founde gyltie in any poynt of that matter. The kyng not yet beyng out of all feare of his enemyes, perceauyng that many sanctuary men loked for a fayre daye, desired of Alexander byshop of Roome that all traytours and banished men should not be saued by any sanctuary, and that such as were ther in holde, should take theim herafter as no refuge and socoure to them, yf thei once gooe out, whych thyng, after the byshoppe had graunted it, was to the ease and quietnes of al the realme.

When the kynge had all hys busines so well ended, and broughte in a good staye, prynce Arthure dyed halfe a yeare, or lesse, after that he had maried ladie Katheryn, for whose death ther was great lamentynge. It is reported also that ladye Katherine feared suche lyke chaunce euermore, for because ẏ after she had taken her leaue of her parentes, and sayled towardes England, she was tossed lōg in ẏ sea, wyth the violence of the water & the wynd, ere the shyppe coulde haue any lādyng.

Not longe after, the quene was broughte in bedde with a doughter, and died vppon the same, which daughter also taried but for a season after her mother. Ther departed also within short space after, Reynalde Bray, a man for iustice so commēdable, that yf any thyng had bene dōne agaynste good lawe or ryght, he would streyghte reproue ẏ kyng for it. Of the same vertue was Ihon Mortō bishoppe, & would do in al thinges as he did in reprouing the kinge for the reformation of thinges amisse, which bishop died. ii. yeres before. About ẏ tyme also dyed Henry bishop of Cāterbury, whose roome Williā Warrā bishop of Lōdon supplied, and in the byshop of Londons place was elected William Barons, after whose deathe succeded Rycharde Fiziames byshop of Chichester.

The. xvi. yere. In this yere, which was the. xvi. of hys reygne and of our Lorde. M. cccc. and. ii. yeres, the kynge dyd kepe his parliament, wherin manye
Fol. Cxlii. thynges were decreed, and made for the publike commodytee, and emong other thynges it was determyned that theues and murderers duly conuicted by the lawe to dye, should be burned in ẏ hand and quit yf thei could read on the booke any one worde.

Furdermore, it was decreed ẏ the people should paye certain mony to the kyng, and that the goodes of theim that were banished and fled, should be disparsed and set to sale. Also the preestes were commaunded to pay mony for the maintenaunce and sustentacion of the common weale.

And now the kyng drawyng nigh to age, and considerynge the great battayles that he had in tymes past, which (as it was thought) came of ouer muche welthines, prouided a remedy ryght shortly for it. And to the entent that menne shoulde not thynck ẏ he would oppresse them or do

thē

thē wrong, for of all people he hated oppressours, therfore he deuised with hym selfe, by what honeste meane he might do it, & thus deuising called to minde ẏ̄ English mē dyd litle passe vpō the obseruaciō of any lawes ẏ̄ were made, in so much, ẏ̄ yf such a thynge should be called to accompte, he thoughte manye men as well lordes, as other of the lay fee, would bee founde fautie. And so searchyng ouer the statutes that he had made, punished them a lytle by the pursse that had transgressed theim. After that he appoynted two commyssioners to receaue the forfeictes, the one Richarde Hempson, and the other Edmunde Dudley, booth lawers of the temporaltee, whiche personnes, for the desire to please their king, had no respect how thei got the monye so thei myght haue it ether by ryght or wrong. Al beit, ẏ̄ kyng hauyng pitee of his people, after that he perceaued they were sore punyshed and polled vnknowyng to hym, restored to them their mony, of whom it was exacted vniustlye, and depryued thē of their offyce that had so vniustly executed it.

In this yere, dyed quene Elisabeth of Castell wyfe to Ferdinand kyng of Aragone, without any yssue of mā chyld, so that the heritage dyd fall to lady Iohan her eldest daughter (by Ferdinand) whiche after was maried to [the earle of Flaunders,]¹ thē made by this mariage also chiefe gouernoure ouer all that countree.

Shortly after about the. xiii. day of Ianuary which was the yere of our Lord. M.cccc. and fyue thys earle hauyng a nauye prepared sayled out of Flaunders with his wyfe to Spayne, but he had not set forth longe, ere the wether beganne to chaunge, and tempestes to ryse so, that at the last fearsenes of the wynde dyd dryue them to the coastes and borders of Englande, wher he landed at an hauē or porte called Wynmouth², sore againste the mynd and consent of all his companie, which knewe well that the same landyng should bee the occasion of long tariyng there. When it was knoen that he was thus landed, there came a greate nomber of harnissed men to proue yf he were the kynges frende or no, whiche when thei perceaued hym to bee his frende, and entended nothing but loue and frendeshippe, Thomas Trencharde the chiefe of that compaignie went to the kyng, desyring hym (yf it would witesalfe) hym to take a lodging at his house, whiche was euen nigh at hand, trustīg therby to haue thāke of ẏ̄ kyng his master whom he certifyed in al the haste of his commyng.

Also Iohn Caroe desired hym that he woulde not gooe vntyll suche tyme *Fol. C.xlvii.* that he had spoken w̄ the kyng his louing and feithfull frende, considerinye that he was within two or thre dayes iourney of hym. So that at lengtl: although he layde many excuses to haue been gooen and departed, at their instance taried there with theim. And when ẏ̄ kyng was enfourmed of his cōminge, he reioyced highly and sente certaine of his

¹ Philippe duke of Austrik and Burgone, *ed. alt.* ² Waymouthe, *ed. alt.*

nobilitee, to bring hym where he was. Wherfore [this erle][1] seing no remedy but ẏ he must nedes tary, he went streight to Windesore where the kyng dyd lye. And shortlye after folowed his wife quene Iohan. After they two had cōmoned of many thinges together, at the laste they beganne to treate of a league and perpetuall amitee to bee had.

And firste kynge Henrye desired to haue Edmonde Poole banished man vnder his captiuitee and bondage. To whome [the earle][1] aunswered & saied that it was not in his power to restore hym ; yet after muche entreating and praiyng, the kyng graunted at the laste that he shoulde bee sente to hym righte shortly. After thus[2] for prolonginge of time ẏ he might haue his desyre, he brought [Philyp the earle][1] to London, and there shewing hym his citie, retourned frome thence with hym.

Then Edmonde Poole, seyng that there was no more hope to bee had in foren princes, and trusting that kyng Henry would put hym at libertee, came to Englande willingly to proue his gentlenes, that yf vpon this expectacyon and hope he were deceiued, yet he might at the laste dye and be buryed in his natiue countree.

It was not longe after ẏ [the earle][3] Philyp departed frome England, but he died, being of thirtye yeres of age, which had by his wife. vi. childrē: two men children, as Charles and Ferdinande, &. iiii. doughters, Eleonar, Elizabeth, Marie & Catherin ; a man for his cōlines of body right cōmendable, of a meane stature, a liberal countenaunce, corpulēt, full of fleshe, quicke witted & bold harted. This tempest ẏ the [earle Philyp][3] suffred on ẏ see, was greately wōdered at of many men, because it stroke downe an eagle of brasse from a pinacle of Poules church, & with that falle, ẏ same eagle did breake another eagle ẏ was sette for a sygne at a tauerne dore. For vpon this, men did take an opinion ẏ the emperour Maximilian, whiche at that time gaue an eagle for his armes, should haue a great losse, whiche was ẏ he should lose his sonne Philippe earle of Flaundres.

Also shortly after ẏ departing of [the earle][3] Philippe, George Neuel lorde of Burgeiny, and syr Thomas Grene knight, were suspected to bee giltie of the treason ẏ Edmond Poole had wrought, and so caste in pryson, but shortly after, when they had pourged theim selfes of that suspicyon and crime, they were deliuered. Albeit, this knight sir Thomas Grene died in pryson. The other lorde, for his sobrenes of liuinge, & true hart ẏ he bare to his prynce, was had in greater estimacyon then euer he was before.

After this, the kyng had peace, aswell ẇ forein princes as also of ciuile battail for the space of. iii. yeres, but then the kyng being deseased with a
Fol. Cxliiii. certain infirmitee & weakenes of bodye, thryse euery yere about ẏ spring

[1] kyng Philip. *ed. alt.* [2] this. *ed. alt.* [3] kyng. *ed. alt.*

tide,

tide, was againe sturred vp by the reason of a great plague of ẏ sweate ẏ reigned through the whole realme, howbeit by ẏ reason of the remedy ẏ was inuẽted for it ẏ laste time before it dyd ẏ lesse hurte. Another mischyefe chaunsede, that many ryche men & of greate possessions were caused to leaue their countree by the reason that ẏ commissioners of the forfeictes had delt falsely wᵗ theim & exterminated theim by their naughty meanes. So ẏ had not the kyng been gracious to many of theim, they had been vndoẽ for euer. In this meantime Alexãder, bishop of Rome, departed out of this world, after whō Fraunces Pius nephiew to Pius the second was made and stalled byshop, whome kyng Henry had made gouernoure ouer his realme, and reioysing gladly of his highe promocion, sent sir Gilbert Talbote knight, Richard Beare abbot of Glastinbury, and Robert Sherburne to bee glad of his honoure in his behalfe, & make a promise ẏ he would dooe hym obeysaunce hereafter. At this same time also dyed Giles Dabeney [chiefe of ẏ kynges priueie chaunbre][1] whose office Charles bastarde sonne of Iohn[2] brother to Edmund laste duke of Somerset had geuen to hī. Sone after ẏ kyng caused Guide Vbald, duke of Vrbin, to be made knight of ẏ garter, ẏ which honour & dignite he desired to haue, ẏ he might haue some parte of the nobilytee that his father Fredericke had, whiche was receaued & chosen also into that order by kyng Edwarde. And because it was blased ẏ Iulius the seconde was bishop of Rome after the deathe of Pius, the kyng sente a goodly vesture by his ambassadoure, for this Guyde to weare; when he had receyued this garment, he did send Balthesar Castillio a Mantuan borne vnto kyng Henry, whiche receiued of ẏ knightes a garter, in token ẏ he should be a knight of the same ordre. When this busines was dooen, Lewes the Frenche kyng mistrustyng that he shoulde neuer haue manchild, maryed his eldest doughter lady Anne to Frances Valese Dolphine duke of Engosye, which was sure a litle before to Charles the kyng of Castell. And when kyng Henry knewe of this, he thought beste to mary his doughter lady Mary to this Charles kyng of Castell, which mariage was confirmed and made at Calise by ẏ byshop of Winchester & the ambassadours of Flaunders, the ladye beyng but. x. yeres of age.

And now were the thre yeres expired, at whiche tyme kyng Henry thought his fatal daye to draw nyghe. Therfore to the entente that the people myghte wysbe and praye for hym after his deathe for his kindnesse that he shewed to theim, he caused a generall pardon to bee geuen vnto all offendours, sauinge onely theues and murderers, because that they dyd not offende hym, but another manne. For this goodnesse shewed to the people, processyon was in euerye place of the realme for the safegarde of the kyng. A generall pardone.

[1] Iorde chamberleyne. *ed. alt.* [2] Henry. *ed. alt.*

Neuerthelesse

Neuertheleſſe his time was come, ẏ God would haue hym, so that he died the. xxi. daye of Apryll, in his palaice of Richemoũde, the whiche was the yere of oure Lorde a thousand fyue hundreth and eyght. His corps was buryed at Westminster in a chappell the whiche he caused to bee buylded. He reigned thre and twentye yeres, and more then seuẽ
Fol. Cxlv. monethes, & liued. lii. Also he had by his wife the quene. viii. children. iiii. menchildren, &. iiii. women children, of ẏ whiche. iii. remained aliue, Hẽry prince of Wales, ladie Margaret, & ladie Marie. He was a manne of bodie but leane & spare, albeit mightie & strong therwith, of personage & stature some what higher then ẏ meane sorte of menne be, of a wondrefull beautie and faire complexion, through al his bodie, of a merie & laughyng countenaunce, especially in his cõmunicaciõ, thinne tethed, & thinne heared, of witte in all thynges like Salomon, of a princely & redoubted stomake, and in greate affaires and matters of weightie importaunce verie wittie, for suche thynges as he went aboute, he did theim warely & not without greate deliberacion & breathyng. Besides this, he was sobre, moderate, buxome, & bounteouse, & without all pride & highnes of stomake, in so muche, ẏ he was hard & rough with theim ẏ were noted of ẏ crime, for no man had so great autorite with him, ẏ either durst or could dooe any thyng as his owne fãtasie did serue hym, without ẏ consent & agrement of other. Yea he kept this point so wel, ẏ he would
The noble & wise saiyng of Hẽry the seuenth. not suffre his owne mother to haue her will. For this was his saiyng * ẏ a kyng was a ruler that should rule & not be ruled. He was also verie iust, & defended ẏ matters & causes of many poore people frõ the power of greate menne. And so liuyng all his tyme in vertue, renowne, glorie, and valiauntnes of merciall prowesses, gaue vp his ghoste at the laste, whiche vndoubtedly is in that place, where euerlastyng ioye and gladnes remaineth for euer and euer.

HENRY THE EYGHT.

OVRE moste graciovs souereigne lorde kyng Henry the eyght, the soonne of Henry[2] ẏ seuenth, beganne his reigne the. xxiiii. daie of Appryll, in ẏ yere of our Lorde. M.cccc.ix. & was crouned at Westminster in the feast of the natiuite of sainct Ihon Baptist then nexte folowyng.

[Aboute the midle of the moneth of Iuyn, the kynges highnes was maried, and the. xxi. daie of thesame moneth he came frõ Grenewiche by land, &

[1] Kyng Henry the eighte *ed. alt.* [2] kyng Henry. *ed. alt.*

so roade through Graschurch strete to the Towre, with whom came many noblemen and gentlemen well apareled, but specially the duke of Buckyngham̄, whiche roade in a goune of goldsmythes woorke, a thyng of greate richesse, and so the kyng rested there from Thursdaie till Saterdaie, in the whiche season he created certain knightes of the Bathe.

And vpon Saturdaie, aboute foure of ỳ clocke at after noone, the kyng came ridyng through Cornehill in moste honourable wise, before whom roade thesaid knightes of the Bathe, in blewe lōg gounes with hoodes vpō their shoulders, spreade after the maner of masters of arte, and tasselles of white and blewe silke fastened vpon one of their shouldres. The duke of Buckyngham̄ roade next before the kyng, except the mayre of London & certain sergeauntes and heraulde; the whiche duke roade in a long goune *Fol. C.xxxix.* of nedle woorke right costly and riche, & bare a litle white staffe of siluer in his hand, in signe and token ỳ he was high and chief steward of ỳ feast of coronacion. And thesaid duke had aboute his necke a broade and flat close chein of a newe deuise not before vsed, fret ẇ precious great rubies and other stones of greate value: and ouer the kyng was borne a riche cānapie by the foure barones of the foure portes, and there folowed seuen foloers, wherof the first was trapped in the armes of sainct Edwarde, the second in the armes of sainct Edmond, the third in ỳ armes of. S. George, the fourth in the armes of Englūd, the fifth in the armes of Fraūce, the sixth & the. vii. in sondry trappors of riche cloth of gold ẇ costely deuices. After the foloers came a gentlemā ledyng a spare horsse moste richely garnisshed; and after hym sir Thomas Brandon then maister of ỳ kynges horsse, right well & goodly apointed and well horssed and richely trapped, thewhiche horsse with the apparell was to the kyng belongyng.

And when ỳ cōpaignie was thus ẇ all honoure passed, ymediatly ensued a goodly compaignie of gentlemen & well apointed, and after theim came the quene sittyng in a horsse litter alone, clothed in a riche mantell of tissue, in her heare, ẇ a circulet of silke, golde, and perle, aboute her head. But whē her grace was a litle passed the signe of the cardinalles hat in Cornehill, suche a sodein showre there came, & fell ẇ suche force & thicknesse, ỳ the canapy borne ouer her was not sufficient to defend her frō wetyng of her mātell & furre of powderd ermines ẇin ỳsame, but ỳ she was fain to be cōueighed vnder the houell of the drapers stalles till ỳ shower were ouer passed, whiche was not long, and then she passed on her waie; whō folowed vii. chariotes with ladies: in the first was two ladies, & vpon ỳ chariot waited. vii. gentlewomē ridyng on palfreyes, ỳ is to saie, foure in one suyte & thre in another; and vpon ỳ secōd chariot waited also seuen gentlewomen; and vpon ỳ other thre sixe, whiche all wer clothed in silke, and. iiii. of the first chariottes were couered ẇ cloth of gold, & all ỳ horsses trapped in sondrie couloured veluettes to ỳ heard pauement. And, after all the forsaid chariottes & gentlewomē, came ridyng vpon a bushement. ccc. of the

garde,

garde, ŷ more parte of theim hauyng bowes & arowes, and theother hawberdes & other weapōs, and ye shall vnderstand ŷ all the side of Cornehill, from sainct Mighelles to the stockes, was hanged ẅ greined clothe of sondrie coloures, as scarlettes, crimosins, sanguines, murries, light & browne, & beuties and violetes, and vpon the otherside, all ẅ riche tapettes & clothes of arras; and as for Chepe was garnisshed with clothes of golde, of veluet & of silke in moste richest wise, wheron was dooen no litle hurte with the forsaid showre.

Vpō the morow, beyng Midsomer daie, ŷ kyng & the quene, about. viii. of ŷ clocke in the mornyng, on foote, came frō their palaies, through ŷ greate hall & the palais courte vnto the churche of Westminster. In whiche progresse, passed before theim eight and thirty bishopes & abbottes mitered in procession, and so were conueighed to a space betwene ŷ high aulter and
Fol. C.xlvii. the quere, where, by ŷ bishop of Cauntourbury, the kyng & the quene were set in honorable seates vpon a scaffold in the forenamed place, made of a competent heigth, & thereof the archbishop was gloriouslye crouned, to the great comforte of all ŷ lande. And after that longe and honorable solempnizaciō was done, the kyng and quene wer again cōueighed vnto Westmynster hall, & there set to dynner, where was that daie holden a tryumphant & plenteous feast ẅ all honorable seruyce to suche a feaste apperteignynge. And for the ordre of ŷ settyng, the kyng sate in the myddle of the table, & the quene vpon his lift hāde by the space of two yardes length from hym, and vpon the right hand at ŷ tables ende sate ŷ archebishop of Caūtourbury alone, & no mo at ŷ table: after whiche thre estates thus set, all their. iii. seruyces wer brought together till they came vnto ŷ steppes of the deyse, where a while rested ŷ quenes and archebishoppes seruyces till ŷ kyng was serued, and then the quenes and tharchbishoppes set forwarde together, but the quene was first serued, and her seruyce set downe before the other.

Here I wyll passe ouer the orderyng of the hall, with the offyciers & garnyshyng of the side tables with many noble menne & women, & many other ceremonyes executed there that day by lordes and other hed officers, as the lorde stewarde the duke of Buckyngham, the chief buttler the erle of Arūdell, the lorde marshall with many other. The exceadyng rychesse of the cupboorde garnished with weightie & massy flagonnes, pottes and cuppes of golde, syluer & gilte, with the gifte of. ii. cuppes of gold geuē by ŷ kyng & the quene vnto ŷ mayre of Londō, as his accustomed fee at euery coronaciō; all ŷ which actes with many mo I here passe ouer.

Then vpon the Tuesdaye next ensuyng was begonne a merciall iustes, within ŷ paleys of Westmynster; of ŷ which ŷ lord Haward & sir Edward his brother, ẅ sir Richard brother to ŷ lord marques, & Gyles Capel & two other wer chalēgours; and syr Ihū Pechy, Master Carre, Master Charles Brandō & syr Rowland with other. ii. wer defēdours. Vpō the which day, two of ŷ chief of ŷ said chalengers, enclosed in a moūtayne goodly & curiously

riously garnished, wer by a lyon made of glitteryng golde conueighed out of Westmynster hall into ỹ paleys, & so led about the tylt tyll they came right agaīst ỹ kyng & quenes stāding; and there ỹ moūtain opened, & the said two chief chalēgoures road forthe clene armed vnto ỹ tiltes ende, with ỹ other foure folowyng theim, wher they houed til the defendours wer fet in: the which sone after came in at the gate by the kynges strete, but syr Ihon Pechy as chiefe defendour, came enclosed in a castell drawen with a lyonesse garnished with glytteryng sylver. And vpō the forpart of this castel was set a pomegranate tree wel & curiously wrought, and so cunnyngly ỹ it semed to ỹ people to be very pomegranades that honge on ỹ tree; and vpon ỹ toppe of this sayd castell stoode a fane, ẇ the armes of saynt George theron paynted: the which castel was so drawen about ỹ tilt, & whē it came right again ỹ kynges tent, it was opened by a vyce, & out roade ỹ said defēdour, & after his obeysaūce made to the kyng & quene, & in like maner did all his feloes, then he roade vnto ỹ ende of the tilt nexte the gate wher he entred before, & then ỹ said syr Ihon Pechy, as chief chalengour, receaued a speare as ỹ lorde Hawarde before had done, & ranne together. v. coursses cōtinually, to ỹ great prayse & laude of theim both. And then rāne ỹ other, as thei wer called vpon & assigned sondry tymes by ỹ kyng, & specially ỹ kynges highnes cōmaūded master Gyles Capel to rōne, howbeit his horsse ỹ daye did hī not moste plesaūt seruice: and thus thei cōtinued their disporte. iiii. houres, to ỹ greate cōforte of ỹ beholders & to ỹ honour of them al; howbeit, ỹ most speres wer brokē by ỹ lord Haward & syr Ihō Pechy. *Fol. C.xlviii.*

Then vpon ỹ Thursday next foloyng, ỹ said chalengeours & defendours made a goodly disporte, as first, ỹ said chalengeours cōmyng out of Westmynster Hal, caused to be cōueighed before them a pageaūt like to a forest pitched full of grene boughes, within the which sate a virgyn appareled after the Spanishe guise, & semblaūtes of buckes & dooes aboute her. And whē the said chalengeours ẇ their said pageaūt came before the kynges standyng, sodeynly rāne out of ỹ said forest a pryket, & after him a brase of grehoūdes, ỹ which coursed ỹ said pricket, & there shortly after slewe it; and after ỹ a foster[1] blewe a moote for ỹ death therof, & smote of ỹ hed quickly & presented it vnto ỹ quene; and ỹ done, the said chalēgeours passed ouer to thend of the tilt & there houed a while. And then shortly after ỹ trōpettes & many of thesaid gētlemē wel horssed & apointed, ỹ before had cōueighed into ỹ place the chalēgours, cōueighed in also ỹ defēdours, the which comyng in ẇ a like pageaūt before thē, (except that the maidē in their forest was atired after thenglish fassiō,) & demeaned theim in all thynges like as before ỹ chalēgers had done; and whē thei wer come to ỹ other ende of the tylt, anone was cōmaūded ỹ the turney should begynne, wherupon swordes wer brought to either of theim. And then first

[1] [Forester?]

turneyed ẏ lorde Haward & master Pechye a good season, & after theim ẏ residue, two & two, tyll either of theim had furnyshed ẏ full of. xii. strokes, that by sondry tymes ẏ fyre sprange out of the helmettes. And when thei had finished ẏ feacte of armes, not without many sore strokes, & often departyng by the marshalles seruauntes & some of the kynges garde, thei then wer cōmaūded to ronne together all. xii. & so to turney, til either had smitten a certē nombre of strokes, but then was peces of harneysse hewen into the felde, & swordes brokē and bowed, ẏ wonderfull it was & fearefull to beholde; the which cōtinued ẁ such egernesse, that their nōbre of strokes passed, & that the power of ẏ marshals seruaūtes suffised not to depart thē, til ẏ kynges highnes called to his gard to helpe to disseuer theim, whiche was not dooen without great pain, & although ẏ euerie of theim quite theim ful manfully, yet Charles Brandō ẏ daye was greatly auaunced & furthered by his horsse, thewhiche ẏ day faught ẁ his teth & feete like a serpent, & thervnto was so pleasaunt & light of head, that he had his aduersarye euer at greate aduauntage, in so muche ẏ he euer strake. iii. strokes before he receaued one. This day also was shewed diuerse deuyces of armour, as some of white & grene chekered, some of blacke paled with gold, some al
Fol. CJv. red & some all grene; and the harnayes, the whiche the sayde Charles Brandon then turnayed in, was all ouer gylte frome the heade peece to the sabattons; and thus with all honoure and worshyppe to them selues, & great pleasur to the beholders, thei brought thys marciall playe and dysporte to an ende.

Shortly after this was Hempson and Dudley commytted to the Towre, and Dudley was arreigned the. xvii. daye of Iulii in the Guldehall, and there before the mayre, and other the kynges cōmyssioners, was condempned and iudged to bee drawen, hanged and quartered, and then commaūded agayne to the Towre, where he laye longe after. And the Myghelmasse folowynge was Hempson conueyghed into Northampton shyre, and there areigned, and lastly iudged to bee drawne, hanged and quartered, and then broughte agayne to the Towre, and there remayned tyll such season as shal be shewed here after. In thys yere also, was holdē at Westminster, the. xxi. daye of Ianuarii, a parlyament, wherin was made dyuerse and sondrie actes and statutes.

In the seconde yere of the kynge, and the. xvii. daye of August, was Hempson & Dudley brought vnto the scaffolde vppon the Towre Hyll, and there were behedded. And the fyrst daye of Ianuary folowinge, Henry the kynges sonne was borne. And vpon a Wednisdaye, beyng the. xii. daye of Februarii next folowyng, was holden a triumphant iustes within the palayes of Westminster, of the which was chefe chalengeoure the kinges maiestee with. iii. other, whose names shalbe mynded in the ende of thys declaracion.

And fyrst for a conuenyencie of the shewyng of thys moost excellent feates of armes, ye shall vnderstande that the kynges grace with the other thre

thre chalengeours enclosed in a mountayn, whych was passyng conuyngly and curiously wroughte with rockes, trees, and dere, whereof on ether syde sat a foster clad in grasse grene satin, with eyther a bent bowe in his hande, and a brode arrowe, and a horne aboute eyther of their neckes, and bi the sydes of eyther of the sayde fosters laye certeyn speres: and in the front of the sayde mounte, betwene the two corner pyllers sat a fayre vyrgyn, clothed in blewe and lyght tawny satin, makyng of a garlande of rosemary and other herbes. Thys pageaunt or mount was drawen vpon wheles by a leoparde all of beaten gold, and an antlop of beaten flat siluer, the which two beastes were led with. ii. myghtie and high woodwoses by two strynges of sylke, and so conueyghed out of Westminster hall about the tylt, vntyll such tyme as the same mountayne came ryght agaynst the quenes tent, about the whiche was attendaunte manye gentilmen on foote, cladde in coates of whyte and grene satyn.

But yf I shoulde here reherse the straunge and costly apparell, which the fore ryders were clothed in, with theyr ryche trappers and other deuyses, I shoulde here make a long tariynge: wherefore to procede as I beganne. when thys mount, as is aboue sayde, was before the quenes tente, eyther of the fosters blewe a moote, and that doone the kynges maiestie first issued out of the mount, and another with hym at one dore, & at another doore rode out the other two chalengeours, all. iiii. hauyng in their handes eyther of theym a small scochion, the whiche thei offered vnto the quenes grace.

And al. iiii. chalengeours had cotes beneth ỹ wast of blewe sylke, gar- *Fol. CJ.*
nished with portcolyes of Venise gold without difference, sauynge the kynges graces coate was of blewe veluet, and the other were of blewe satin; and where the kynges awayters were in coates of whyte and grene, the other wer in iackettes of blewe satyn. And after the chalengeours had thus offered vp their scochiõs, and made their obeysaũce vnto the quene, the kinges grace with ỹ other roade vnto the ende of the tylt ouer agaynst Westmynster Hall gate, and there houed tyll ỹ defẽdours were brought into ỹ place.

Then the foresayde gentylmen whyche before had brought in the kyng, road for the defendours, the whyche anone came in at the weste gate of the palais in sondry pageauntes and goodly deuices, whyche here I wyll ouerpasse, for as much as the daye folowyng they ferre exceeded, wherof the declaration wyll aske a long leysoure: wherfore to procede further, when the sayd defendours accordyng to the lawe of armes had bene conueighed about the tylte, and were come to their standynge nere vnto the west ende of ỹ tylte, anone the kynges maieste called for a speare, and so ranne. vi. courses before he lefte, and brake in those. vi. courses. iiii. speares, as well and as valyantly as any man of armes myght breake theim, & such as wer broken vpon hym, he receaued thẽ as thoughe he had felt no dynt of anye stroke, in so muche that where, at ỹ beginnyng, in ỹ felde was many a fearfull & timerous heart for him, considerying his excellencie and his ten-

dernes of age, after thei had sene the sayde coursses ronne and his manfull delyuer chargynge and dischargynge, he reioysed so the peoples heartes, that a man myght haue sene a thousande wepyng iyen for ioye, and then suche as were in moost feare sawe by his marcial feates that, by the ayde of God, he was in no daunger.

And whē the other chalēgeours had rōne a few courses, he wēt to it a fresh, & thē ran. x. or. xii. courses instātly or he would ceasse, & brake many speares, & gaue so many teintes ẏ euery man maruayled at his wōderfull feates, for none ẏ there was chalēgeour or defēdour, might attain to halfe the prowesse ẏ he accōplished ẏ daye, so ẏ the pryce was geuē to him of all mē, aswell of thē ẏ were deputed iudges of those feates of armes for ẏ day as of al other. And whē he had thus passed his time to his great laude & honour, he then at ẏ request of sōdry lordes, which ẏ daye gaue their attendaunce vpō his grace, went into a pauilion whiche nere vnto the tiltes ende at ẏ tyme was prepared for hym, & there taried while the other chalēgeours ranne a certain coursses ẇ such of the defēdours as had not bene assaied ẏ day, the which demeaned theim right valiantly & knightly, & made full marciall disport. And whē this had cōtinued vpō an houre or more, the king came then out of his pauiliō rydynge vpon a graye coursser, betrapped wyth a trappoure of clothe of golde, and wroughte wyth goldsmithes woorke, which was litle ouer an hād breadthe, and garnysshed in sondrye places wyth white roses made of fine gold, and vpon the paitrell of the horsse breste stoode a rose of a greate bredth, and another like vpon the crupper behind, which. ii. roses, as a goldsmith reported that had ẏ ouersight of ẏ making of ẏ horsse harneisse, said that thei weied either of thē aboue. l. onces in gold. *Fol. CJi.*

The kynges maiestee was in a streight coate of moste rychest clothe of golde made close vnto his bodye, and streighte sleues, after the proportion of his armes, and in two or thre places the saied sleues were cut, and fastened together againe with a plunket ryband, thewhiche garment became hym wonderously well. And thus beyng apointed, with his legge harneys being styll vpon his legges, he rode vnto the tyltes ende, and there houed whyle the herauldes made their monicion and cryyng a lhostill, a lhostill, and conueyghed the defendours oute at the gate whiche they firste came in at. And that dooen, the gentlemen firste setting forwarde next vnto the trompettes, and then knightes, barnes, and lordes, as they wer of degrees folowing in their goodly apparelles; lastly next vnto ẏ king came the lord Haward, bearing vpon a tronchion the kynges helmet: after whom the kyng then cōming, tooke vp his horse in so semely and lusty maner, that shortly to conclude, no man could doo better nor sytte more close nor faster, nor yet kepe his stiroppes more surely, for notwithstandinge that the horse was veraye courageous and excellente in leaping and tornyng, and excedyng flinging, he moued no more vpon hym, then if he had helde a plain

plain and softe trot. And thus passyng the compasse of the felde, when he came ouer againste the quenes tent, he then beganne of newe, & leaped and coursed the horse vp and downe in wonderful maner; and finally, he turned the feete of ỹ horse againe the tylt, and caused hym to fling and beate the boordes with his fete, ỹ it redounded aboute the place as it had been shotte of gunnes. And when he had thus with all cõmendacion and honoure perfourmed this lustye and courageous feacte, he turned hym vnto the quene, and made a lowlye obeysaunce, and so passed in a demure maner into Westminster Hall.

Vpon the daye nexte foloyng, being Thursdaye and the. xiii. daye of February, was holden a more excellent iustes, not for the more valiaunt actes ỹ daye done of armis, but for ỹ inestimable richesse and costely apparell whiche that daye was worne, wherof I entende to touche a parte, for the whole passeth my conning and memory, but for a note after the capacite of my dul witte. Aboute the season of halfe an houre after one of the clocke, the quenes grace being in her tente, immediatly issued oute of Westminster hall the trompettes, and after theim the heraulides, the trompettes being clad in red cloth, & the heraulides in scarlet, all on horseback. Next after theim came riding gentlemen in right proper and goodly deuises of apparell, and their horses decked with sylke & brodering woorke right costly, next whome a compaignie of knightes in more costly apparel folowed, amonge the whiche sir Edward Gilford then mershal, & hauing the rule of thorderig of the felde ẇ his manifold tipped staues, was bothe those daies right goodlye and richely appareled; and also sir Morice Barkeley & sir Fraunces Cheiney roade those. ii. daies in one liuerey, both of their owne aray & also of their horses, which. ii. knightes vpon the first day road in cotes parted half on crimosin veluet, and ỹ other halfe of grene veluet, ỹ crimosin veluet side being ouerlaid ẇ flat beaten siluer like vnto flat wire hanging in length ỹ the veluet was litle or nothing seen. And ỹ grene veluet syde was fret ẇ plates of gold of goldsmithes woorke in righte sumpteous wise, and their horses were garnished in one sute, not withoute clothe of gold and other costly deuices. *Fol. Cxl.*

Vpon the second day, or this Thursday, their cotes wer halfe clothe of gold, & thother halfe of purple veluet, the veluet garnished ẇ skalop shelles and pilgrimes staues of massy golde, & their horse trappours of ỹ same. Thē came banerettes, barones & lordes, eache of theim more richely appareled then other: for ỹ lordes, many of theim road in long gounes of cloth of gold exceding riche of ỹ newe making, wherin is moste substaunce of gold and litle silke: so ỹ where of old time they wer vsed to buye of ỹ beste & richest tissue for. v.*li.* a yard, now thei pay. x.*l.* &. xx. marke for ỹ best. And beside this, their horses, some trapped in cloth of gold to the grounde; amonge thewhiche were specially noted the lorde of Burgeinie and the lorde Fizwater, whiche were in one suyte of clothe of golde with

their trappers lyke, &. ii. large & massy bauderikes about their neckes, whiche wer estemed at a. M. marke a pece. There was also sir Henry Bolein & another baneret, which ŷ daye road in purple veluet, garnyshed with plates of golde of exceding value, and emonge theim roade also sir Nicholas Vaus, in a goune of goldesmithes woorke to the knees, and therein a furre of ryght browne and fyne sables of greate value.

Then emong theim that roade nexte to ŷ kyng, came my lorde Henry of Buckingham in a goune of nedle werke, which was more costly thē some of clothe of gold, & more alowed for the curiositee of ŷ werke therof. And though here I make no memory of the lustye leaping, bounsyng, mounting, and flinging of the iolye and lusty forcryders, no man thynke the contrarye, but there was aswell doyng horse as any might bee, and aswell wer they tasted and proued, to the great comforte of many a noble manne and woman that day. Then when all this lusty compaignie was thus passed by, immediatly ensued a pauilion or tente of blewe & purple satine paled, and after that two other of ŷ same fassyon, all thre beyng garnished with letters of brodery werke. And laste of all came in the fourth tēt made of clothe of golde and purple veluet paled, whereof the panes of veluet were poudered with these two letters H. and K. as H. for Henry, and K. for kyng, and the skirtes of the said pauilion was borne vp rounde aboute with. xxxvi. or. xl. gentlemē, as esquiers for ŷ body, all beyng clad in short iackettes of blewe and purple sylke, the whiche were conueighed aboute the tylte, tyll they came before the quenes tent, where euery chalengeour according to their roomes rode oute of their tentes, & after obeisaunce made vnto the quene, roade vnto the tiltes ende, and there taried the cōminge of the defendours; howbeit, the kynges highnesse roade into the pauilyon, where the daye before he chaūged his apparell, and there taried their comming: the whiche shortely after were brought in, but or I
Fol. cliii. procede any ferther, I must of a conueniencye bring in a matter necessary to bee reherced, ŷ which negligētly I haue ouerpassed, and that is this.

When the kynges pauilion was, as is aforsaid, come out of the hall, immediately folowed the said pauilion nyne folowers or henchemen, all clothed in clothe of golde and purple veluet parted, the veluet side being garnished with the forsaid letters of golde as the pauilion was. Of the whiche folowers, the first courser was trapped with the armes of Englande, the second with the armes of Fraunce, the third with the armes of Castell, the fourth with a riche trapper poudered with red roses and white, the fift with cloth of golde furred with poudered armines, ŷ sixte with cloth of siluer and purple veluet parted, the seuenth of purple veluet garnished with massy plates of gold, a parte wherof was an arme from the elbowe, armed with an hearte of golde, whiche was of greate weight and value, the which arme and heart were sette vpon either side of the brest of the horsse, and again in ŷ trapper vpō bothe sides of the crupper; the eight with a trap-

poure of chaungeable sarcenet after blewe and white full of gold belles; the nynthe and last was trapped in cloth of gold and blew veluet paled. After which followers ensued the yoman of the horsse, vpon a faire double horsse, ledyng in his hande the self same horsse whiche the kyng roade out of the felde vpō, as before I haue reherced; and then as last and hynmoost came rydyng vpon a lustie courser sir Mathew Baker, as master of the kinges henchemenne, right well and sadly apoincted, and like a manne of good age and sadness; and thus repaired through the felde with suche demeanour as before is reherced.

Then to retorne vnto the defendoures. Trouth it is that sir Charles Brandō as first came into the felde, enclosed in a tower, and led by a iaylour holdyng a greate keye in his hande; the whiche pageaunt when it came ouer against the quenes standyng, the iaylour with his keye made a countenaunce as though he had opened the gate of the tower, oute of the whiche issued a manne on horsebacke, clad in a long, course, and prisoners weede, with a pylgrymes long staffe in his hande, and a pylgremes hat vpon his heed, with a long and forgrowen bearde reachyng to his sadell bowe; he also had hangyng vpon the hooke of his staffe a payre of bedes of gold, and vpon the top of ẏ staffe was fastened a lettre, the whiche staffe, with the bedes and letter, were sent and deliuered vnto the quenes grace, vpon the whiche when she had a while looked, she sent suche aunswer that the prisoner cast from hym hastely his clothying, beard, and hat, and shewed himself in bright harneys, and foorthwith smote his horsse with the spurres, and roade a lustie pace vnto the tiltes ende, and from thence tooke his course and ranne aboute the tilt in most lusty wise.

And after the said Charles was thus come in, there ensued tenne mo of the said chalengeoures, of the whiche if I should wryte all the apparell and circumstaūce of their cundite vnto their place assigned, it would aske a long tracte of tyme; but shortely to procede to the effect of this matter. So sone as all the defendours were come vnto their place assigned, the kynges grace issued oute of his pauilion, and called for a spere, the which *Fol. C.lii.* when he had receiued, he ranne and brake right vigorously, and so ranne seuen coursses more or he would stynt; in the whiche at euery coursse he brake a speare or gaue a tayntt: and one thing was greately noted in him, that at euerie coursse that he ranne he would neuer charge hym with his speare in the rest, till he came nere vnto the copyng. Then by exhortaciō of suche lordes as were aboute hym, he rested for a season. And when the other chalengeours had disported theim a while with suche defendours as the kyng had not before tasted, the kyng then came forth agayne, and ranne many and sondry coursses, the which he performed to his greate laude and honoure. And albeit that the other chalengeours did full knightely and well, and likewise the defendours, as the lorde marques, sir Charles Brandon and other; yet the feates of the kyng so ferre excelled theim that

none

none was spoken of but his alone, whiche so continued durying the tyme of their disporte till foure of the clocke at after none, at whiche season, so sone as the defendours were conueighed out of the felde, he called for a speare, the whiche he settying vpon his thigh, roade w̄ his hed pece vpon his head roūde aboute the tylt, and at twoo tymes when he came ouer against the quenes stādyng, he made as lowe obeysaunce as his sadle would licence hym, and so roade into his pauylion, & there vnarmed hym ; and anone after came out of the same pauilion, sittyng vpon the same spare horsse whiche the yoman of ỹ horsse brought in his hand into the feld when ỹ kyng first entred, and then he was chaunged into a demy gowne of clothe of golde, furred with sables, the whiche, when they were shewed, defaced so the other that sir Nicholas Vaus ware, that thei seemed matyrns in comparison of the other.

Then the gentlemenne sette forward, and after folowed the three chalengours rydyng bare heded, and their three helmettes borne before theim by three lordes, and last of all came the kynges grace, whose helmet was borne by the lord of Burgeyny ; and in like maner as his folowers folowed hym into the feelde, so in likewise they folowed him in his gooyng oute, at whiche season as then he stured his horsse nothyng, but suffered hym to goo a softe trot through all the felde: and at the twoo tymes that his grace came before the quene, his grace forgate not his humble obeysaunce to the erudicion and learnyng of all well nurtered and gentle wedded menne. And thus with all honour, ioye, and triumphant actes, to the principall laude of this our moste excellent and Christen prince, and after to ỹ worship of all the other, as well chalengeoures as defendoures, and greate comforte of all the beholders, ended these moste excellyng iustes that euer was before that daie seen in Englande, and that for twoo causes specially, as first the present deede of the excellencie of the kynges personne, whiche neuer before that daie, as I thinke, was seen in propre personne ; and secondarely for the excedyng coste of apparell whiche those twoo daies was shewed, with other manifolde charges of pageauntes and other sumpteous thynges, the whiche by wise mennes estimacions coste not so litle by the space of these two
Fol. CJv. dayes as xx. M.*li*. Whiche two marciall dayes were accomplished by the actes of these foure chalengeours, ỹ is to saye, the moste redoubted prince Henry the eyght of that name, kyng of Englande, Fraunce & Irelād, &c. syr Thomas Kneuet, lord Wyllyam of Deuonshire, and master Edward Neuell; and of the defendours there were. x. in nombre, whose names came not al into my handes, and therfore haue I omytted theim.

After these royall iustes was made a solempne and sumpteous banket, the order of whiche I ouerpasse because it would bee too long to reherce.

The. xxiii. day of Februarii nexte foloyng, dyed at Richemounte Henrye the kynges soonne, whiche was borne there vpon Newe Yeres Day last past, as before is shortelye touched.

In

In the thirde yere of his reigne, about the monethes of Iune and Iulij, The iii. yere.
the Scottes made sondrie entres vpon the borders of England, and had out certain shippes well manned and vitayled, and kepte with theim the narowe sees, to the great displeasure of the kynges grace, and hurte of some of his subiectes, specially of his merchauntes; the whiche rouers were named to be bannyshed men. But the kynges highness considerynge the daylye hurte that thei did vnto his subiectes and frendes, as takyng of vitaile at Sandwich & other places vpō the see coastes, and that no remedy was purueyed by the kyng of Scottes to call theim home, his grace in all goodly haste manned and vitayled certain shippes, and vnder the gouernaunce of the lorde Hawarde as hed and chief capitain, sente the said shippes to scoure the see; the whiche in shorte processe after, aboute thende of Iulij, mette with the said Scottes, and gaue vnto theim a sharp and fearce fight, in so much that in the ende thenglyshe menne drowned one of the Scottishe shippes, and tooke two of the chiefest shippes of that flote, and in theim one hundreth and fourtie Scottes, with their hedde capitayne named Hob of Barton; the whiche Scottes with theyr sayd capitayne were caste into sondrye prysonnes: and, as the fame wente, in the forsayde fighte was slayne as many of the saide Scottes as were taken prysoners, and of thenglyshe menne fewe or none. And vpon the seconde daye of August wer ȳ forsayde two Scottish shippes brought vnto the Blacke Walle within Thamys. But afterward the saide Scottes were by the kynges commaundement brought vnto tharchbyshoppes palays besyde Westminster, and there kept at the kynges coste.

Aboute this season or lytle before, the Frenche kyng that had most parte of this yere kepte warre again Iulius the secound of that name, byshop of Rome, forced the said bishop to forsake the cytie of Bonony, and to flē for his safegarde toward Rome, not without losse of some of his people. This bishoppe had deputed one Iherome Bonuise, a Lukener borne, and before tyme had bene a merchaūt and factoure for merchauntes of his nacion in London, the whiche by his insolencie and exercysyng of dice with lordes and other, he brake, and came so behynde the hande that he was compelled to aduoyde the citie, and also the realm. In the tyme of whiche absence he purchased suche grace of the forenamed bishop ȳ he made *Fol. CLxi.*
hym a lorde, and after sent hym into this lāde as his proctour, hauyng a trayne after him like vnto a byshop, & by the fauourable letters which the byshoppe wrote for hym vnto the kyng his grace, had hym in good fauoure, and daylye resorted vnto his grace for matters touchyng the bishoppe; by meane whereof he had knowledge of the bishops counell and also of the kynges.

In this time also were here certeyne ambassadours of the Frenche kynges, the which lay here a long ceason for matters concernyng their prince. To whom this forenamed Iherome secretly drewe by nyght tyme, and in-

naturally and falsely dyscouered vnto theim all the byshoppes and kynges councell; for the whiche he was awaited, and lastly taken in the companie of one of the said ambassadours vpon Londō wall about mydnyght, and so brought vnto the Counter of the Pultrye, frome whence by the kynges cōmaundement on the morowe he was remoued vnto the Towre, where he remayned still as a prysoner.

In this time also was wonderfull warre betwene the byshop of Rome, Iulius the seconde of that name, and the French kyng, in so muche that he wanne from the said b. the citee of Bonony, and put the b. to flight, & layed such articles agayne hym that he entended to put hym downe & make another bishop, the circūstance wherof I passe ouer, cōsideryng ŷ manyfolde tales and writynges sente vnto the merchaūt straungers of the same, in the which letters were variable and diuerse reportes.

In the later ende of this yere, the Scottes before taken by the knyghtly prowes of the lord Hawarde and syr Edward his brother, were delyuered free and franke, to whome the kyng, of his boūteous largesse, gaue vnto euery of theim competēt sommes of money, to conueigh theim home to their owne countrey.

In this yere also was holden a parlyament at Westmynster the iiii. day of Februarij, wherein were made and ordeined dyuerse statutes and ordynaunces. Duryng the whiche parlyament, a seruaunt of the kynges & yomanne of the crowne, and one of his garde named Newbolt, slewe within ŷ palayce of Westmynster a seruaunt of one master Willowghby, in the begynnyng of the moneth of Marche, for the which offence, notwithstandyng that the kyng had hym in his synguler fauour, for that he was a speciall archer of all other, yet, for ŷ heynous and detestable murder, the kynges grace comaunded a newe payre of galoes to be set vp in the same place wher the said seruaunt left his life, and vpon the same shortly after was there put to death, and to ŷ feare of other suffred hym to hāge there by the space of two dayes and two nightes after: for whiche iudgement the kyng wanne greate honoure and fauoure of his commons.

By the autoryte of this parlyament was graunted vnto the kyng two fyftenes of the temporaltee, and by the conuocacion holden by the clergye two dismes. Vpon Good Friday, which this yere fell vpon the ix. daye of April, was a cruell and sterne battaile betweene the bishoppe of Romes hoste & the Frenche kynges partie, which continued from the saied Fryday *Fol. C.xvii.* by sondry encoūtres and metinges, by occasion wherof much people on bothe parties wer distressed and taken prisoners, and aboue the nombre of thirty M. slaine.

The iiii. yere. In the. iiii. yere was Edmond de la Poole behedded; and aboute the moneth of Auguste syr Thomas Kneuet, beynge chyefe capytaine of the kynges greate shippe called the Regent, and a few shyppes mo, sette vpon a greate caricke and other shippes of the Frenche kings, liyng then nere vnto

vnto a towne of Britaine named Brest, where, after a longe and cruell fight, the saide caricke and Regent being clasped together with hookes and cheynes, (as the maner of fightinge vpon the see betwene enemies is) sodeynly the saied shippes with other were set on fyre, and brent so feruently that before they mighte be losed or disseuered, the shippes with the men vpon bothe parties were consumed with violence therof, so that few escaped whiche were of the poraill; but the saide sir Thomas Kneuet with many other gentlemen of this land and also of Fraunce were brent, on whose soules Iesu haue mercye.

This yere also, after haruest, wheate roase sodeinly of pryce, for where for the more parte of the yere it was not solde aboue sixe shilliges. viii.*d.* a quarter; after haruest, for so muche as wheat was so sore blasted and striken & was of so smal yelde, it was solde for xii.*s.* and xiii.*s.* iiii.*d.* a quarter. The v. yere.

In the v. yere the kyng besieged Turwin, and discomfited the power of Fraunce at Boemy, and tooke the citees of Turwin and Turney.

But in the meane season the kyng of Scottes espiyng his tyme, inuad Englande with an hoste of an hundred thousande menne, with whome the earle of Surraye, beynge the kynges leuetenaunte, encountred, and by the helpe of the lorde Hawarde his soonne, slewe the sayde kynge with aleuen earles, and wanne the felde. For the whiche noble facte, the kynge created hym afterwarde duke of Norfolke, and his soonne earle of Surrey.

In the vi. yere a peace was concluded betwene Englande and Fraunce. And on saincte Denis daye the Frenche kyng maried the lady Mary, the kynges sister; and he died on Newe Yeres Daye after. And therfore the kyng sente for her againe by the duke of Suffolke and other. The vi. yere.

In this yere, in the moneth of Februarye, was borne lady Mary, the kynges doughter, at Grenewiche. The vii. yere.

In Aprill the Frenche quene came into Englande, and was maryed to lorde Charles duke of Suffolke.

This yere ladye Margarete, quene of Scottes, and syster to the kynge, fledde into Englande, and laye at Harbottell; and she was deliuered of a doughter named Margaret, and came to London in Maye, and taried there a hole yere.

In this yere was suche a froste, that all menne myghte passe with cartes betwene Westmynster and Lambeth. The viii. yere

This yere, on Maye euen, was an insurrecyon of young persones against aliens, of whiche diuers were put to execucion, and the residue came to Westmynster Halle with halters aboute their neckes, and were pardoned.

And the xviii. day of Maye ỹ quene of Scottes retourned into her countree againe. *Fol. CXIII*

This yere, in Octobre, the admirall of Fraunce came into England, and Tourney was deliuered to the Frenche kyng. The ix. yere.

The x. yere. In this yere, at Frankforde, Charles the fyfte was chosen emperoure. And the earle of Surrey was sent to Ireland.

The xi. yere. In this yere the kyng and the Frenche kynge met at the campe betwene Arde & Guines, where were greate triumphes. And after the kyng and the emperoure mette, and the kyng went to Graueling with the emperoure: and the emperoure came to Caleys with the kyng, & had greate chere, and the kyng retourned.

The xii. yere. This yere the duke of Buckyngham was beheaded at the Toure Hyll, the xvii. day of Maye. And in Iune the cardinall wēt to Calays to entreate a peace betwene themperoure & the French kyng, and taried there to Decembre, without any thinge concluded.

The xiii. yere. This yere, the Fridaye before Penthecoste, that is to wytt the sixte daye of Iune, Charles the emperoure was honourably receiued into the cytee of London, of the maire, aldermenne, and cominaltye, oure saied soueraigne lorde accōpaignieng hym. And fro London he went to Windesore, and sat in his stall of the garter. And from thens went to Hampton, and sayled into Spaine.

Duringe whiche tyme the earle of Surrey, lorde admirall, brent Morleys in Brytaine, and after landed at Caleys, and entred Picardye, and brent tounes and castelles, and besyeged Hesdyn; but because of wynter he reysed his syege and retourned.

This somer the duke of Albany was entring England with a greate armye; but when he heard that the earle of Shrewisburye was commynge to fyghte with hym, he tooke a truce for. vi. monethes.

The xiiii. yere. In this xiiii. yere Christian, kynge of Denmarke, came into Englande in Iune.

Also the earle of Surrey brent Iedworth, and many other .townes in Scotlande.

This yere also the Turke besieged the Rhodes, and on Christmas day he tooke it.

The xv. yere. The duke of Suffolke wente into Fraunce with tenne thousand menne, and passed the water of Sōme withoute battayle, and tooke and destroyed many townes, and in Decembre retourned.

The same yere the duke of Albanye besieged ŷ castell of Warke, and hearing of therle of Surreys comming with a greate armye, he cowardely fledde.

The xvi. yere. In the xvi. yere there came out of Scotlande the byshop of Dunkell, and other ambassadours vnto the kynges maiestie. And on saynt Mathews day was the Frenche kyng taken by themperour. A mutyng in Norffolk and Suffolke for payment of mony. A peas concluded betwene Englād and Fraunce; and the French kyng was deliuered in Marche. This yere was the coyne enhaunced.

The xviii. yere. In the xviii. yere the citee of Rome, by the viceroy of Naples and

the duke of Burbon, (the same duke being firste slaine) was taken, and almost destroied. And Clemēt the vii. then byshop of Rome, & diuerse cardinalles there found were taken, and broughte in captiuitee, and vnder the rule of Charles the emperoure. This yere also the cardinall went into Fraunce with greate pompe. In October the great master of Fraunce came to London with great triumphe. *Fol. C.l.a*

In this xix. yere was the sweatyng sickenesse, for ŷ which cause there was no watch at Midsomer. The xix. yere.

In the xx. yere was the cardinall deposed of the chancelloursh yp, and a peace betwene the emperour and the kyng concluded. The xx. yere.

In the xxi. yere was holden a parlyament, wher was refourmed diuerse enormitees of the clargye. The xxi. yere.

In the xxii. yere was a man boyled in Smithfeeld for poysoning. The cardinal dyed on saynct Andrewes euen. The xxii. yere

In the xxiii. yere Gryffeth Rice was behedded for treason. In October the kyng wente ouer the sea, and met the Frenche kyng at Caleis. The xxiii. yere

In the xxv. yere, in Apryll, was a nonne called the holy mayde of Kent, ii. monkes, and two freers hanged and behedded for treason, blasphemye, and ypocrysie. This yere a peace was concluded wyth Scotlande. The xxv. yere.

In this xxvi. yere was holden a parlyamente at Westmynster, wherin emong other moost godly and necessary statutes, it was ther decreed and enacted, that the kynges maiestie should be from thensforth, accordyng to the law of God, taken and reputed as supreme heed of this his realme, nexte and immediatly vnder Chryst. This yere ŷ erle of Kyldare died in the Towre, and his sonne rebelled and slewe the byshop of Dubelyn, wherfore the kyng did send sir William Skeuynton thether. This yere was granted to the kyng the first frutes, and the tenthes of all spirituall possessyons. In Iune was the byshoppe of Rochester and sir Thomas Moore behedded, for deniyng the kyng to be supreme hed of the church of England. This yere wer iii. monkes of the Charterhouse executed for the same offence. The xxvi. yere.

In this xxvii. yere, in Ianuary dyed lady Katheryn princesse dowager, and is buryed at Peterborowe. This yere quene Anne was attaynted of treason, and was beheded: and the kyng maried lady Iane Seymer. And in October beganne a folyshe commocion in Lyncolnshyre, & another in Yorke shyre, by ŷ meanes of lord Darcy, lord Husey, sir Robert Cōstable, & Robert Aske, whiche only by the kynges wisedom and his discrete counsayle were appeased withoute bloode shedynge. The xxvii. yere.

In this. xxviii. yere the Thamys was ouer frosē in December, wherfore the kyng and the quene rode throwe London with a goodlye companye. This yere also syr Fraunces Bygott, lord Darcy, syr Robert Constable, and other, beganne a newe conspyracie, and thei were attaynted and putte to death in Iune. In February was Thomas Fytzgarred and fyue of his vncles hanged, The xxviii. yere.

drawen

drawen, & quartered. [And on saynt Edwardes euen prince Edwarde was borne at Hamptō court. The xxiii. daye of October dyed quene Iane, and is buryed at Windesore.

The xxix. yere. In this xxix. yere, in Maye, was frere Foreste hanged and brente in Smithfeelde for treason and heresy, with the image of Daruell Gathern.

Fol. CIx. In thys yere all ydolatry was forbydden; and diuerse ymages that had engynnes to make their eyes and other lymmes to styre, with many other disceates, wer destroyed: and all freers and monkes chaūged their garmentes.

The xxx. yere. In this xxx. yere, in Decēber, was the marquis of Exeter, the lord Montacute, and syr Edward Neuell beheded, for hygh treasō duly proued. In May the cytesyns of Londō mustered al in bright harneisse, with coates of whyte clothe and whyte sylke, wyth chaynes of golde, in thre great armyes, to the great wonder of straungers.][1]

Nowe for a fynal cōclusiō as touchīg this most noble & excellēt prince, and for the closing vp of this presēt werke. If that his highnes had by al ẏ space of his reigne heretofore, whiche hath bene xxxiiii. yeres, done no more but only these three thynges, (as in dede[2] his grace hath done a great and infinite nōbre of moste prudente and beneficial thynges, bothe for the quietnes of his realme and wealth of his subiectes) ẏ is to saie, the extirpyng and abholyshyng of the vsurped authoritee of the b. of Rome out of all his dominions, and restoring vnto vs the holy & most blessed worde of God, [that is to saie, the whole Scripture in our English tongue,][3] to thentent chiefly that we mighte know our dutie to almightie God, oure obedyence to our prince and hys successours, kynges of this realme, and liue a godlye and Christen life one with another; secondarely, in takynge awaye all supersticion and ydolatrye, [whiche was a thyng moost detestable in the sight of God;][3] and thirdlye and last of all, the dissoluynge [of cloisters][3] and suppressynge all counterfete[4] and false religion[5], [which, so long as they continued, wer not only teachers & preachers of false and superstitious doctryne, but also wer euer the autours & begynners of all mischiefes & commocions. For reformacion, I saye, of which thynges, who is][6] hable to rendre woorthy thankes and prayses to his highnes! And therefore to conclude, infinite thankes be giuen to almighty God ẏ so hath wrought by his special grace in the hearte and mynde of his highnes, & let earnest prayers and supplicaciōs incessantly be made of all his faythfull subiectes for the preseruacion of his highnes in mooste triumphant honour and wealth, and ouer vs longe to reigne and rule; and [that][1] when nature shall geue place to death in his grace[7], that then the same giftes of prudence,

[1] *Instead of the Paragraphs within the brackets, between p. 590. and this page, but one sentence occurs in the other edition.* And in the xxviii. yere of his most gracious reigne was borne his most noble and vertuous sonne prince Edward, at Hampton Courte, the xii. daie of the moneth of October, beeyng sainct Edwardes euen. [2] moste true it is that. *ed. alt.* [3] *Omitted. ed. alt.* [4] counterfeite sectes. *ed. alt.* [5] religions *ed. alt.* [6] who were. [7] noble person. *ed. alt.*

pollecie, and godly iudgement that his highnes is so plentifully endewed with, maye yet be planted in ŷ personne of that goodly ympe and mooste florishyng braūche prynce Edwarde, that the same maye ſmishe & mainteīne that whiche his noble father and our souereigne lord [kyng Henry ŷ eyght][1] hath moste graciously begōne. To this all true Englishe heartes saie amen.

LONDINI:

In officina RICHARDI GRAFTONI, cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum per septennium.

[1] *Omitted ed. alt.*

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